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Chronicle of Events

July 1942

His Excellency the Governor-General's Executive Council was extended; and it was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Sivaswami, and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar, at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay, expressed the determination of the Princes to fight for the King-Emperor and the defence of the Motherland.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru declared at Nagpur that the Indians being a subject people could not help China. Pandit Nehru deplored the condition of education in the country due to the war situation.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his book "Freedom and India," complained: "We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari resigned his membership of the Congress and the Assembly.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of the British power from India and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. On the failure of the appeal, the Congress intended to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

At the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur Rao Bahadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A. (Central) declared: "If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said in New Delhi: (re: negotiation with the Congress): "If this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if this question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war.....it is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiation".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said: "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article entitled "To every Japanese", said: "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister, of Bihar, and a member of the Congress Working Committee, said at Patna: "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in a letter to the *Times*, "Nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Mr. M. S. Aney said at Nagpur: "The Cripps' proposal should be accepted.....these proposals gave all parties the chance of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government."

Mr. Jamnadas Mehta said at Poona: "The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity to India and the Allied cause. It was the biggest diplomatic failure."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar wanted to resign the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, on account of ill health.

1st Professor Coupland, Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, surveying the Cripps' Mission's negotiation, in a booklet published in London, observed: "As regards both Anglo-Indian and Hindu-Moslem relations the Cripps' Mission has opened a new phase of the Indian question."

The Government of Bombay decided to institute a State Medical Faculty to hold examinations leading up to the registrable medical qualifications in Allopathy, pending the conversion of the Government Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad into Medical Colleges.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in an interview to the "*News Chronicle*" said: "We want all Indians to have the will to resist Japanese aggression and never to submit and to help China to the best of our ability. But it is impossible to do these things effectively within the frame work of the present structure and policy in India. Risks must be taken in the attempt to change this, but complacently to allow it to remain is the greatest of all risks. The defence of India can only be effective under a free Government with the full co-operation and good-will of the Indian people."

Mr. Rajendra Prasad discussed the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardhaganj. The discussion included Gandhiji's proposed new movement. Mr. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, had further talks with Mahatma Gandhi on the constructive programme about village self-sufficiency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, apprised Mahatma Gandhi of the trend of his discussions with Mr. Jinnah, who insisted on his demand of Pakistan in his talks with Mr. Rajagopalachari.

The Council of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held two sittings at Gorakhpur.—It discussed the general situation in the country in the light of the international situation.

2nd. It was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios were made by the Governor-General:—

Member in charge of Information—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in succession to the late Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

Member in charge of Civil Defence—Sir J. P. Srivastava, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghavendra Rao.

Member for War Transport, and for Ports and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications to be Governor of Assam—Sir E. C. Benthall and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

Member for Defence.—The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon.

Commerce Member.—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, to succeed the Hon'ble Diwan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, on his appointment as a representative of India on the War Cabinet.

Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker—Sir Jogendra Singh.

Member-in-charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khau Noon—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in future to be designated the War Portfolio.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said at question time in the House of Commons, that he had received a letter from the Glasgow Trades Council (a Labour Organization) asking for the reopening of negotiations and that he was replying that the Government's attitude was clearly stated by himself and Sir Stafford Cripps on April 28.

He added: "Statements already made show that the Viceroy will always be willing to listen to suggestions made within the framework of our previous proposals by any representative body of Indian public opinion."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a Press interview in Bombay, said that he felt that the only way Britain could do justice was by handing over "Moslem homelands to the Moslems and Hindu homelands to the Hindus". This, he said, was a practical proposition and would cause the least amount of trouble and friction. The Pakistan Scheme was just and reasonable both for Hindus and Moslems. He characterized the Congress proposal for a "united and democratic government for the whole of India" as one which could and would mean for all intents and purposes, a Hindu Raj and Hindu domination, over a hundred million Moslems.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee on account of ill health and addressed a letter to the effect to Maulana Azad.

3rd. Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India, in visiting Manchester, met a number of Indian trainees who were working at engineering factories in the north-west.

Mr. A. C. Sen, presiding at the quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, discussed the problem of food-supply in the country. Mr. Sen referred particularly to the position in regard to the supply of rice, salt and eugar. In this connexion, he expressed his approval of the Government's "Grow more food" campaign.

His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, in a statement at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes, in Bombay, reiterated the determination of the Princes to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland and for the world cause at stake.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message of Greeting and Goodwishes to the President of the United States on the occasion of the American Independence Day.

The adjourned meeting of the Provincial Organizing Committee, set up by the Progressive Coalition Party was held at the Calcutta residence of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq in the chair.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting held under the presidentship of Pandit Suraj Bali Pandey, President of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee, at Gorakhpur, observed: "We do not want the Germans or the Japanese to come to India. We will fight them with or without arms."

4th. The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, visited Liverpool. He was met by Sheikh Abdul Hamid and Mr. M. U. Bakbit, the Indian Seamen's Welfare Officer.

Sir Azizul Haque, in a speech at Chester, said: "Today, India holds the most important key position". Sir Azizul outlined India's contribution of an average of 40,000 Seamen to the British mercantile services, the enlistment of 50,000 men voluntarily to the army every month, and the development of industry on a scale which could not be belived by any one unless he went to India. India had been so organised that she was able to provide a very large amount of war munitions.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, speaking at a big Red Shirt gathering at Babra, near Charsadda, criticised the British Government for not taking Indians into their confidence.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier."

The Mysore Legislative Council concluded its discussion on the cut motions

on the Budget for 1942-43, and voted all the demands. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharia, President of the Council, presided.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, declared that Indians at the moment being a subject nation, could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help. Pandit Nehru added that Britain professed to be fighting for freedom and democracy, yet she denied these to peoples in her Empire. The result was that a subjugated country like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the Jodhpur situation in the *Harjan*, advised the workers to observe restraint in language. He offered his condolences to the widow and children of Mr. Balmukund Bisa.

The Government of India decided to appoint an Officer to make a special study of the all-India aspects of problems connected with the supply and prices of articles of common consumption.

Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, C.I.E., I.C.S., Establishment Officer to the Government of India, was appointed Civil supplies Commissioner (Rice and Miscellaneous) in addition to his duties as Establishment officer.

5th. Mr. Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, opening the National Youths' Conference at the St. Mary's Hall, George Town, exhorted Indian Youths to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, whose voice was more than ever the voice of India.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the second Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Bangalore, said that the Hindu Mahasabha movement was, in its merit, entirely and strictly national and was always prepared to deal with the communal problems in a spirit of equality and justice.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru wrote in the *National Herald*: "Truth, they say, is the first casualty in war. There are many other casualties.....I do not know in which category education will fall. In India, education is apparently considered a luxury in war time by Military or Civil authorities. Already many Schools have been closed and probably many more will suffer the same fate."

The Government of Bengal promulgated an Ordinance identical with the Turbulent Areas Ordinance promulgated during the latter part of 1941, in view of the recurrence of disturbances in Dacca.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay appreciating the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council said: "It constitutes a step forward in the direction of constitutional progress, larger Indian is action and non-officialisation of the Council is also an improvement on the present state of things."

At the annual meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation at Poona, several resolutions touching on the various aspects of the political life of the country were passed.—Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Federation, was in the chair.

Mr. N. Kalyankrishnan, presiding over the South India Students and National Defence Convention held at Salem, stressed the imperative need for national unity and a National Government to organise resistance to foreign aggression.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement from Allahabad on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He said: "In my opinion the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, though it raises the number of Indians to ten, does not really betoken any change in the political and institutional character of the council or its powers. It is only the continuation of the policy of the Declaration of August 8, 1940."

6th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha, under the presidency of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

The Government of Bihar prohibited the export of rice outside the province.

Dr. Cyril Fon, Director General, Geological Survey of India, in a talk to a gathering of industrialists and journalists in New-Delhi, dealt with India's great mineral wealth and efforts to discover and develop it through the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

The Government of India informed the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, that the question of granting compensation for goods abandoned by owner and goods seized by the enemy, would be considered after the war.

In the Mysore Legislative Council, non-official business was taken up. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekharia occupied the chair.

7th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked by Mr. Stephen

Davis (Labour) in the House of Commons whether "with a view to rendering unnecessary the retention in India of British, American and other troops now there he will make immediate approaches to leaders of the Indian National Congress in order to establish a National Government in India so that the people shall be inspired to organise the defence of their own country." Mr. Amery replied : "No. The forces now in India are indispensable for the safety of India and for victory of the Allied cause and will be retained until victory is achieved."

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, reviewing his three years' stewardship of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association, claimed that though spectacular results by way of starting "big basic industries" were not achieved during the period, a number of "ancillary and auxiliary industries had been started, which would provide the base for basic industries."

At the session of the Congress Working Committee held at Sewagram, Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views already expressed in the Harijan, both with regard to his attitude towards the British Government and the communal problem.

The *Monshoor*, the official organ of the All-India Muslim League, wrote from New Delhi : "In spite of the strong position of the rank and file of the Congress Party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with firmness and determination is doing propaganda for his great mission to effect a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League."

A Press Note from Bombay, stated : "Since the Government of Bombay undertook a review of the cases of persons who are being detained under its order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, out of 84 communist detenus, who were under detention on January, 1, 1942, 47 have been released up to date. The remaining cases are under consideration."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, which was held to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Chinese war of resistance, emphasised that the people of this country should shoulder the task of defending it from the Japanese. He also pointed out that there was no difference between the "Pakistan" of his conception and that of Mr. Jinnah and the communists.

8th. The Congress Working Committee resumed its discussion on the general political situation at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a special interview to British and American Press correspondents at Wardha, observed : "The Congress position is very much changed since Sir Stafford Cripps' departure. The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing to then. The rank and file felt great relief when the negotiations failed. I would have got the passive approval of the Congress to a settlement with Sir Stafford Cripps but now it is not possible to secure that passive approval."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, replying to the reception by the British Council in Liverpool, said : "India has her differences, but what country in the world is without its differences ? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural we should have many languages but please remember that Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the foreword to the volume of his speeches, under the title "India and Freedom", said : "There is no charge to which British public opinion has been more sensitive than the reproach that our policy towards India bears no relation to our professed war aims. We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in his letter to the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, in reply to the latter's communication, calling upon him to show cause why disciplinary action should not be taken against him, wrote : "In order to be absolutely free to carry on my campaign for converting the Congress from its present policy, I have decided to resign my membership of the Congress and to tender my resignation of the Assembly membership at the meeting of the Party on the 15th. July."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, labour Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council in an interview in Bombay, observed : "What is wrong with the present politicians in India is their conception of majority rule. Just as the minority

has no right to veto the decision of the majority, so also the majority has no right to rule over the minority against its consent."

The Congress Working Committee had another sitting at Sevagram.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a Press interview said: "Whatever we do our desire and intention are clear—we do not wish to injure the cause of China or the defence of India. It is obvious that any step we may take against the British Government may be full of perils. The problem before the Congress is to take steps to increase the people's spirit of resistance."

The Bombay Government issued orders regarding the requisitioning and acquisition of properties for defence purposes, including A. R. P.—Collectors of districts and other requisitioning authorities were instructed to give, in consultation with the local defence authorities, as much notice as possible to persons who were to be evicted from their lands or buildings, and see that no person was evicted unnecessarily.

10th. The Congress Working Committee held further discussions at Sevagram in Mahatma Gandhi's hut on the draft resolution on the political situation prepared by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar in a statement in Madras, said: "I am convinced that if the Congress accepts the principle 'of territorial self-determination that I have proposed in my A. I. C. C. resolution, we can make Mr. Jinnah and his League accept it and join the Congress in a united political front."

It was officially announced from Lahore that in response to the request made by *beoparis*, the Punjab Government decided to recuit the tax payable under the Punjab General Sales Tax Act for 1941-42.

Professor Reginald Coupland in a broadcast talk from London, said: "It is no longer a question of Britain giving India freedom. It is for India to take it." He added, "Sir Stafford Cripps gave Indian politics just what was needed, a dose of realism. For the first time Indian Nationalists believed that Britain's promise to give independence was genuine."

11th. The Congress Working Committee met at Sevagram. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru presented an alternative resolution which defined more clearly the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's demand for the British withdrawal and the stages by which the object was to be achieved.

The Congress Working Committee issued a series of instructions for the guidance of the people who were affected on account of evacuation or other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property, motor vehicles and boats.

The Government of India's attitude regarding Press reports about the behaviour of troops towards the civil population in some cases, was contained in a letter from Sir Frederick Puckle, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting to the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

The Government of Bengal issued an order under the Defence of India Rules directing wholesale dealers in the city dealing in essential commodities and foodstuffs as rice, wheat, flour, atta, salt, sugar, soft coke, matches, kerosene oil, mustard oil, dals and coconut oil not to withhold from sale any of the commodities to any retail dealer or other customer in quantities normally supplied by him, and also not to refuse to furnish cash memos or receipts for the commodities sold.

Mr. K. Santanam M.L.A., (Central) resigned his membership of the Congress and the Central Assembly.

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the *Associated Press*, observed: "I have not yet taken any steps to give a practical shape to my idea of having a Progressive Muslim League, because I wish to make one final appeal to the Muslim League to render me justice."

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, replying to an address presented by the Municipal Board of Badaun, made a strong criticism of "those defeatists and those destructive critics, of whom there are far too many in this country.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, replying to an address at Lahore, said that the Hindus in no circumstance were to permit the Pakistan Scheme to materialise. He would fight it tooth and nail.

12th. At the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha, further discussion

on Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution, with particular reference to some of the objections raised against the draft took place.

In reply to General Wavell's message of greetings on the fifth anniversary of China's struggle against Japanese aggression, Marshal Chiang Kaisekh sent a message of appreciation. He said: "I deeply appreciate your greetings to me and our fighting forces on the fifth anniversary of our War of resistance. Such sentiments of friendship and words of encouragement as embodied in your message are all the more gratifying for the very reason that they come directly from comrades in arms bound by the ties of Common destiny and ideals.

To observe the All-India Detenu Release Day, a public meeting was held at Royapettah, Madras, under the auspices of the Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Madras Students' Organization, and the various Trade Unions in the city, Mr. F. N. Ganesan presided.

- 13th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, replying to addresses presented to him by the Southern India Millowners' Association and the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Coimbatore, said: "There was no doubt that at the end of this war India would rise to the full status of nationhood and citizenship and occupy that place in the comity of nations which was her due."

The Congress Working Committee spent another day discussing Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution without coming to any final conclusion.

A meeting of the Hindu-Moslem Women's Unity Committee was held at the residence of the Nawab Begum of Dacca at which the programme of work to be undertaken was discussed and decided upon.

- 14th. The Congress Working Committee released a 700 word resolution on the political situation. The resolution gave a brief resume of the stand taken by the Congress. It urged the withdrawal of the British power from India, pointing out that the Congress wished to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, as far as possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nation and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. If the appeal failed the Congress would then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.—After the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi, in a Press interview explained the implications of the resolution and answered a number of questions put to him by newspaper correspondents.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, in a statement in Bombay, referred to an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Harijan* in which Gandhiji asked: "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way?"

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealing with the Hur disturbances in Sindh, declared that considerable progress had been made towards bringing a very difficult and dangerous situation under control.

- 15th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "Those responsible for the Congress Working Committee's resolution are faulty of either practising colossal self-deception or of trying to fool the people."

At the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party (Madras), Mr. C. Rajagopalachari announced his decision to resign his membership of the Madras Legislative Party and of the Assembly.

The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti decided to tender his resignation of the office of Speaker of the Assembly as also of his seat in the House.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan dwelt on the international situation and on the Congress resolution, speaking at a function at Benares.

- 16th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in New Delhi explained the implications of the demand of the Congress for the withdrawal of British power from India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari communicated to the Governor of Madras his resignation of membership of the Madras Legislative Assembly, as also that of Dr. T. S. Rajan, Mr. S. Ramnathan, P. Ratnaveluthevar, Mr. Sbramaniam, Mr. R. S. V. Aiyar, Mr. V. T. Venkatachari and Mr. Abdul Kadir.

H. E. the Governor of Madras in his speech at Bellary observed: "I beg everybody to read my remarks in the newspaper and try to realise how little and petty our differences are as compared with the great things we have yet to do

to prevent the Axis domination of the world. We have got to think big and act quick."

- 17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in the course of an interview to the United Press in New Delhi, observed: "The Congress would not be satisfied with anything but the immediate declaration of independence and the transfer of full power to the hands of Indians."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in an interview at Jubbalpore, said: "The demand for the British withdrawal is not actuated by a desire to embarrass, but the motive behind is to enable India to defend herself and to help the Allies in winning the war by bringing India's wholehearted support to the Allied cause."

- 18th. Rao Babadur N. Sivaraj M.L.A. (Central) in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur, said: "We know and feel that unless the Allies succeed in defeating the Axis, India has no chance of becoming a free country. If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations and will receive consideration which has not been hitherto bestowed on it by the British Government. We all wish an Allied victory."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the Brihad Gujarat Hindu Yuvak Parishad Ahmedabad, declared: "The Hindu Mahasabha has never been, nor does it ever intend to be, a purely communal organization."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Meerut, declared: "The only course open to the country is to fight British Imperialism in order to increase India's power of resistance to Fascist aggression."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, addressing a joint session of the Travancore Legislature at Trivandrum, said: "I have perused and re-perused the resolutions arrived at Wardha, under the inspiration and stimulus of that very great man Mahatma Gandhi. I do not think I can say anything else than this, that I have failed to follow or understand those resolutions."

At Gujranwala, apprehending a breach of the peace, the police ordered the dispersal of a Conference arranged by Babu Kharak Singh to condemn the management and the Sikander-Baldev Pact.

- 19th. Mahatma Gandhi, answering the question "If *Harijan* is suppressed", wrote: "I would ask inquirers not to be agitated if *Harijan* is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The Manager has been instructed to stop the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is part of the movement to publish *Harijan* in defiance of orders. But though *Harijan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be so long as I live. Indeed the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions."

Sardar Patel addressed a meeting of local Congress Workers in Bombay and explained the implications of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee. He urged Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities and to follow the instruction of Mahatma Gandhi scrupulously. They should feel and act as freemen. Sardar Patel also briefly spoke on the proposed Civil Disobedience movement.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said at Peshwar: "The Congress resolution is clear. The British will be strengthening their position by acting on our advice. With an independent India, fighting wholeheartedly as an ally of the United Nations, the chances of effectively resisting and overpowering the Japanese will considerably increase."

Sir Bertram Stevens, who was Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council in New Delhi said in a speech at Sydney: "If Japan is defeated, a new Order in Asia is inevitable. The East will never return to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malayans, and Javanese as friends of equal status. European prestige in the form in which it used to exist has been shattered."

- 20th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took over charge of the Labour portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, presiding over the Lyallpur District National War Front Conference held at Dasua, said: "If the British quit India, chaos will follow and ordered Government will not be possible."

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, speaking at a luncheon in Bombay, given by the Chamber in honour of Sir A. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, observed : "There was general expectation that the industrialisation of the country would go on apace as a result of the war. Unfortunately, it has not been so; as the Government constituted as they are, have not considered it as their prime and fundamental duty to help forward the development of vital Indian industries and the business community feels that this is due partially if not wholly to the anxiety of the Government to maintain intact the foreign vested interests here."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in an interview in New Delhi, answered the question, "Whether there was any basis for the impression prevailing in certain quarters after the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that there was hardly any room left for any negotiation with the Congress." "If," said the Maulana, "this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if the question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war, there is a clear procedure envisaged in the resolution of the Working Committee itself, and there is no reason to suggest that there is no room for negotiation. It is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiations."

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, commenting on the Wardha resolution of the Congress Working Committee in a press interview at Patna, said : "As practical men, our appeal is "Quit non-violence, and take to disciplined militarisation" which will make India free and keep her independence safe against all wicked aggressors and enemies of human freedom."

- 21st. The labour newspaper, *Daily Herald*, in a leading article, addressed to the Indian National Congress party, said inter alia : "If you persist in demands which are at this moment impossible to grant, you will cripple your cause and humble the influence of us who are your proud and faithful advocates. You will do worse, you will convey to the world the impression that India's leaders are incapable of distinguishing between the ideal of the United Nations and the petty standards of nationalism : that you rate political strategy higher than the prospect of liberty, equality and fraternity with the progressive peoples of the earth."

The Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce discussed matters relating to customs throwing open smaller posts for traffic, and the working of trade marks and insurance regulations, with Mr. Slade, I.C.S., Member, Central Board of Revenue, in charge of customs when he visited the Chamber in Madras.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealt with the situation in India at a private Parliamentary meeting of Members of Parliament at the House of Commons, and discussed in detail the position created by the Congress Party's resolutions and Mahatma Gandhi's possible campaign of Non-cooperation with the object of obtaining Indian Independence.

- 22nd. The Governor of Bengal, under the Defence of India Rules, cancelled the orders of the Government of Bengal passed early in 1940 on all printers, publishers and editors in the province of Bengal, prohibiting the printing or publishing of and the use of any press for the printing of the periodicals entitled *National Front* and *New Age* or any successor of these periodicals.

The National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party adopted a resolution containing an appeal to the Indian peoples to try and reach a settlement with the British Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, in the course of a statement on the London *Daily Herald's* editorial on the Congress attitude, said : "We do not want to stand aside. We want to fight the enemy but we want the confidence that British Labour has, that victory in this war will mean among other things, complete freedom."

- 23rd. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments released from detention or restriction a number of individuals associated with the Communist Party who desired to assist in the war effort.

Sj. Satish Chandra Das Gupta, founder of the Khadi Pratisthan and a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangha was arrested at Feni (Noakhali) under the Defence of India Rules.

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CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

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of this country. But that does not relieve us from examining the political side of the question, as far as Britain and India are concerned."

Mr. Jagjwan Ram, ex-Parliamentary Secretary and Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee presiding over the eighth session of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference, observed: "We stand for the country's independence, but at the same time we stand for our own freedom; we stand to end our social, religious and economic exploitations, and stand for equality in Hindu society".

2nd. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari who returned to Madras after a tour in the southern districts, in an interview, observed that all the demonstrations and meetings held during his tour showed an increased confidence in the Congress. If nothing else," he said, "our talks to the people have allayed panic and have made them more ready to face difficulties."

A Press Communique said that the third session of the National Defence Council opened at the Viceroy's House, New Delhi. His Excellency presided both in the morning and in the afternoon:—At the outset the Council decided to send a message of congratulations to General Sir Archibald Wavell on his appointment as supreme Commander in the South-west Pacific. The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, made a statement to the Council on the general question of fifth column activities in India. Civil Defence was the next subject.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, presiding over the annual meeting of the Free Society in Calcutta, paid a tribute to the Society for the manner in which it was carrying on its work in the face of difficulties caused by the war.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting at Gorakhpur, reiterated his faith in the establishment of peace in the world only when all nations became independent and were grouped together in a world federation constituted of smaller federations of nations.

Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai, Agent General for India in the United States, broadcasting on "India's war effort" from Washington said: "My people draw fighting for everything they hold dear—their inheritance of the past as well as their hope for the future."

3rd. Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution urging the establishment of a national government at the centre passed through the ballot in the Central Legislative Assembly and secured fourth place for discussion on February 19.

The situation in India was debated in the House of Lords when Lord Faringdon (Labour) drew the attention of the Government to what he called one of the most urgent problems of the present time.—He complained of complacency and said that the situation was daily becoming more critical but nothing was being done to meet it. It was, he said, one of the complaints of Indians that industrialisation of their country had been handicapped by the jealousy of British industrialists. India, he said, had paid handsome dividends for anything done in her by Britain and in addition to interest on something like a thousand million pounds invested in India the country paid annually something in the vicinity of £138,000,000 to England. It was a substantial sum Britain was under a considerable obligation to India.

Lord Cecil said that there was profound anxiety as to the fulfilment of the promise of Dominion Status and he wondered if something might be done to transferring the great apparatus of the Government known as the India Office to the Dominions Office which would, at any rate, be something positive and definite in the fulfilment of the promise.—Lord Hailey said that this was time for manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. We should be as bold as we were in the case of Syria in making our declarations.

Mr. T. Prakasam, President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee issued a statement from Madras on the release of detainees.

4th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech at 1 declared: "we are pledged to help India to attain as soon as possible war to the same position of freedom and equality with ourselves by the Dominions. The general accepted frame-work of those impositions must rest can only come by free agreement of those who the last analysis it is only Indians themselves who have imposed on us. We can no more impose a condition on them than we could impose a condition on the British."

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The Executive Council of the United Provinces Congress Committee met at Allahabad, under the presidentship of Mr. S. K. D. Paliwal.—The Council passed three resolutions dealing mainly with the duty of Congressmen "in view of the critical situation which has arisen and which threatens to grow and envelop the country" and the method that Congressmen should adopt in furtherance of the emergency programme.

h. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in a statement at Allahabad said: "I do not wish to make any detailed statement on the debate in the House of Lords on India as I should like to wait until a few days more. All that I can say at the present moment is that the speeches of Lord Hailey and Lord Catto seem to me to indicate a more vivid and intelligent appreciation of the situation in India than that of the Duke of Devonshire, whose speech will strike those of us who know the situation in India not through official reports but from personal knowledge and contacts, as open to the very vice Lord Hailey has condemned, namely that he was obviously manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. Neither self-complacence nor self-deception is going to do any good to India or to England. Repeated asseverations of righteous intentions can take us nowhere. I am anxious that my friends in England should realise this and cease to deceive themselves."

Mr. L. S. Amery replied in the House of Commons when asked whether he would investigate the possible availability and suitability of some of the instructors to be set free by the concentration of Government training centres in England for service in India, by saying that India's needs in skilled personnel would be supplied to the fullest extent compatible with the urgent demands upon such personnel in Britain.—The Secretary of State for India and the Labour Minister were in closest touch to secure India's needs.

Mr. R. A. Baig, Sheriff of Bombay, addressing the Progressive Group in Bombay, made a suggestion for divorcing as far as possible, civil defence from war effort.

The weekly review "*Time and Tide*" (London), discussing the Indian situation, thought that it reflected at the moment little credit either on the Imperial Government or Indian politicians.

th. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, in his opening address to the Fourth Price Control Conference in New Delhi, explained how the problem of price control was affected by factors like the ban on exports of certain commodities imposed by some provinces and States and the policy followed by them of building up stocks of foodstuffs.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met the Congress workers of Delhi Province in New Delhi and explained the Bardoli Resolution. He said that those who had signed the Satyagraha pledge, should not take it as cancelled. That Satyagraha pledge still continued, though only their duties had been changed. Instead of going to jail, they should devote their time to taking the Congress message to every nook and corner of their province. They should be prepared to serve their countrymen with the co-operation of all parties during an emergency.

th. A Communique issued by the Directorate-General of Munitions Production

Maulana Abul K. Azad replying to an address in New Delhi, said : "War was lurking at us from a distance. Now it is at our doors. Our field of activity would have been at another place had not the door against our co-operation with honour been barred and bolted by the British Government."

Begum Aizaz Rasul, Deputy President, United Provinces Legislative Council, in the course of her presidential address to the first All-India Muslim Girl Students' Conference in New Delhi, declared : "No nation can be great in which the women do not occupy their rightful place. No country can be free in which women lack initiative, courage and knowledge, for it is women who by their proper use of their influence as mothers, sisters and wives can make their menfolk great."

8th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to a correspondent, wrote in the *Harijan* : "All who want an all-India speech should learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give us a common language. That form which is more popular and more understood by the masses, whether Hindu or Muslim, will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan resigned from the Congress Working Committee. It was stated that he found it difficult to continue to function as an official of the Congress because of his firm views on the issue of non-violence.

Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Trade Union Congress, welcoming the delegates to the conference at Cawnpore, declared : "We are meeting at a time when the whole world is in flames. The present world conflagration is only a culmination of man's stupid greed and avarice." Pandit Sharma counselled the mazdoors and labour workers to concentrate their efforts in the direction of solid organisational activities.

With special permission from the Government of India, the hon. Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Agriculture and Industries, and the hon. Mr. Santosh K. Basu, Minister for Public Health and Local Self-Government, Bengal, left for Madras en route to Trichinopoly, to interview Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose in the Trichinopoly Central Jail.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, opening the nineteenth session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Cawnpore, said : "We cannot shut our eyes to the bloodshed that is going on all over the world, to the loss of human lives which is taking place on account of the present war."

9th. A communique issued in New Delhi announced that Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, accompanied by staff officers, arrived in New Delhi—The object of the Generalissimo's visit to India was to discuss with the Government and in particular with the Commander-in-chief, General Sir Alan Hartley, matters of common interest to both countries.

Speaking at a reception in honour of the Marshal and his wife, the Viceroy said that the visit set a seal upon the comradeship in arms of two nations which numbered between them 800 million souls. "It is a meeting which bodes no good to the enemy," the Viceroy added.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the situation in connexion with the traders' agitation in the Punjab regarding the general Sales Tax Act was discussed.

A communique from New Delhi stated : "In a Calcutta Press message dated February 8, it was stated that the visit of two Bengal Ministers to Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was being made for certain purposes with special permission from the Government of India. This is entirely incorrect. Subject to certain conditions, security prisoners are allowed interviews under the ordinary rules and it is understood that the visit in question is taking place under these rules."

10th. His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a banquet given in honour of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek at the Viceroy's House (New Delhi) said : "A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ? None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished champions.'" The Generalissimo replied to the toast.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Congress Party which attended

the special permission of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President tabled an adjournment motion in connexion with an alleged lathi charge on traders in Lahore.—The motion which was moved by Diwan Chamam Lal was defeated by 75 votes to 43.

Mr. Rohini Kumar Chandhri, leader of the Nationalist Coalition Party in the Assam Assembly, had an interview with His Excellency the Governor of Assam at Shillong.

An exploratory Committee was set up by the Government of India to examine the production of components or complete internal combustion engines offering prospects of immediate development with particular reference to war demands and the future development of an internal combustion engine industry in India.

Mr. V. R. Kalappa, President, All-India Trade Union Congress, and Mr. N. M. Joshi M. L. A. (central) met the Labour Member, Sir Firóz Khan Noon. They discussed, *inter alia*, questions relating to measures for allaying panic among workers in factories in vulnerable areas.

11th. Seth Jamn Lal Bajaj, a member of the Congress Working Committee and its Treasurer died of heart failure at his residence at Wardha.

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly began in New Delhi with Sir Abdur Rahim, the President, in the chair. Sir Homi Mody, Supply Member, informed Mr. Deshmukh that the United States Administration proposed to establish and operate a plant in India on the lease and lend basis.

The Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, addressing the Trichy District Journalists Association of Trichinopoly, stated that unless and until communal harmony was established in the country there could be no self-Government or freedom or Dominion status.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru addressing a meeting of the citizens of Delhi, declared : "India will not accept any rule—Japanese or German—but the rule of the masses of India."

12th. In the Orissa Assembly, the revised Budget for 1941-42 was submitted by Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister. In the revised estimate expenditure debitable to revenue was Rs. 1,96,86,000 against Rs. 1,90,59,000 originally estimated.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, Premier made a statement explaining the reasons which had prompted him and his party to take up the Ministry.

In the Central Assembly, Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House, made a reference of the death of Sir P. Raghavendra Rao, Additional Secretary to the Finance Department, Government of India.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, objected to Mr. A. C. Dutt's motion on the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and contended that the detention order was passed in the ordinary administration of law and was covered by previous rulings from the chair disallowing discussion of such orders.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier, Madras, addressing a meeting at Tirupati, declared : "The only strategy, the great secret weapon" that will outwit Japan is the acknowledgment of India's indefensible right to freedom. It is only then that the battle of the Pacific will take a new turn."

The Secretary of State for India (Mr. L. S. Amery) replying to a question in the House of Commons, said : "The Government are anxious that India should be afforded the same opportunities as the Dominions of being represented in the war cabinet and on the Pacific War Council for purposes of formulation and direction of the policy for the prosecution of the war. His Majesty's Government has accordingly invited the Government of India to arrange for such representation, if they so desire."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, after question time, the House took up non-official resolutions for discussion.—Grievances against the Income-tax Department were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on Sir Halim Ghaznavi's resolution asking for reforms in the Department, particularly the abolition of the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay and the placing of the Appellate Assistant Commissioners and the Appellate Tribunal under the control of the law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court, instead of under the Finance Department.

13th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a press interview in Calcutta, said : "We, the Muslim League and myself have made our position repeatedly clear as to what our policy and attitude towards the perse-

ention of the war and the defence of our people on the soil on which we live are and I have nothing more to add.

14th. Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A. (Central) opening the Madras District second circle Political Conference, emphasised the urgent need for constituting a National Government in India for offering our effective co-operation to China in checking Japanese aggression. He welcomed Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek to India and appealed to him to 'speak straight and frankly' to the Viceroy and through him to Mr. Churchill on behalf of India and urge the importance of granting freedom to the country at this time of crisis.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, at question time, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, said in reply to Mr. Jamnadas Mehta that the collection of the Excess profits Tax for the nine months ended December 31, 1941, was about Rs. 3 crores.

Sir Nripendra Nath Sircar, in his presidential address at the Sapru Conference in Calcutta, said : "while I feel confident that the aggression will be finally vanquished, I may be permitted to repeat that should events turn otherwise, it matters little whether we vote for Independence or Dominion Status, for a united India or for an India partitioned between two or more nations."

15th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press conference, in New Delhi, said : "It is entirely untrue that Mahatma Gandhi refused to see the Marshal (Chiang-Kai-Shek)." Among other things, he explained how a meeting between the Mahatma and the Marshal could not take place.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harjan*, under the caption, "Suppose Germany Wins" : "If the Nazis come to India the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain."

A Communique published in New Delhi announced : "His Majesty the King-Emperor has conferred on His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, President of the National Supreme War Council of China, the insignia of an honorary Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath (Military Division) in recognition of his outstanding achievements in the Allied cause."

The conference which was held in Calcutta to consider the Sapru Proposals, passed a resolution generally supporting the demands contained in the scheme. The meeting also expressed the opinion that in view of the war situation in the Far East all possible steps should be adopted immediately for the strengthening of the defence of India and it appealed to all sections of the people to join the army for the defence of their country. Mr. B. C. Chatterjee presided over the conference.

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek, in an interview in Delhi said : "The war has to be fought not only with bullets and artillery but by the press whose tremendous influence in steeling the hearts and minds of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggression we had utilised to the full. After all, voices die out, but printed word lives on."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, delivering his presidential address at the plenary session of the Provincial Muslim League at Serajgunj, declared : Regarding the August proposal, the principles of which we have accepted, our position is this, that we are willing provided we get a real share not only in the authority of the Government at the Centre, but in all the provinces."

16th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai asked : "It was a fact that news items taken from B. B. C. broadcasts were being : from time to time in certain newspapers in India.—Sir Andrew Clow : B. B. C. news was copyright, and the Government would do everything in their power to prevent any violation of this copyright."

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras opening the Corporation Flower show in Madras said : "I would take this opportunity of asking everybody not to be alarmed or depressed by the fall of Singapore and not to think that the situation here is altered. The Military authorities, the Government of India and the Government of Madras have got the situation well in hand and they will say what should be done and when it should be done."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Provincial Budget for 1942-43 was presented by the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee. It revealed a deficit of Rs. 1,05,00,000 on revenue account.—The year started with an opening balance of 1 crore and 15 lakhs. Revenue receipts were placed at 15 crores 70 lakhs or 41 lakhs higher than the Revised.

Sir C. Ramalinga Reddi, addressing a gathering of the Servants of India Society at Nagpur, said : "We should appeal to the Congress and the Muslim League to come together at this critical hour in the history of our country. If this is not done the Viceroy should convene a conference of representatives of these two organisations only and arrive at a settlement.

In the Orissa Assembly, the speaker gave a ruling disallowing the adjournment motion given notice of by Mr. Biswanath Das regarding the arrest of Messrs. N. K. Choudhury and Mohandas, members of the Assembly.—There was a general discussion on the revised budget.—The Congress Party abstained from taking any part.

- 17th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose's detention and the condition under which he was living at Trichinopoly were raised by an adjournment motion moved by Mr. Kamini Kumar Datta (Congress). The Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq and the Minister for Public Health, Mr. S. K. Basu, made statements saying that as a result of representations made by the Bengal Ministry to the Government of India, Mr. Bose had been allowed to augment his jail diet, as supplied by the Madras Government. The Bengal Ministry was doing everything in its power either to repatriate him to Bengal, or failing that to get him transferred to a better place near about Bengal. Mr. Basu further stated that there was little apprehension of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose going on hunger strike.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Aney, Overseas Member, replying to a question by Mr. Lal Chand Navalrai, asking what arrangements Government had made in all parts of the Far Eastern Zone for the protection and evacuation of Indians, declared that the Government spared no effort in assisting Indians to evacuate from the war Zones in the Far East.

Sir Sultan Ahmed moved a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code omitting sec. 215 B of the Indian Penal Code and inserting the new section : 52 A re : the word "harbour", etc.

Mr. Aney, Leader of the House, in commending his resolution welcoming Marshal and Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek to the unanimous acceptance of the Assembly, said it embodied the feelings of appreciation and admiration which the visit of the distinguished guests had evoked throughout the country.

- 18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Andrew Clow presented the Railway estimates with a forecast for 1941-42 indicating a surplus of 26.20 crores against a surplus of 11.83 crores originally estimated, and for 1942-43 a surplus of 27.95 crores.

Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek met Mahatma Gandhi in Calcutta and had a long conversation with him.

In the Council of State, in reply to a question, His Excellency General Sir Alan Hartley, Commander-in-chief in India, observed *inter alia* : "Events have moved fast and far since my predecessor, General Wavell, in last November, gave an account to this House of the achievements of the Indian troops in the various theatres of war.....In spite of our present situation, there is no cause for loss of heart. Admittedly, our losses are grievous and the situation is serious. We must face these threats in a spirit of calmness. To brave men, danger is an incentive to additional effort."

In the Central Assembly, 33 non-official members including the leader of the Independent Party and Deputy leader of the Moslem League Party, handed over to Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the House, a requisition pointing out that "it should be the duty of the Government to take this House into confidence by keeping it fully informed about the war situation generally by periodical statements in the Assembly."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. Jalaluddin Hashemi, member of the Progressive Coalition Party was elected Deputy Speaker in place of the late Mr. Ashrafali.

- 9th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, replying to a question said that a scheme for the restoration and maintenance of communal harmony in Bengal, was being drawn up by Government in consultation with local officers after consideration of schemes already formulated in other provinces.

The Government of India turned down the recommendation of the Bengal Ministry to transfer Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose from the Trichinopoly Central Jail, to a prison in Bengal.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Sorenson asked Mr. Amery whether in view,

both of the unfortunate effect of Japanese propaganda in some parts of the Far East and of the beneficial effect of the consistent opposition of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and the Indian National movement to Japanese aggression and ambitions, it was intended fully to utilize the latter fact to counteract any effect of the Japanese propaganda.—Mr. Amery replied: "I am not in a position to make any fresh statement on the Indian political situation. As regards the latter part of the question, His Majesty's Government appreciate the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Indian political leader and will welcome their active co-operation in their resistance to Japanese and the enemy aggression."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Halim Ghuznavi's resolution on the working of the Income-Tax Department was discussed.

Mr. A. C. Dutta moved a resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to take steps for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus. Mr. Dutta characterised the indefinite detention of prisoners as most improper, especially at the moment when the Government wanted to create mass enthusiasm for the war effort.

20th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, appealed to his countrymen to take courage from the example set by China under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek, and face bravely any aggressor. Japan and Germany, he said, represented the worst forms of Imperialism and Congress had clearly declared against all forms of Imperialism.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Government's Budget proposals for 1942-43 met with a mixed reception, when the general discussion on the Budget began.—Most of the speakers, belonging to the Ministerialist group, in view of the prevailing war situation, commended the Finance Minister on the way he had presented the Budget. There were some who held that it fell far short of expectations.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, discussion on the Budget proposals of the Bengal Government for 1942-43 began.—Dr. R. K. Mukerji (congress), who initiated the debate, asked the Government whether there was any definite plan behind the appropriation of the year's increased revenue.

Mr. W. A. M. Walker, Chairman, Indian Jute Mills Association, presiding at the annual meeting of that body in Calcutta, observed: "If things go well we shall share in the benefits but we must be prepared to face the possibility of dangers ahead. We are a strong and united industry and if we continue in that co-operation and strength there is no reason why we should not successfully weather any difficult times which may be ahead of us."

21st. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over the Non-Party Conference in New Delhi, declared: "England has got yet to make up its mind as to its relations with this country and express it in unambiguous language as to our future—a future in which India shall not be treated as a dependency, but occupy internally and in the Councils of the Empire and at the International Peace Conference, a position of honourable equality with England and the Dominions."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru received from H. E. the Viceroy the reply to the Liberal Leaders' appeal of January 2, which stated *inter alia*: "You will be aware that on two of the points which you have raised, effect has been given to your views in that an invitation has been issued to the Government of India to be represented, if it so desires, in the formulation of the policy in the War Cabinet in London and on the Pacific War Council. We shall welcome unreservedly in the presence at these meetings of whoever may be chosen to fulfil these responsible duties."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement in New Delhi said: "If Mr. Rajagopalachariar will get the authority and sanction of the Congress, which he has not at present, and define some basis, some common ground, and then finds the Muslim League taking an impossible attitude, then it may be in his mouth to accuse us."

22nd. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a meeting in Calcutta, said that mere inclusion of progressive elements in the British Cabinet would not solve the Indian problem so long as the British attitude towards India's demands remained unchanged.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when the general discussion of Budget was resumed, Mr. Abdul Hamid (Moslem League) generally

the various proposals and remarked that from a study of the Budget it seemed to him that a "conspiracy" was set on foot to give everything to Calcutta and its suburbs at the expense of the rest of the province.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, "The recent British reverses ought not to create panic in the land. If we have learned nothing worth while from contact with the British, let us, at least, learn their calmness in the face of misfortunes."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, commenting in New Delhi, on the Generalissimo's message to the people of India, said: "I strongly hope that Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek's appeal that Great Britain will as speedily as possible give Indians real political power will be listened to in England and acted on without loss of time."

At the Non-Party Conference which concluded its two-day session in New Delhi, under the presidency of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a resolution urging an immediate declaration that India should no longer be treated as a dependency but given power similar to those of the other Self-Governing units of the British Commonwealth, was passed.

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution denouncing the proposals formulated by the Non-Party Leaders' Conference. It stated that "Moslem India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organizations in the country."

At the meeting of the council of the All-India Muslim League, the Punjab traders' strike was referred to. The council re-elected Mr. M. A. Jinnah as the President of the League for the year.

A conference of the friends of the Soviet Union was held at Lucknow under the presidency of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.

23rd. The Council of State passed without discussion or amendment seven Bills. Four of them were sponsored by the Commerce Secretary, Sir Alan Lloyd. They were amending Bills to the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and the Indus Vessels Act and a Bill to continue the provision made under an Ordinance for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, a number of supplementary questions were put to Sir Raza Ali arising out of Sir Ziauddin's question whether the controller of the All-India Radio had told the directors of the various stations that Moharram programmes should not exceed half an hour.

In the Central Assembly, besides the interest which the general debate on the Railway Budget evoked, appreciation was expressed of the gesture made to the House by His Excellency the Viceroy, on the recommendation of the Leader of the House in agreeing to the holding of a secret session.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, general discussion of the Budget was resumed:—Mr. Kamini Kumar Dutta, leader of the official congress group, referred to the provision for civil defence and said that Government ought to take precautionary measures against dislocation of trade, breakdown in transport and a food shortage.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, about 20 members belonging to different parties took part in the general discussion of the Budget.

In the Central Assembly, replying to the debate on the Railway Budget, Sir Andrew Clow, Railway Member, defended the increase in freights and fares proposed in the Budget and said this was not the time to reduce the rates.

Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, Revenue Minister of Bengal, saw Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member in connection with the Bengal Government's representation regarding Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.

Dr. ... Secretary, All-India Independent Muslim Parties Board issued a statement to the Press: "The All-India Independent Muslim Parties' Board will meet on February 28 and March 1, 1942 at Delhi instead of in Calcutta. The President of the Board has already explained the necessity for this meeting.....the Board being the representative of nine leading independent Muslim parties of India may be expected to consider the grave situation which has arisen in India on account of the war reaching India's borders."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, issued a statement at the arrest of certain Congress leaders in the Punjab. He said:—"I am surprised

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CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

to read in today's morning paper that prominent Congressman including Mian Ifikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, leader of the Assembly Party, were arrested last night. These arrests have been made in connection with Sales Tax agitation under the Defence of India Rules. I could not conceive of any distant justification for these arrests. I know perfectly well that these persons have nothing to do with the Sales Tax agitation, except of course, as peacemakers, who would only try to ease the situation."

14th. The Central Legislative Assembly passed two Bills of the Commerce Member and a motion of the Finance Member for the election of members of the Standing Finance Committee for 1942-43.

In the Council of State, Mr. A. deC. Williams, Secretary, Defence Co-ordination Department, replying on behalf of the Commander-in-Chief, told Mr. M. N. Dalal that in the theatres where they were now operating, Indian troops were in fact defending India and helping the bringing of Indian troops to India if it became desirable to do so. The Council then held the general discussion on the Railway Budget.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, general discussion on the Government's Budget for the year 1942-43 concluded in the Assembly. All the party leaders participated in the discussion.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the House accepted by 55 against 16 votes, the Finance Minister's motion to take into consideration the Punjab Sales Tax Amendment Bill. The motion for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee of India figured prominently in the House of Commons debate.—Sir George Schnitzer, (Liberal National) said that there must be a sound suspension of political and personal controversies. "We have to support unity and urge Nationalists, 'set aside these things, and during the war unite and face the common peril'. But how can we expect them to respond to this? How can we convince them that we are honest in our intentions to work during the war for the political freedom of India in the Prime Minister's speech. That there had been no mention of India was specifically excluded from the application of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Prime Minister of the Punjab had described this as the biggest rebuff India had ever received. Marshal Chiang-Kai-Shek had said that India should give united support to the principle of Atlantic Charter; but why should she if they did not apply to her?"

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, addressing the students of the Lucknow University, observed: "You will only be a pattern of shame unless you are sincere to the cause of your Motherland and do constructive work of mobilising human forces and take a lesson from the younger generations of the nations."

25th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, opposition groups felt disappointed when Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House claimed privilege and refused to disclose whether the Government of India had urged the British Government to give India representation on the war cabinet and the Pacific War Council.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a statement regarding the Government policy in connexion with labour under-war emergency conditions, and also what the Government proposed to do in regard to the case of Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee, against whom an internment order had been passed, under the Defence of India Rules, was made by the Premier (Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq).

In the House of Commons, Sir Stafford Cripps, Leader of the House, replying to the two-day war debate, referred to India and said that the Government were much concerned as to the whole question of unity and strength of India in the face of dangers threatening that country. The Government fully realised that it was important that England should do the utmost in the circumstances to make a full contribution towards unity. It would not be profitable to debate so important a question in a partial manner but the Government hoped that such a debate would be possible very shortly upon the basis of a Government decision in the matter.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin was pleased to accept the resignation

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tendered by Dr. A. R. Menon, Minister for Rural Development, and to appoint Mr. T. K. Najar, leader of the Unionist Party, in the Cochin Council as Minister.

26th. In the Council of State, there was a full dress debate on Pandit H. N. Kunzru's resolution recommending to the Governor-General in Council to represent to higher authorities that, in order to place the primary responsibility for the protection of the country on Indian shoulders and to prepare the country fully for its defence, the portfolio of Defence in the Governor-General's Executive Council be entrusted to a non-official Indian.

A Press Communique from New Delhi stated: "It has been accepted in principle that there should be reciprocal appointments of Chinese and Indian representatives to Delhi and Chungking with the local rank of Minister on the lines of existing arrangements between Delhi and Washington."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Andrew Clow informed the House that an expert traffic officer was being appointed Controller of Railway Priority in the Communications Department and that an additional Secretary was being appointed in the same Department to enable Mr. S. N. Roy, Communication Secretary, to devote greater time to transport problems.

In the Central Assembly a revision of the convention separating Railway Finance from General Finance was asked for in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Sir Frederic James.

The Bengal Legislative Council passed the Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Bill, 1941.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the charge that the Government had failed to enlist non-official co-operation in A. R. P. work was made by some members of the official Congress Party when the House was asked to sanction the supplementary demand for grant of Rs. 70,23,000 for expenditure in connection with civil defence measures.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, was asked by the Labourite, Mr. Sorenson, in the House of Commons, whether he had any further statement to make on the proposals of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, whether any recent steps had been taken to ascertain Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's views on the matter, and what representations on Chinese and Indian relationships and common aspirations had been received by the British Government.—Mr. Amery replied: "The answer to the first two parts of the question is in the negative. The recent visit of Chiang-Kai-Shek to India enabled a full exchange of views to take place between him and the Viceroy."

27th. Sir George Morton, presiding at the annual meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in Calcutta, made an appeal "to all sections of the community to sink their political differences in this time of trial and stand together to achieve one common purpose and one common freedom."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a resolution that the Government should immediately take all possible steps to secure the release of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, in detention in the Trichinopoly Central Jail, was considered and partly discussed. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, explained what the Congress intended to do to meet the "immediate danger." "The danger," he pointed out, "is grave no doubt, but the gravest danger is to be panicky. I must tell my countrymen that the nations who fear death most are those who suffer most."

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai, addressing a meeting of the Progressive Group in Bombay, on the present political situation, declared: "If the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps in the House of Commons portends anything, it is that he realises that unless India is made to feel this is her war, no solution is possible."

28th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, introducing the Central Budget for 1942-43, the Finance Member disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit, on the present basis of taxation, of Rs. 47 crores next year.

His Excellency the Chancellor, Sir John Herbert, at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University delivered his address on "War and our Duty" as the main theme. His Excellency observed: "We cannot tell when or how the blow will fall, if indeed it does fall at all, but we must be ready in our hearts as well as in material ways for whatever may eventuate. We must show the people of the world that Calcutta is in no way inferior to other great cities, which have suffered, in the courage and fortitude of its citizens."

March 1942

The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to the shores of India, as the envoy of the British Government, marked an important era in the modern constitutional history of India. He brought with him a draft declaration, setting out the conclusions of the British War Cabinet for discussion with Indian leaders. The object of the visit as stated by Sir Stafford was: "His Majesty's Government, having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of the promises made in regard to the future of India, have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which, they propose, shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-Government in India. The object is the creation of a New Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion, associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic and external affairs."

Sir Stafford further explained the situation by stating, "We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded up on the free consent of all its peoples; but it is not for us, Britons, to dictate to you, Indian peoples."

The Congress Nationalist Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, decided to change the name of the party to Nationalist Party."

The President of the All-India Momin Conference sent a cable to Mr. Churchill, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. L. S. Amery, repudiating the claim of Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Moslems as also the Moslem League's claim to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems.

In the Council of State, Sir A. P. Patro welcomed the proposal of the Government of India to meet the deficit of 35 crores by resorting to loans instead of imposing fresh taxes.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, sharply criticized the statement of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to the effect: "What the Muslim League wants is a fair and just share in real power and no Indian politician is interested in denying this."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of giving effect to the recommendations of the Floud Commission, was raised by the Muslim League Party.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi wanted that the Government of India should make a statement declaring once for all whether 'scorched earth' policy would be adopted in India. Outside the House he was supported by Mahatma Gandhi, who made an appeal to the Government that in order to allay general panic, government should make a satisfactory statement in that regard.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners made an appeal to the Indian National Congress and to the Home Secretary, Government of Bengal, strongly denouncing Fascist methods of the enemy.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha pointed out that besides the Muslim League, there were other Muslim Associations, such as the Shia Association, the Momin Association, the Jamiat-ul-ulema and others.

On behalf of the Indian, the Bengal National, the Muslim and the Bengal Mill-owners' Associations, a telegram was sent to the Government.

of India, expressing the view that the "scorched earth" policy would be inadvisable and entirely unnecessary.

Sir Stafford Cripps said that he and Mr. Churchill "absolutely agreed" on the War Cabinet's proposal and hoped that they would "appeal to the Indian leaders since they were the unanimous result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have had widely differing outlooks on the question."

Mahatma Gandhi and Acharya Kripalani made an appeal for the general observance of the National week in India.

His Majesty the King-Emperor broadcast a speech to the Empire on the eve of the National Day of Prayer, expressing his sympathy for the sufferings caused by the war.

1st. The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha at Lucknow, passed several resolutions on the political situation in India with particular reference to the developments in the Far East. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Mahasabha, was in the chair.

To enable all Nationalist members of the Central Legislature to join the party, the Congress Nationalist party at its meeting in New Delhi decided to change the name of the party to the "Nationalist Party." Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutt presided.

A Press communique said that the Punjab Government appointed a special committee to examine the case against each security prisoner in the Punjab and to make such recommendations as it might consider necessary in each individual case.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, at a public meeting at Lucknow, made a reply to Mr. Jinnah's speech at Sirajgunj and strong criticism of the Congress ideology.

A meeting of the All-India Azad Muslim Board, passed a resolution in New Delhi, stating *inter alia* : "The Board is convinced that there is general unanimity in India that the country must forthwith cease to be a dependency if this end is to be achieved and that it should have the freedom enjoyed by the other free countries of the world, including England and the Dominions. Representing nine constituent Muslim organisations and speaking for the bulk of the Indian Muslims, the Board fully supports this demand."

2nd. The Government of Bengal issued a communique detailing the steps taken for the reception of evacuees arriving in Bengal from Burma and for forwarding them to their destinations.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a statement from Allahabad observed : "There is a certain elementary decency which people observe even towards their opponents in public life in politics. But some people who apparently call themselves Ministers in Orissa today have demonstrated that they do not possess even this elementary decency. Some of them broke their pledges solemnly given. And then, afraid of being defeated in the Provincial Assembly, they started arresting those who might work against them in the election campaign."

3rd. Sir Stafford Cripps, in reply to a cable sent by the Maharaj Kumar Sir Vijay of Vizianagram, President of the Andhra Mahasabha, said : "I shall do my utmost to assist in bringing about a solution of the problems which now confront this country and India in common. I trust that you and all my Indian friends will play your part in helping to arrive at a reasonable and fair compromise which will satisfy the various parties and sections of Indian opinion."

Mr. Shaikh M. Zahiruddin, President and Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Vice-President of the All-India Momin Conference sent a cable to Mr. Churchill, Sir Stafford Cripps and Mr. L. S. Amery.—"The All-India conference representing over 45,000,000 Moslems of the Momin (Ansar), community repudiates Mr. Jinnah's leadership as also the Moslem League's claim to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems and supports the demand for immediate recognition of India's freedom."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a statement on the rising prices of domestic coke was made by Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Commerce Minister.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, replying to Mr. Govind Deshmukh, Mr. M. S. Aney stated that the question of rendering financial assistance to depen-

dants in India of Indians stranded in the war zones was engaging the Government of India's attention.

4th. In the Central Assembly, replying to criticisms made during the debate on the Budget, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member said : "As regards economy and retrenchment, the extent to which the civil side of the Government equally with the many defence services was at the present time part of the war machinery."

In the Sind Legislative Assembly, a revenue deficit of Rs. 15.27 lakhs was revealed in the budget estimate for the year 1942-43.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a cable from Allahabad, to *News Chronicle*, London, said : "Destiny itself is bringing India and China together again."

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, ex-Premier of the United Provinces, addressing a meeting at Haldwani (Nainital) said : "Whether of Japs or of Germans, we will face aggression like men and fight for the freedom of one nation to the last."

5th. The Orissa Budget for 1942-43 revealed a revenue surplus of Rs 12,000. There was no proposal for fresh taxation. The Budget estimates were presented in the Assembly by Pandit Godavaris Misra, Finance Minister. Total revenue were estimated at Rs. 1,97,07,000 and expenditure at Rs. 1,96,95,000.

The Government of Bengal convened a conference in Calcutta of leading members of various organizations and interests to consider the question of forming a Central Civil Defence Committee in the city, as also smaller Sub-Committees in different wards or sub-areas and in other vulnerable areas in the mofussil.

In the Council of State, opening the general discussion on the Budget, Sir A. P. Patro welcomed the Government's decision to meet 35 crores of the deficit by resorting to loans instead of imposing still further taxation on an already over-taxed people.

The Central Legislative Assembly agreed to refer to a select committee Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries, and passed his Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective should have effect.

6th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, in answer to a question put by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, said : "Steps have been taken in collaboration with certain important producers to increase the production of steel in India. Some new furnaces are in the process of installation."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, a reference was made to the arrest of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. Replying to Mr. Nur Ahmed (Moslem League), Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, referred to the Press communique, issued on the subject by the Government of India on December 11, 1941 and said that he and his colleagues approached the Government of India in the matter.

In the Central Assembly, during the general debate on the Budget, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, asked for a clear enunciation of the Labour Department's policy during the war, particularly on his demand that the basic minimum substratum of the living standard of the working classes should not suffer. For this purpose, he demanded that the working classes should get a dearness allowance corresponding to every rise in the cost of living, so that the standard of living might be kept up, even at a low level.

The Council of State rejected, without a division, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru's resolution asking for immediate steps to be taken to form a Home Guard for the defence of India.

India's solidarity with China in her heroic struggle against Japan was well demonstrated at a public meeting in Calcutta.

The Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature with Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the chair, resolved to send a cable to the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill : "The Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature views with grave alarm and apprehension reports that His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament may be stampeded into making a pronouncement or adopting a scheme interim within the framework of the present constitution or the future regarding constitutional changes and impresses upon His Majesty's Government through you that no declaration should be made which will prejudice or militate in any way against the Moslem demand for Pakistan as the only solution of India's future constitutional problem."

7th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, said : "In the interests of Hindudom, I feel it my duty to

repndiate most emphatically the statement made by Sij Rajagopalachariar this week, who according to A. P. I. stated, "What the Muslim League wants is a fair and just share in real power and no Indian politician is interested in denying this." His officiousness is only equalled by his audacity in presuming that he was entitled to play the roll of a self-appointed spokesman of all politicians in India and secondly, that all Indians who did not think the demands of the Muslim League 'fair and just' were not politicians at all".

In the Central Legislative Assembly, compensatory and house-rent allowances for all postmen and lower grade staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department were demanded by Rao Sahab Sivaraj on a cut motion.

- 8th. In the Sind Assembly, Professor Ghansyam (Congress) sought to raise the constitutional issue in the province when he asked the Premier, Khan Bahadur Alla Baksh, whether the communication to the Secretary of State for India raised the general issue as to the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Ministry's advice by the Governor or whether it covered only questions of merit of particular matters on which Ministerial advice was not acted upon by the Governor and to supply a list of such cases.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harijan*, under the caption "An appeal to 'Quad-e-Azam'", gave an extract from an English weekly published under the direction Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, secretary of the All-India Moslem League, attacking Hinduism, and said: "The policy adopted in the paper must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and agreement I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Quid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants to live at peace with them. I plead, therefore, for a juster estimate of men and things in papers representing the policy and programme of the Moslem League."

Madame Chiang-Kai-Shek paid a tribute to the women of India in the course of a message to a woman's meeting held at Chungking in observance of "International Women's Day."

Mr. G. D. Birla, addressing the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce, in New Delhi, declared: "Our experience of the Roger Mission to India has been none too happy and we have, therefore, to look at the reported American technical mission to explore the possibility of furthering the industrial progress of India with a bit of suspicion."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said in Madras: "Mr Savarkar's statement is based on an improper understanding of my statement on the subject of the Moslem League position."

- 9th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of giving effect to the recommendations of the Flood Commission appointed by the previous Ministry, which included the proposal for the abolition of the Permanent Settlement, was raised by the Muslim League Party in opposition by means of a cut motion in connection with the Government's budget demand for grants for Rs. 36,22,000 for expenditure under the head "Land Revenue."

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was held at Rawalpindi under the presidentship of Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman.—Mr. Jinnah sent a message to the Conference, in which after reviewing the activities of the Muslim League, said: "Apart from the political programme, the urgent and immediate need for us is to take steps and put into effect the economic, social and educational programme which was laid down by the resolution of the All-India Muslim League at Lucknow."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of having a separate Minister in charge of Civil Defence was raised when the Supplementary Budget Estimates for 1941-42 came up for consideration.

- 10th. The Council of State agreed to five official motions seeking to elect non-official members to the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Standing Committee to advise on the subjects other than "Roads" dealt with in the Department of Communications, the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce as well, as three members to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Madras Government Press Note recommending that any one who had no business to keep him in the city of Madras and who intended to leave if the danger became acute should leave as soon as he could, was referred to by Mr. L. Navalrai, who asked what

facilities the Government had provided for evacuation such as free transport, accommodation, monetary assistance and safeguarding of property and education of children ?

In the Central Assembly, the question of inadequate representation of Mussalmans in the Imperial Institute of Veterinary Research, specially in the gazetted ranks, was raised by Haji Abdul Sattar Sait.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the decision of the Government of Bengal as to whether there would be further curtailment in the acreage of 1942 jute crop, which had been fixed at ten annas to that of 1940 in December 1911, would be announced shortly, said the Chief Minister.

11th. Mr. Churchill made an announcement in the House of Common : "Sir Stafford Cripps is proceeding to India on a special mission. The official purpose of Sir Cripps' visit to India is to seek assent to the proposal which the British Government have agreed on to meet the Indian situation. Sir Stafford will take the British Government's constitutional proposals with a view to securing agreement. He will consult with the Viceroy of India and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation."

A London message, dated March 10, stated : Sir Stafford Cripps announced in the House of Commons that the Prime Minister would make a statement at the next sitting of the House with regard to India."

His Excellency the Viceroy delivered the following message to the people of India from New Delhi :—"I send this message to all men and women who live in this land, whatever their politics, their religion, or their race. You will be invited, during the next few weeks, to enrol yourselves in the national war front. The land we live in is threatened with danger. This is a call to action to everyone of us.....I confide in your courage."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Govind Deshmukh made an attempt to move an adjournment motion to discuss "the necessity of taking immediate steps to put a stop to the misconduct of soldiers as evidenced by the damage to the shops and molestation of women near Huzur Paga at Poona".

The Central Assembly adopted motions for the election of members to five Standing Committees, namely, the Advisory Committees to the Commerce and Communications Departments and the Committee for Roads, and the Standing Finance Committee for Railways and the Central Advisory Council for Railways. The House then began discussion on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration.

In the Sind Assembly, Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh, Premier of Sind, replying to the general discussion on the Budget, said : "In a modern world you require modern persons with modern life and modern methods. I am modern but not accustomed to modern propaganda."

Mr. Hare Krishna Mahtab, ex-Member of the Congress Working Committee was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 100, in default to undergo four months' simple imprisonment under the Defence of India Rules.

2th. The Working Committee of the All-India Shia Political Conference (Lucknow) passed a resolution reiterating its national standpoint and unequivocally declaring that the Shia community stood for the independence and political advancement of the country.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Moslem League Opposition ventilated their grievances against the Ministry by means of a cut motion when the demand for a grant of Rs. 1,27,42,000 for expenditure on General Administration came up for consideration.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Hon'ble Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister for Civil Defence Co-ordination, replying to a question, confirmed that a large number of evacuees, who were residents of the province of Bengal, from Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Hongkong, Penang, and other enemy occupied territories, had come back to Bengal. Their number was not known.

The position of the Moslem League in Indian politics was the subject of questions in the House of Commons. Mr. R. Sorenson (Labour) asked Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State, whether he considered the declaration of the All-India Momen Conference at Delhi, claiming to represent 45 million Moslems, supporting the demand for immediate recognition of India's freedom and repudiating any claim by Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League to possess the sole right to speak on behalf of Indian Moslems.—Mr. Amery in his reply said : "I have received a telegram from the President of the

All-India Momim Conference in the sense stated. The conference claims to speak on behalf of the Momins, a Moslem Community, chiefly composed of weavers and agricultural labourers and numbering from four to five million, and not 45 million. Many Momins belong to the Moslem League."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Hussenbloy Lalji, resuming his speech on the Finance Bill, asked the Finance Member what he proposed to do with the huge sterling balances lying idle in England. He expressed the opinion that all requirements of war should be financed by long term loans.

A meeting of the Moslem League Party in the Central Legislature re-elected Mr. M. A. Jinnah as its leader, Sir Yamin Khan was elected its Secretary, in place of Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, who had requested the party to relieve him on account of his work in connection with the Aligarh Moslem University of which he was the Vice-Chancellor.

th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, uproarious scenes marked the proceedings, when the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, was replying to criticisms levelled against the Ministry in regard to the alleged "misuse" of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Satya Priya Banerjee (Ministerialist Party) moved a resolution urging that persons convicted or detained by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Act and the rules framed thereunder be immediately and unconditionally released.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir A. H. C. ... fall of cotton prices in the Bombay Market from Rs. ... Broach and said that the fall was due to the ... burnt before the Japanese could come and take it. He ... in order to allay panic, the Government of India ... declaring once for all scorched earth policy ... in India.

In the Punjab Legislative Assembly, trenchant criticism of the wheat control policy of the Government of India, was made during the debate on an adjournment motion, moved by Mr. Surajmal, a member of the Ministerial Party, to "discuss the inability of the Punjab Government to prevent the export of wheat from this province at a time when the province is faced with a serious wheat famine." The motion received unanimous support from all section of the House, including the Congress Party and was passed without a single dissentient voice, after a two hour debate.

th. His Excellency Sir Robert Reid, Governor of Assam, re-viewing the province's war effort said that the amount contributed to the Provincial War Fund up to March 4 totalled Rs. 15,23,000.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a report appearing in the *Statesman* of a speech delivered on the 11th March, in connexion with the discussion of a non-official resolution regarding the release of prisoners under the Defence of India Act and Rules, formed the subject-matter of a point of order by Dr. Nalinakhya Sanyal.

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, presiding over the North Bengal Hindu Conference at Chhntmohar (Pabna) observed: "Political misfits are just as dangerous as quislings. They should be made to retreat or withdraw from the field of Indo-British Politics unhonoured and unwept."

The Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners made a strong appeal to the Indian National Congress and to the people of India in general "to lead the Indian people on the path of a mighty movement against Fascism and hasten the hour of people's victory over the Fascist enemies."

Sardar Patel, addressing a meeting of the cloth merchants of Ahmedabad, declared: "There is the least danger of invasion in Ahmedabad and Gujerat, situated as they are; and no danger at all in the villages."

The Hon'ble Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, Viceroy's Council, presiding over the All-Religions Conference in New Delhi, observed: "In this great land of Majmaun-Bahrain, unity of religions must be a tangible truth, too glorious to miss. Where the faqirs of Sarhind and Pakpattan mingled their messages with those of the sanyasis of Benares and Prayag, we need but mutely think of this truth and better not argue."

th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption, 'Desirability of

Exodus': "A correspondent asks for my detailed views on the exodus that I have advised from the cities of all who are not wanted there and all who are unfit or unwilling to stay there. No one is obliged to stay in against his will. In the event of bombardment, it is clear that non-combatants can only be a burden in every way. Successful defence against a powerful enemy requires exclusive concentration on holding the enemy at bay. The defenders' attention must not be divided. This is from the military point of view."

The Bengal Civil Protection Committee, constituted under the auspices of the Provincial Congress Committee, decided at a meeting in Calcutta, to start at first twenty-one aid centres and four mobile units to attend to any air raid casualties in the city and suburbs.

The Working Committee of the All-India Students' Federation, in New Delhi, passed the following among other resolutions:—"This meeting greets with joy the appeal issued by the Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners in Dacca jail to the people of India exhorting all Indians including the workers, the peasants and the students, to line up in the united front against fascism." The meeting calls upon the Government of Bengal to immediately release these prisoners in this grave hour and thus release their full energies for mobilising public opinion in support of the people's war against fascism.

Among the resolutions passed at the session of the North Bengal Hindu Mahasabha at Chotmohar (Patna) being held under the presidency of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, was one relating to the constitutional changes.—The resolutions enjoined on the British Government to accept the triple demand made by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, namely, the recognition of India's independence, the concentration of political sovereignty in India and the nationalization of the Government of India.

15th. H. E. the Viceroy addressing the annual session of the Chamber of Princes in New Delhi, observed: "On you, representatives of Princely India, lies, on us all, the obligation to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her lasting time of trial and danger."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. K. C. Neogy made a suggestion that non-official Indians should be associated with the proposed American Technical Mission. Such association of non-official Advisers was necessary in order to lay at rest suspicions that the visit of the Mission might lead to the creation of vested interests in the industrial field. Indian public opinion was not going to tolerate such vested interests.

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, which met at Patna, adopted a resolution drawing the attention of the District Muslim League Working Committees to the necessity for urging upon all the branches to take up the work of strengthening the Muslim National Guards organisation.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the question of the arrest and detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was again raised. The Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said that the arrest had been made under orders of the Government of Bengal upon directions of the Central Government.

The Chittagong Armoury Raid Prisoners addressed a letter to the Home Minister, Government of Bengal, stating *inter alia*: "The victory of Fascist aggressors, we have no doubt, would mean total disaster for the human civilization. The victory of Fascism would plunge humanity into the darkest abyss of limitless misery. And in the midst of that all-pervading gloom the fate of the Indian people will be no less doomed than that of any other people."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, when approached by Pressmen about Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India said: "As everything is nebulous about Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, nothing can be said; but the Working Committee will give its thought to them if they are worth considering; the whole business will be finished soon if nothing substantial is immediately granted."

The Madras Presidency's Budget for 1942-43, estimated the revenue at Rs. 18,97.87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 18,94.28 lakhs, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 3.59 lakhs.

Mr. Abdul Q. Ansari, Vice-President of the All-India Muslim Conference, in a statement to the Press at Patna said: "Let us hope that Sir Stafford Cripps with his undoubted breadth of vision, will not view the Indian problem through Mr. Amery's jaundiced eyes and will not hesitate to recognise the just rights of the backward classes of the Muslim community."

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, during the debate on the Finance Bill, Sir Henry Gidney uttered a note of warning against fifth columnists.

The Congress Working Committee at Wardha adjourned after four hours' discussion.—During the sitting Mahatma Gandhi was present.

In the Punjab Assembly, replying to the debate on a "cut" motion moved to discuss the general administration policy of the Punjab Government, the Minister made a declaration that he had always been prepared to form a National Government in the province provided the Congress agreed to co-operate in the prosecution of the war.

In the Chamber of Princes the resolution on Sir Stafford Cripps' visit and the attitude of the Princes to proposals for constitutional reform was moved by the Chancellor and carried unanimously.

18th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, after the Finance Member's reply to the five days' debate on the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill, the Assembly divided on the motion and passed it by 49 votes to 16. The Muslim League voted against it, while of the Nationalist Party one voted with the League while a few voted with the Government and some remained neutral.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Punjab Premier, in an interview at Lahore, said: "I am doing my best to bring about a settlement between the Congress and the Moslem League and I think there is a possibility of settlement."

The Council of State discussed Mr. Mohamed Hussien's adjournment motion in the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma.

Mr. S. Sanyal, M.L.A. (Central) addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, observed: "Whenever this war may end and however the war may end, this great and ancient country of ours will attain Purna Swaraj and New Delhi will be the capital of a free India."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru issued a strongly worded statement dealing with the plight of evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma. Pandit Nehru refused to "the racial discrimination that has been and is so evident and the astounding difference in the treatment given to Europeans and the Indians. Every effort is being made to find luxury quarters for Europeans and hardly any one, except some private agencies care for Indian families who are adrift."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in the course of a statement, said: "It is a fact which even Mr. Amery cannot deny that, besides the Muslim League, there are so many other Muslim associations such as the Shia Association, the Momin Association, the Jamiat-ul-ulema and others who, in their own ways, claim to represent the Muslims of India, but because the Muslim League is recognized by, and enjoys the favours of, the Government for Imperial reasons of their own, the Muslim League is made to look more powerful than all these associations."

19th. A telegram was received from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy stating that Sir Stafford Cripps would like to meet representatives on behalf of the Congress on or about March 26.

In the Central Assembly, the Finance Member agreed to an amendment to raise the taxable minimum of incomes for income-tax from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 1500. The Finance Bill originally proposed to bring within taxable units all incomes from Rs. 1000 to Rs. 2000.

The United Provinces fourth budget since the outbreak of the war estimated a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs. The budget had an opening balance of Rs. 1,26,01,000. The revenue receipts total Rs. 17,12,32,000 and charges amount to Rs. 17,08,30,000, leaving a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, altogether ten cut motions in connexion with the Education demand under the Budget were moved. Of these four were pressed to division and rejected.—As proposed by the Minister-in-charge, the House voted Rs. 1,71,00,000 for "Education General" and Rs. 11,22,800 for "Education, Anglo-Indian and European."

Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow, broadcasting from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio on the formation of the Women's Auxiliary Corps, said:—"The corps will provide occupation for all women between the ages of 18 and 50 of any nationality who are British subjects. Women from Indian States who are willing to come to British India will be welcomed. All women who join must be able to speak colloquial English."

The view that the adoption of the scorched earth policy in India, in case of emergency, would be "inadvisable and entirely unnecessary," was expressed in

a telegram sent to the Government of India on behalf of the Indian, the Bengal National, the Muslim and the Marwari Chambers of Commerce and the Bengal Millowners' Association.

Acharya Kripalani, General Secretary of the A. I. C. C. issued the following statement from Wardhaganj: "In a leading article in the *Statesman* on March 15, a very grave allegation has been made. It was stated that intimate friends of Mr. Gandhi and members of the Working Committee of the Congress have told us that they had evidence that Mr. Subhas Bose received friends from the enemy when he was in this country." This is a very serious statement, and I cannot conceive of its being true. I have consulted all my colleagues of the Working Committee who are here at present, and they have expressed their astonishment at this surprising allegation. Whatever our differences with Mr. Subhas Bose in the past or in the present, and they are many, we cannot imagine that there can be any basis for this allegation."

20th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the Finance Bill was passed by 44 votes to 14. The minority represented the Moslem League Party's votes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, an important question relating to the security of the province was discussed in camera, when the Budget demand for Rs. 1,24,81,000 for expenditure on extraordinary charges in India was under consideration.

The Punjab Assembly was adjourned sine die.

st. The Joint Committee appointed by the Central Advisory Board of Health, and the Central Advisory Board of Education recommended the creation of a School Medical Services in the Provinces and States. The Committee was appointed to investigate and report on the question of medical inspection of school children and the teaching of hygiene in schools.

His Excellency Sir William Hawthorne Lewis, Governor of Orissa, presiding over a meeting of the Provincial War Committee at Cuttack, observed: "I expect many of you feel like I do, that now that the war has come so much closer to us our proceedings in the Provincial War Committee have acquired deeper significance and a more direct meaning for ourselves than was possible when the war seemed a more remote affair, fought on the other side of the globe."

nd. The Jamiat-ul-ulema-I-Hind at its thirtieth conference which concluded at Lahore, made a call to Moslems of India to evolve a common formula to be presented to Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary to the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes, in a statement from New Delhi, said: "I am authorized by His Highness the Chancellor and His Highness the Ruler of Bhopal to state that the news which recently appeared in the Press that His Highness of Bhopal had resigned from the Chamber of Princes is misleading and not in accordance with facts. His Highness has indicated that he is temporarily abstaining from active participation in the Chamber of Princes. His Minister continues to represent Bhopal State in the Committee of Ministers set up under the reorganization scheme of the Chamber of Princes."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a signed article in the *Harijan*, made a plea to the Government of India that they would be considerably easing the situation and allaying anxiety if they unequivocally declared that they would not apply, if occasion ever arose, the "scorched earth" policy to India, especially in view of India's peculiar condition.

Sir Stafford Cripps and party arrived at Karachi by plane.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing the concluding session of the Jamiat-ul-ulema Hind at Lahore gave advice to Muslims not to stand in the way of freedom by presenting different schemes and to stand on their own legs and work for the independence of their country.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-premier of Madras and member of the Congress working committee, in the course of a statement in Madras observed: "What should be searched for by all of us is an energising stimulus for national effort and sacrifice and a provincial executive, determined to save the people from foreign aggression that commands the trust and love and, therefore, the whole-hearted energy of the people."

3rd. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the premier, made an announcement in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, when replying to a debate on a resolution moved by Mr. Satyapriya Banerjee urging immediate and unconditional release of prisoners under

the Defence of India Act and Rules, that the Government of Bengal decided to appoint a tribunal to examine the cases of security prisoners.

On the occasion of "Pakistan Day" in Calcutta, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy explained the implication of the Pakistan scheme, at a meeting of Moslems.

Sir Stafford Cripps at a press conference in New Delhi, expressed the view that he had come to India because he was a great admirer of the country, and wanted to play his part as a member of the war cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political problem.—Sir Stafford said that he and Mr. Churchill were "absolutely agreed" on the war cabinet's proposals and hoped that they would "appeal to the Indian leaders since they were the unanimous result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have had widely differing outlooks on the question."—He emphasized the urgency of time factor and said, "I am sure that in the circumstances of to-day, the leaders of the main parties and interests in India would be ready to take quick decisions."

In the Orissa Assembly, for the first time, the Congress demanded poll three times in succession when voting on demands was resumed. All the three demands under Stamps, Forest and Registration were assented to by the Assembly, the voting on each occasion being 17 to 24.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in addressing a public meeting of Muslims at Lahore, in observance of the "Pakistan Day," gave an exposition of a scheme for a solution of the constitutional problem of India.—Nawabzada Rashid Ali, President of the Lahore City Muslim League, presided.

"Pakistan Day" was celebrated in Bombay, when several meetings were held under the auspices of the Provincial Muslim League.

Mr. M. N. Jinnah addressed a meeting on the 'Pakistan Day' in New Delhi.

24th. Sir V. N. Chandavarkar, Chairman of the Bombay Millowner's Association, addressing the annual general meeting of the Association, said : "It is reported that as many as 38,000 workers or 17 percent of the normal complement in the cotton textile mills have already left Bombay."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier, made a statement in reply to one made by Sir K. Nazimuddin, Leader of the Opposition, on March 20, bearing on the security of the Province."

The Assembly sanctioned the Budget demands of Rs. 10,78,000 under "Cooperation" and Rs. 23,50,000 under debt conciliation."

The Council of State, passed without amendment, the Indian Finance Bill, as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly.

25th. Sir Stafford Cripps saw Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in New Delhi. Mr. M. A. Jinnah was the next visitor.

Mr. A. R. Siddiqi in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Moslem Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, remarked : "The arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps, the emissary of His Majesty's Government, raises the expectation that England shall, at long last, do her duty to India."

According to the rules and regulations formed under the Civil Pioneer Force ordinance, each unit of the force would consist of a unit headquarter and not more than four companies each of four platoons.

The Government of India agreed to a reduction of the total acreage under jute in Bengal in 1942 from five-eighths to half of the acreage of 1940.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, on the motion of Mr. H. C. Prior, the House passed the weekly Holidays Bill that every person employed otherwise than in a confidential capacity or in a position of management in any shops, restaurant, or theatre should be allowed in each work a holiday of one full day.

The Council of State passed without any amendment the Bill to amend the Cantonment Act, as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly. The upper House also discussed non-official resolutions.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad called a meeting of the Congress Working Committee in Delhi on March 29, to consider the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.

Sir Muhammed Saadulla, ex-premier of Assam, in an interview at Shillong said that whatever might be the outcome of the talks between Sir Stafford Cripps and Indian leaders, the existing constitutional deadlock in Assam was most definitely going to end.

In reply to Sir Stafford Cripps' telegram, Mahatma Gandhi accepted the invitation of meeting Sir Stafford in New Delhi.

—28 MARCH '42] CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

In the Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdur Rahim gave the reasons for his ruling on February 17, that the question raised by Mr. K. C. Neogy, whether the Indian Legislative Assembly was competent to entertain a Legislative proposal in the form of a Bill relating to a certain class of multi-unit Co-operative Societies, was not one which could be properly dealt with by the chair on a point of order under Rule 15.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Maharaja of Parlakimedi replying to a cut motion moved by the Congress Party under the head "General Administration," observed: "I leave it to the members of the House to judge whether under the existing conditions the Governor is justified in calling us to office or not."

26th. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, a Budget demand for Rs. 17,40,000 moved by the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Minister for Industries, for expenditure on his department was voted.

27th. Mahatma Gandhi met Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Acharya Kripalani, general secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, issued a circular from Allahabad, to all Provincial Congress Committees laying emphasis on the constructive programme of the Congress and pointed out that the programme placed before the country was two-fold: first, self-protection and secondly, self-sufficiency.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, general secretary of the A. I. C. C. in the course of an appeal in connection with the National week said: "The National week will be soon on us. It has been observed every year since 1919. It commences on April 6, when the nation inaugurated a non-violent mass struggle for the redress of its many and grievous wrongs and the attainment of our Swaraj. The National week has always been marked by the renewal of our general determination to achieve the goal of complete independence and self-purification through the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. In the words of Swaraj, the fulfilment of this programme is the sure key of Swaraj."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Bengal Land Revenue Amendment Bill, 1941, which had been passed by the Legislature, again came up before the House when certain amendments were adopted on the recommendation of His Excellency the Governor.

Dr. N. N. Law, in his presidential address to the annual general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, emphasized the responsibility of the Indian commercial community in the matter of helping in the restoration of public confidence at the critical period.

The Working Committee of the All-India Moslem League passed a resolution of confidence in connexion with the death of the Nawab of Mamdot and then had a general discussion on the proposals conveyed by Sir Stafford Cripps to Mr. Jinnah.

In the Orissa Assembly, the Government suffered a defeat, when with the casting vote of the speaker, the House rejected the first clause of the Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries (Orissa Amendment) Bill.

The Travancore Sri Mulam Assembly was adjourned sine die motion regarding after transaction of non-official business. The adjournment was withdrawn after the increase of paddy cultivation and other foodstuffs was withdrawn after discussion.

The Padukottah Legislative council met at Padukottah, Sir Alexander Tottenham presiding. The Government member stated that the total collections in the State for the War Fund under various heads was Rs. Rs. 2,15,276 and that the Durbar contributed a sum of Rs. 1,12,000.

28th. The King-Emperor broadcast to the Empire from London, on the eve of the National Day of Prayer. "Since I last spoke to you," said His Majesty "we have been through very hard and anxious times. We have shared the anguish of peoples who, having long enjoyed peace and prosperity under our flag, are now subjected to all the horrors of war. Our hearts go out to our comrades in Australia, New Zealand, India and Burma in their hour of trial. We know that they are facing it with the same unflinching spirit as those at home in the mother country. We shall give them every help in our power and we are glad to know that strong American forces are already ranged at their side."

A statement was issued by a body of women, representative of young women's organizations in Calcutta: "Today when our land is threatened with

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foreign invasion, when our homes, our children, our loved ones, everything in fact we hold dear, is on the verge of complete destruction, when Fascist Imperialism—the worst form of exploitation and terror—is seeking to crush forever the elements of freedom and civilization we have won through years of hard struggle, are we to sit by and watch this gigantic cataclysm as mere spectators?”

Sir Stafford Cripps' programme included seeing a delegation of the Chamber of Princes Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. Mr. R. Jayakar, Mr. C. Rajagopala chari, a Hyderabad delegation, representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. The Executive Committee of the Nikhil Bengal Krishak Proja Society at its meeting in Calcutta, with Mr. Humayun Kabir in the Chair, expressed the view that the problem of Indo-British relation could be solved only by the immediate transfer of all power, without any reservation, to a Government representative of and responsible to the people of India.—The meeting authorised its President, the Hon'ble Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, to place the views of the Committee (Samity) before Sir Stafford Cripps, stressing that “any attempt to exaggerate the differences between the communities in order to resist the demand for independence is dishonest and mischievous.”

A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary published the text of the new secondary education Bill, which the Government proposed to introduce in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on April 1.

29th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to Maharaja Kumar Sir Vijay Anand of Vizianagaram, wrote in the *Harijan*, “I was principally instrumental in securing from the Congress on a linguistic basis. I have always agitated for the acceptance by the Government of such redistribution.”

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* on the “National week”—“The National week comes every year with the certainty of seasons. It has come for over 20 years now, and yet we seem to be as far as ever from our freedom for communal unity, or universalisation of khadi.”

Mr. K. F. Haider, Finance Member, State Legislative Council, Bhopal, presenting what he described as “the biggest Budget in the history of Bhopal,” announced a record provision of Rs. 23,07,164 for the defence services of the State.

The Council of the Indian National Liberal Federation met in Bombay. Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Ray presiding, and informally discussed the political situation in the country with special reference to the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps. The Council decided that the President should be accompanied by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad when he was to meet Sir Stafford Cripps.

The creation at the end of hostilities of a new Indian Union which would have the status of a Dominion in the British Commonwealth with the right to secede was envisaged in the proposals of the war cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps brought to India. “The future constitution of the union will be framed by a body elected by a single electoral college composed of the entire memberships of the Lower House of the Provincial Legislature, fresh elections to which will be held immediately after the war. If any British Indian Province is not prepared to accept the constitution so framed, it will retain its present constitutional position, and His Majesty's Government will agree to the same full status as accorded to the Indian Union. His Majesty's Government and the constitution-making body will enter into a treaty covering the transfer of power to Indian hands: but the treaty will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union. Provision has also been made for the participation of the Indian States in the new constitution, a revision of its treaty or not a state elects to adhere to the new constitution, a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation will be negotiated....During the war, leaders of the principal section of the Indian people are invited to effectively participate in the councils of their country, the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Defence will be the responsibility of His Majesty's Government.”

30th. The second supplementary estimate of expenditure for 1941-42 authorized by the Governor of Madras, showed an additional authorized expenditure to the tune of Rs. 85,00,900 a sum of Rs. 30,04,500 being the sum charged.

Dr. C. J. Pao, Consul General for China in India, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta organized by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal made an appeal for close co-operation between India and China.

The Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, in its annual report for 1940-41, revealed how it helped to solve some of the war problems; it recorded the establishment of an All-India fruit and vegetable station and efforts made to stimulate the cultivation of medicinal plants and supply of Codliver Oil substitutes.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a broadcast speech from New Delhi, made an appeal to the Indian peoples to get together to frame their own constitutions.—He explained the British War Cabinet's proposals in regard to India. He said that the British Government's object was to give to the Indian peoples full self-Government with complete freedom in devising and organizing their own constitution. "We hope and expect," he said, "to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples; but it is not for us, Britons, to dictate to you, Indian peoples." Regarding the interim arrangements, he said that the acceptance of the proposals by Indian leaders would make it possible for the Viceroy to start forthwith upon consultations which would enable him to implement the principle laid down in the last paragraph of the document. He added that India would have an effective share in the defence councils since the Commander-in-chief would be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and India would be represented on the war cabinet and the Pacific War Council."

Three persons were killed and five seriously injured when police opened fire on a Madhe Sabha procession at Lucknow.

31st. The Congress Working Committee resumed its sitting in New Delhi. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad expressed their views at the session.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League adjourned after a sitting lasting some four and a half hours.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Mr. Aney, Leader of the House, referred to his earlier statement that he would consult party leaders on the question of the desirability of fixing a day for a discussion of the War Cabinet's proposals regarding India and said that he had consulted party leaders and there was no unanimity among them on the subject. The European Group did not want any discussion while the Muslim League was not in a position to express any opinion, as the subject had not yet been finally discussed in the Working Committee of the League.

Mr. Srinivas Sastri, speaking at a public meeting at Salem, said that India should be one, united and indivisible. If India was allowed to be divided she would then lose her greatness.

The All-India Moslem League Civil Defence Committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman), Chaudhri Khud-i-zaman and Kazi Mohammad Isa arrived at Ahmedabad. They addressed a meeting of the Moslems in the Jumna Masjid.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "There is no doubt that Mr. Rajagopalachari is handling a cause which has isolated him from his colleagues. But his worst enemy will not accuse him of any selfish motion behind the extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author. It reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty."

Rai Bahadur Fazlul Ram Chandra Kak, presenting the Budget in the Kashmir State Assembly, said: "Notwithstanding the effects of the war, Kashmir's budget estimates for Sambat year 1999 both for the revenue of the year and for the expenditure charged to revenue exceed Rs. 3 crores and is the highest achieved so far in the history of the State."

The Standing Finance Committee (New Delhi) approved the proposals relating to the establishment of a transport organization and machinery for determining urgent railway priorities under the Department of Communication.

The Council of State passed two official bills, as passed by the Legislative Assembly, namely, the bill to grant weekly holidays to persons employed in shops etc., and the bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries.

April 1942

The failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was the burning topic of the month. The proposals of His Majesty's Government as presented by the Lord Privy Seal, were rejected by the Indian National Congress, the All-India Moslem League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Liberal Federation of India. Sir Stafford, after his return to London, declared that he did not regard the problem of India as insoluble during the war, but the approach would have to be made by the Indians themselves. To which Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru replied that Sir Stafford was very much mistaken in thinking so, and in the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad it was made plain that no further initiative would be taken from the Congress side.

Maulana Azad, in an interview stated that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on the question of defence alone.

There was an open session of the All-India Moslem League at Allahabad. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. He observed in explaining the draft declarations that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation had not been expressly recognized.

The Congress Working Committee made an appeal to observe the "National week."

A meeting of the Moderate Sikhs was held at Amritsar. The meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians.

Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in America, referring to India, said: "If our best efforts failed, the British Government would find itself obliged to do its own duty without the assistance or co-operation of the larger organized parties."

The statement of the Central Government's monthly accounts showed that excluding periodical adjustments and the transaction of Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs Department, expenditure in February exceeded revenue by Rs. 3 crores.

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy said in New Delhi: "The sending of the American Technical Mission is further evidence of the realization in my own United States and in the United Nations that this is one war, a world-wide war, and not a European war with an Asiatic side show."

The Madras Congress Legislature Party at its meeting in Madras, passed a resolution recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation and to "invite the Moslem League for consultation, for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement on the above resolution, said: "I may point out in this connexion that in the Congress organization, only the Provincial Congress Committee is the competent body to represent provincial views—not the Congress Legislature Party."

Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to the question of "Japanese help", declared: "It is folly to suppose that aggressors can ever be benefactors."

The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put in their own instead."

The session of the All-India Congress Committee opened at Allababad. Maulana Azad, the President, in his opening speech said: "If any Indian says that we should welcome the Japanese then all that I can say is that his mentality is a slave's mentality which can think only in terms of a change of masters."

In a resolution moved by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the All-India Congress Committee reported the decision of the Working Committee in rejecting Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals.

There was a full dress debate on India in the House of Commons, as well as in the House of Lords—The draft declaration of the proposals as sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps loomed large in the discussion in both the Houses.

1st. Martial Law was proclaimed in the area of Sind afflicted by the criminal outrages of the Hurs. A communique said: "Over a period covering more than six months, the Hurs have by wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity, terrorised whole districts. The means available to the civil authorities have failed to cope with the situation because of the fanaticism of these followers of the Pir of Pegaro and the terror they inspire in their victims who are too cowed to bear witness against them."

The Right Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Right Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in a joint statement, said: "It would be a tragedy if Sir Stafford Cripps' mission failed, for it would produce a keen sense of disappointment and frustration and provoke antagonisms which, in our opinion, would be disastrous in this hour of crisis."

A deputation of prominent citizens of Madras met His Excellency the Governor and urged him to take steps immediately to have the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills reopened for work, and to have a tribunal set up to enquire into the disturbances and Police firing on March 11.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, Sir Sultan Ahmed informed Mr. G. V. Deshmukh that the Hindu Law Committee had drafted a Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession and another Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage. The Bills were received by the Government on March 11 and 17 respectively and were under consideration.

The death occurred of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, in Bombay, former President of the Central Legislative Assembly. He was 80 years of age.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a memorandum on Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, said: "There are several points in the declaration which are more or less satisfactory, but according to the statement unfortunately made by Sir Stafford Cripps, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is to be accepted or rejected in toto. As some essential features of the scheme are wholly or partially unacceptable to us, the Hindu Mahasabha has no other alternative but to reject the scheme."

1. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in an interview said that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on defence alone, and Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement to the contrary was entirely baseless. The Maulana was referring to Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech at Coimbatore in which he was reported to have said: "The statement that control over defence was denied in any circumstances represented the position as it stood when the Cripps' negotiations started, but at subsequent stages it became clear that as a result of exchanges of cables, the British Government were prepared to modify the position and give us a part in defence also. The negotiations broke down over other points and not over defence."

Sir Stafford Cripps said at a Press Conference in New Delhi: "I am postponing my departure from India.....I have now postponed my departure for a short time. The postponement arises from the fact that, in view of the general situation, I think, I can possibly do something useful next week."

In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President disallowed Mr. Kailash Behari Lal's adjournment motion seeking to discuss the conduct of soldiers, who

were stated to have caused injury to eleven students at Saranath in Patna district, on March 18, as a result of which two of them died, as neither Mr. Kailash Bihari Lal nor the Government was in possession of authentic information about the incident."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal announced that he would meet the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly on April 3, to discuss the question of forming a National Government representing all sections of the House.

A provision to make monogamy obligatory even as regards sacramental marriages was a feature of the Bill to codify the Hindu Law relating to marriage, prepared by the Rau Committee on Hindu Law and published in the Gazette.

3rd. The Bill to amend and codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession published in the Gazette had three main features, namely, (1) it embodied a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India; (2) it removed the sex disqualification by which Hindu women in general had hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, and (3) it abolished the Hindu woman's limited estate.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. V. S. Srinivas Sastri addressing a meeting of the Progressive Group on the Cripps' proposals in Bombay, strongly condemned certain aspects of the war cabinet's proposals, especially in regard to the promised freedom to provinces not to accede to the Indian union.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a resolution passed in New Delhi, affirmed "irrevocable determination to resist the British Government's scheme at all costs and by all possible means."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari addressing a Conference of the youths of Madras, said: "I am certain that if we secure Congress-League settlement, even if all the members of the British War Cabinet inform me beforehand that they would not give us a National Government although an eleventh hour settlement is reached, we can make them give us National Government and everything we want."

4th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in a memorandum presented to Sir Stafford Cripps, strongly pressing for the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council and among other things, asked that the majority required for any decision by a Provincial Legislature to adhere or not to adhere to the union should not be less than sixty-five percent of the Indian members of the Lower House present at the meeting at which the decision was taken. The memorandum opposed a plebiscite for the purpose and called attention to the necessity for the restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces.

The Congress Working Committee met in New Delhi, Maulana Azad, Congress President, said that the meeting considered the situation in Bengal and Assam consequent on the near approach of the war and discussed what lead the Congress should give the community at the juncture.

The open session of the All-India Muslim League began at Allahabad. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, after explaining the draft declaration of the proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, said that the Mussalmans felt deeply disappointed that the entity and integrity of the Muslim nation had not been expressly recognized. —Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Jinnah said that he had come to India on behalf of His Majesty's Government, and that his proposals had been published in the papers. The Working Committee of the Muslim League was considering them. "What the Committee will decide no one knows, but one thing I want to announce in clear words. Rest assured that our aim is Pakistan and whatever the proposals might be, if they are such that we cannot achieve Pakistan we will never accept them. There may be shortcomings in the proposals —and there are many—but our firm determination and our only goal is one—Pakistan—Pakistan—Pakistan."

The Executive Committee of the India League in London, in a manifesto, said: "A settlement now is imperative and as vital to Britain as to India. The people of Britain must insist on a settlement and call on the Government to instruct Sir Stafford Cripps to meet the Indian demands."

In a special statement to the American Press, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said: "America, as we have news here, is surprised that the Cripps proposals have not met with an enthusiastic response in India. The answer is that devolution,

with reservation of Defence, cannot save India and the people of India. The belated—far too belated—declaration that India may determine her own constitution on the cessation of hostilities has failed to evoke enthusiasm, because of Britain's understandable refusal, even at this late hour, to instal a truly National Government, inviting it to take up responsibility of the defence of the country.

5th. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur in his presidential address at the first session of the All-India States' Muslim League Conference at Allahabad, made a reference to the constitutional proposals brought by Sir Stafford Cripps to India.—He said that there were two points which needed clear elucidation. "Firstly, whether the representatives of the Indian States to the constitution-making body shall be nominees of the Rulers, or whether they will be elected representatives of the people. Secondly, what safeguards will be provided to safeguard the interests of the Muslim subjects of the States in the new constitution."

Mahatma Gandhi, in replying to the question, "will there be room for Britishers and foreigners in a free India?" wrote in the *Harijan*: "The question should have nothing to do with my spirituality, supposed or real. It does not arise for free America or free Britain, and it will not arise when India becomes really free. For India will then be free to do what she likes, without let or hindrance from anybody.....If I have any influence over her policies, foreigners will be welcome, provided they will never be allowed to exploit and impoverish the country as they have done hitherto."

The Congress Working Committee at its meeting in New Delhi, passed the following resolution:—"The 'National week' this year has come upon us at a time of grave crisis and peril to the nation. It is incumbent upon us all to prepare ourselves in every way to face this crisis and, whatever the larger policies that may be followed in an everchanging situation, it is clear that the present Congress programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection is the essential foundation of every other policy and activity that might be undertaken. To this programme and to the constructive activities included in it, therefore, Congressmen must address themselves intensively during this week."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech to the Oxford Union, with special reference to India, said: "our aim publicly declared, and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions.....while also, like them, (the Dominions) maintaining the bond of free association with the rest of the commonwealth."

The Subjects Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded at Allahabad.—A resolution moved by Moulana Jamal Mian, and unanimously adopted by the session placed on record "its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from the membership of the Muslim League, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalmans by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the Journalists' Association at Allahabad, said: "I agree that there are very wide differences to-day especially between the Hindus and the Muslims, but I have expressed many times, that whatever differences there are, they do not from my side arise from the slightest ill-will towards the great community of the Hindus or any other community."

On the invitation of Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia, a meeting of Moderate Sikhs of the Punjab was held at Amritsar.—The meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians, that a representative government owing allegiance to the Crown and including at least one Sikh be established at the centre, the succession of provinces should not be allowed, and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities including Sikhs.

6th. It was announced that the Government of India decided to extend the concession to the glass industry for a further period of one year.

Congress circles in Calcutta observed the opening day of the "National week" as in previous years.

Nine political prisoners confined in the District Jail, Lucknow issued an appeal to their countrymen asking them to throw in their lot with the progressive peoples of the world like those of Russia, China, Britain and America in the war against the Fascist menace.

Sir Stafford Cripps met in New Delhi Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Sir Sultan Ahmad, and Dr. Raghabendra Rao, all members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru reported to the Congress Working Committee his talk with Col. Johnson, personal envoy of President Roosevelt. The interview created a favourable impression in showing American support for Indian freedom and in assuring the fullest help from America in India's fight against aggressors.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, a member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Moslem Conference in a Press statement on the Cripps' proposals, said: "The question is not of future status or constitution, but of the transference of power here and now."

The third sitting of the open session of the All-India Moslem League began at Allahabad:—A condolence resolution was moved from the chair placing on record their "deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Nawaz Khan of Mamdot."

Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani (Calcutta) moved a resolution authorizing the President "till the next session of the League to take every step or action, as he may consider necessary, in furtherance of, and relating to the objects of the Moslem League as he deems proper, provided they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the Moslem League, or any resolution expressly passed by the session of the All-India Moslem League." Maulana Hazrat Mohani moved an amendment but he was out-voted: the main resolution was carried.

A Press Note issued in Calcutta stated the measures that the Government of Bengal wanted the people to adopt to retard as much as possible the progress of the enemy in the event of a landing.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a reception given by the Kerala club to meet Mr. Pattam Thanu Pillay, President, Travancore Congress Committee, stressed the unity of India, which "we shall fight for." Pandit Nehru said that the problem of Indian States could not be treated as of secondary importance and could not be left out simply because the British Government had entered into treaties with certain persons who were dead long ago. The larger interests of India could not leave Indian States aside.

Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar, Prime Minister of Kashmir, speaking in the State Assembly, declared that Kashmir would welcome the formation of a single India Union and do its utmost to co-operate in the work of framing a suitable constitution for it, so as to enable Kashmir, when that constitution was framed, to accede to it.

The second session of the All-India States' Muslim League concluded at Allahabad. —Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung presided. The main resolution emphasized that the All-India States Muslim League alone could represent the case of the Muslim subjects of Indian States in any scheme of constitutional adjustment.

7th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press, replied to the criticisms, particularly of the American Press, of the Mahasabha's rejection of the British War Cabinet's proposals. Mr. Savarkar said: "The impression that the Hindu Mahasabha, the pan-Hindu organization, was uncompromising in rejecting the Cripps' scheme, is mis-informed. The Hindu Mahasabha accepted it partially and welcomed the promised grant of equal partnership with Britain, but the scheme made it all conditional on granting freedom to Provinces to secede and break up India into a number of independent States with no central Indian Government. To us, Hindus, the unity and integrity of India, our Motherland, and Holyland, is an article of faith."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member, opening the Price Control Conference in New Delhi, made an appeal to Provincial Governments not to misunderstand if the Central Government were to encroach upon their power. Sir Ramaswami emphasised that the enemy had to be fought on the economic front as well as the military front.

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Liberal Federation of India, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Naushir Bharncha, Honorary Secretary of the Federation, communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps the views of the Liberal Federation on the draft declaration stating *inter alia*: "The Council of the Liberal Federation has very carefully examined the draft declaration of Sir

Stafford Cripps. It welcomes the proposals to make India a self-Governing Dominion with the same status and functions as are enjoyed by Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth. On examination of the different heads of the proposals the Council feels that the provision giving liberty to any province not to accede to the Indian Union is fraught with serious difficulties and danger. The creation of more than one Federal Union in India having their own separate armies, may result, in certain conceivable circumstances, in a conflict between them. It would almost immediately lead to customs barriers, and complicated questions about posts, railways, existing public debt etc. would arise."

The Maharaja of Baroda gave his assent to a Bill for amending the Hindu Code passed by the State Legislative Assembly, declaring invalid all polygamous marriages, subject to certain exceptions.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, declared: "I consider it my duty to oppose any foreign invasion of India. How can I remain a mere spectator of events or be silent? The news of the Japanese bombing of the coastal towns of India must stir the hearts of Indians". He declared that the Japanese assertion that they were coming to India to set us free was absurd and wholly false. That was clear from Japan's misdeeds in China and Korea."

8th. Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador in America, referring in a speech at the New York Hall to the possibility that India's spokesmen might reject the opportunity offered by the British Government's proposals said: "If our best efforts failed, the British Government would find itself obliged to do its own duty without the assistance or co-operation of the larger organized Indian parties."

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's Envoy, was in close touch with Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru as well as with Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mrs. Sarat Chandra Bose, with her son and daughter, interviewed Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose at Mercara.—In a statement to the Press, Mrs. Bose said: "I find my husband's health very much worse than before. He is pale and emaciated. His general condition is bad. The climate of Mercara does not suit him. Fish and fresh vegetables, necessary for health are not available in Mercara. The bungalow assigned to him is very old and ill-ventilated and has not been inhabited for years. The amenities are very few and he has no suitable company and is living a solitary life."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press interview at Lahore, said: "There was a fundamental relationship between the British nation and the Hindus, and the latter, as a nation, could not look to any foreign power for alliance except the British."

The fourth session of the National Defence Council opened in New Delhi at the Viceroy's House. The Viceroy presided both at the morning and the evening sessions.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Member in-charge of the Indians Overseas Department, made a statement in the Council on the condition of the Indians in the Japanese-occupied territories in the Far East and on the arrangements made for the evacuation of Indians from Malaya and Burma.

The Committee of the All-India Muslim Conference adopted a resolution declaring that the Cripps' proposals fell far short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and were not acceptable unless modified.

9th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru in a statement to the Press from New Delhi, said: "We have had sufficient experience of British statesmanship in India and elsewhere. Whatever the war may have done, there has been little difference in tone or voice of the most eminent of the British leaders. Lord Halifax, whom we know well in India, still continues to sermonise us as of old and to tell us how insignificant we are in this great land of India. Perhaps so. Then, why trouble about us or come to us with proposals? Lord Halifax is pleased with what his people have done here. Let him live in his complacent world and leave us to our resources and our sorrows. But whatever happens, we will not give up our objective of independence and complete freedom for India."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay, saying: "To avoid any misunderstanding on the part of the public, it must be made clear that the rejection by the Hindu Mahasabha of the scheme proposed by Sir Stafford Cripps does in no way mean that the Hindu

Mahasabha has given up the policy of the militarization of the Hindus as reaffirmed in the last session at Bhagalpur and then again by the All-India Committee at Lucknow."

A Press communique from New Delhi stated : "The National Defence Council met again in the Viceroy's House. The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member-in-charge of the Education, Health and Lands Department made a statement on the food position in India and the steps under contemplation for a food production drive. The measures already taken and in contemplation as regards control of prices of food stuffs, with particular reference to difficulties experienced in wheat supply were dealt with by the Hon'ble the Commerce Member."

10th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "In this hour of peril for India, many Indians in distant and foreign countries have cabled to me, expressing their earnest desire to come back to their homeland in order to share in the perils and dangers in the defence of the Motherland from aggression and invasion. I entirely share these sentiments and I am convinced that it is the duty of every Indian, who can do so, to return to India and face the dangers that threaten us. I trust that those in authority will facilitate this return."

The Government of Bengal initiated a vigorous drive for increasing the area under paddy and other food crops, in order to make every part of the province self-sufficient at least in respect of certain principal items of food.

The Congress Working Committee rejected the British War Cabinet's proposals. The decision was unanimous. The negotiations failed mainly owing to differences on the transport defence to Indian control, on the Congress demand for a virtual end of the Secretary of State's control and on the demand that, where a majority of the future cabinet were agreed, the Viceroy should not use his power of vote.

11th. The working committee of the All-India Moslem League declared that the British War Cabinet's proposals for India were not acceptable.—The League committee, while expressing gratification that the principle of Pakistan had been recognized by implication regretted that the proposals embodying the fundamentals were not open to any modification and were, therefore, not acceptable to the committee.—Referring to the proposed interim arrangements the League's resolution pointed out that there was "no definite proposal." The British Government merely invited Indian leaders to participate in counsels of the country. The resolution also stated that Sir Stafford Cripps made it clear that "the scheme must be accepted or rejected as a whole."

Sir Stafford Cripps announced at a Press Conference held in New Delhi that His Majesty's Government's offer to India had been withdrawn.—The Congress objected to the secession clause in the proposals, the method by which the States would be represented on the constitution-making body and failure of the War Cabinet to make defence an Indian responsibility. The Moslem League rejected the British proposals mainly on the ground that they sought to create one Indian union—an organization to which the League was opposed.

A Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal said : "Under an order issued on April 11, 1942, the Government have prohibited the removal without a special permit of any transport vehicle from Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial areas, in the district of 24 Parganas, Howrah and Hooghly.

The Congress Working Committee concluded its session in New Delhi and decided to call a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad on April 29 and 30.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President at a Press Conference in New Delhi, referred to his interview with Sir Stafford Cripps : "First, he told Sir Stafford Cripps that the approach to the Indian problem made in the draft declaration was not only correct but was likely to lead to greater complications. If the British Government desired to infuse in a new spirit in India even at this eleventh hour and send out a person like Sir Stafford for the task, the simple method would have been to send out through Sir Stafford the announcement that Britain was prepared to part with power."

A Communique issued by the Orissa Government stated : "The important initial successes of Japan in Burma and the Far East have made it necessary to face the possibility that the enemy may attempt landings on the coast of India. Any such attempt would be met with resolution and determination and our armed forces are confident of their power not only to repel the enemy but to defeat him utterly."

Sir George Schuster, former Finance Member, Government of India, commenting on the failure of the Cripps' proposals from London, said: "There is deep disappointment at the breakdown of negotiations in India. But if the truth is rightly understood the honest efforts made can be fruitful of good."

th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Moslem League, issued the following statement from New Delhi: "In pursuance of the resolution passed by the All-India Moslem League at Allahabad on April 6, 1942, authorizing me to appoint a Committee for the purpose of taking all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Mussalmans, I have appointed a Committee consisting of Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan (Chairman), Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Choudhri Khaliq-u-Zaman and Haji Mohammad Isa."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in Delhi, declared: "The military way is to fight as long as you can and when you feel you have lost the battle to surrender. The popular conception of resistance is no surrender whether the soldiers die or live. That is the conception that China has given us and the conception that is largely seen in Russia. That is the conception we want in India."

The fifth annual session of the Mysore State Congress commenced at Nehrunagar, Mr. V. Venkatappa, Chairman of the Reception Committee welcomed the delegates. Mr. T. Subramaniam presided.

th. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, Government of India, who arrived in Calcutta, on his way to Manipur, to see the arrangements made for the evacuees and refugees arriving in India from Burma, saw His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and discussed with His Excellency questions relating to the relief of evacuees who happen to pass through Calcutta.

Mr. Amery, replying to a Parliamentary question whether, in view of the need for increasing food crops in India to meet additional commitment, we would bring the matter before a conference of Provincial Governments and Indian States representatives, said that a conference between them and the Indian Government called for April 6, had the express purpose of considering steps to increase food and fodder production.

Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the Parliament, denied statements alleged to have been made in the Press that whole Indian units of the forces in Burma had deserted to the Japanese. "It is wholly untrue," he said.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, in a statement from New Delhi, said: "Sir Stafford Cripps' statement made in Karachi about Congress leaders going to Col. Louis Johnson and his acting as mediator is not correct and is liable to be misunderstood. Sir Stafford has not been fair either to Col. Johnson or to the Congress leaders. There was never any question, as I have stated previously, of our asking for mediation or arbitration from any one and President Roosevelt's name has been needlessly dragged into this matter."

Dewan Krishnamachari, President of the Baroda Assembly, emphasized the need for maintaining public morale in the emergency. He disclosed that the Government was constituting a National war Front organization in Baroda. He outlined the States' war efforts.

th. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, Dewan of Baroda, addressing a study circle at Baroda, observed: "It must be recognized that treaties and engagements with Indian Provinces have to be revised as and when the conditions under which they were negotiated undergo a change. It is certainly possible to devise a satisfactory machinery for this purpose."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, presiding over a meeting organised by the sub-committee of the District War Committee at Allahabad, said: "I would rather lay my life down against the aggressors than run away just now from my town in panic like a coward. If we have to die we should die with honour and I would never bend down before the Japanese or leave my house."

15th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a Press interview at Allahabad, said that he had decided to call a meeting of the Congress Committee irrespective of the Cripps' mission and even before Sir Stafford Cripps came out to India. He also said: "The urgency of the occasion demands that the members of the All-India Congress Committee should muster strong at Allahabad. Events have moved so fast and India has been drawn so much under the shadow of war that it was necessary for the A. I. C. C. to meet

and to draw up a co-ordinated solid picture of the situation in our mind not only to ensure a correct mental perspective but also to retain the correct lead for the country at this hour of peril."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview to pressmen at Allahabad, said: "The picture that was given to me of the British War Cabinet's proposals in my first talk with Sir Stafford Cripps on March 25, deteriorated so completely and took such a shape by April 9, that it was clear to me that the proposals were no better than a reshaped and polished version of the August 8 declaration."

Lord Halifax cabled a sum of 600 dollars to the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. He delivered a speech on India at the New York Town Hall. In that speech, Lord Halifax said: "India is at war; her exertions have been voluntary and have been magnificent. Her army has been expanded by voluntary enlistment to about one million men. Further expansion will go on as fast as weapons and equipment become available. It will be the same with the Indian Navy and the Air Force."

Mr. Giani Sher Singh, the Akali leader, in his presidential speech at an Anti-Pakistan Akali Conference held at Amritsar, observed: "Those who think that because we are opposed to Pakistan, therefore, we support a Hindu Raj for India, are sadly mistaken. We want neither a Hindu Raj nor Muslim Raj, nor even a Sikh Raj: what we advocate is a joint rule of all parties and communities guaranteeing safeguards and religious freedom to all the inhabitants of this country."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said: "If all parties agree to the Muslim demand for Pakistan or partition and Muslim right for self-determination, details to be settled after the war, then we are prepared to come to any reasonable adjustment with regard to the present."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated: "The Government of India have decided that wholesale dealers in wheat shall be licensed. In Delhi and probably, elsewhere also it will be necessary for retail dealers to be licensed."

Mr. T. Subramaniam, President of the fifth session of the Mysore State Congress at Nehru Nagar (Bangalore), said that it was essential to keep in view always their objective which was the attainment of responsible government, although, owing to the emergency created by the war, the demand had to be postponed for the time being.

6th. Mr. Rathindranath Tagore denied the statement made by Mrs. Marcia Dodwell at the World Congress of Faiths in London that the Japanese tried to make a Quisling of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. In a statement to the Press, he said: "Nobody could possibly have dared to approach my father with proposals of that sort and he was not approached by any government or agency."

Mr. S. Satyamurti, M. L. A., in a statement in New Delhi, on the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission suggested that Britain should offer to India an interim National Government, including Defence, such as that which functioned in Australia.

Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, replying to a letter addressed to him by Mrs. Hassina Murshed, Parliamentary Secretary to the Government of Bengal, wrote: "It seems to me inevitable that if India is, as I believe she desires, to have full and independent Self-government, the recognition given to the rights of women must be a recognition based on the force of Indian opinion and not on the requirement imposed by His Majesty's Government."

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta, under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, discussed the question of organising a Civil Defence Corps all over the Province for the maintenance of internal peace and security and for carrying on work that would be necessary in connection with the emergency. The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Bengal and Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was also present.

The Government of Madras issued a Press communique, which said: "The Government have examined the facilities and assistance required by the proprietors of hotels in Madras to enable them to continue to meet the needs of their customers. The Government will give the same notice to proprietors and staff of hotels as will be given to essential services in case of an immediate

threat to Madras though employment in a hotel will not be declared an essential service under the relevant ordinance."

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that 40,000 Indians were evacuated from Burma.

Sir Betram Stevens, Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council, addressing Press correspondents at a farewell party in New Delhi, emphasized the vital strategic link between India and Australia.

The statement of the Central Government's monthly accounts showed that, including periodical adjustments and transaction of Railways, and the Posts and Telegraphs Department, expenditure in February exceeded revenue by Rs. 3 crores.

Mr. A. F. W. Dixon, the Dewan of Cochin, inaugurated the construction of the Chalakadi-Anamalais Road, which would link the rich planting districts of the Anamalais with the Cochin Harbour.

The *New Statesman and Nation* (London) commenting on the Indian defence position in the light of the breakdown of the Cripps' negotiations, said the only hopeful tactics would be such as the Chinese adopted and this "could be done only if a National Government, trusted by the people, could light in their hearts the flame of patriotic enthusiasm."

17th. The Secretariat and other offices of the Government of Orissa opened at Sambalpur.

The Organizing Committee, formed under the chairmanship of Dr. K. N. Katju to make arrangements at Allahabad, in connection with the session of the All-India Congress Committee, appointed several sub-committees and co-opted Mr. R. N. Basu, chairman of the Municipal Board, Maulana Shahid Fakhri, Dr. Zahidi and Mr. Abdul Latif as members of the committee.

18th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing the Congress workers of Bengal in Calcutta, observed: "Although India was a subject country she had declared sides long before this war in as much as India expressed her sympathies with what Russia and China stood for, and the Chinese definitely considered the forces represented by Hitler and Japan as dark forces which, if victorious, would lead to a permanent slavery of India."

Swami Sahajananda Saraswati, president of the All India Kishan Sabha, in a statement from Patna, said: "As Japanese aggression is knocking at the gates of India, we cannot but take serious note of it and must gird our loins to meet it as best as we can, irrespective of what the British Government do or do not do."

19th. His Excellency the Governor of Sind, in his message to the Sind Provincial Marketing Board, at Karachi, emphasized the problems of conservation, improvement and distribution of Sind's food supplies.

The *Sunday Observer* (London), in a leading article said: "Sir Stafford Cripps' mission to India rounded off a whole period of the Empire. An offer had been made, the offer has been rejected, the offer still stands, we cannot go back; we cannot stand still, and in war time we can move in only one direction."

The following messages were exchanged between Sir Stafford Cripps and His Excellency the Commander-in-chief India. From Sir Stafford Cripps:—"On leaving India I wish you, your staff, and all the Forces under your command a successful issue out of the troublous times that lie ahead. There will be difficulties and hardships to be borne, but I am confident that the splendid temper of the armed forces under your command, British and Indian alike, will meet whatever comes with high courage and a full sense of their great responsibility for the defence of India.....Good luck to you all"—His Excellency the Commander-in-chief replied as follows:—"Your message will be greatly appreciated by all ranks: of all the there services, we are determined to defend India against aggression and are confident of our ability to do so. Many thanks and happy landings."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* under the caption "That ill-fated proposal": "It is a thousand pities that the British Government should have sent a proposal for dissolving the political dead-lock, which, in the face of it, was too ridiculous to find acceptance anywhere. And it was a misfortune that the bearer should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among Radicals and a friend of India."

20th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a public speech at Camp-

bellpur, made a reference to the failure of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission.—Sir Sikander said that the British war cabinet's offer contained the substance of what Indian political leaders had been asking for a status of virtual independence after the war, the right of India to frame her own constitution through her elected representatives, and the right of self-determination for territorial units. The unwillingness of political leaders to accept the offer was, he said, really due to their unwillingness to shoulder responsibility at the present stage. He was, however, glad that Pandit Jawharlal Nehru had been emphasizing in his public statements the duty of India to resist Japanese aggression.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-premier of Madras, when he spoke at a meeting in Madras, made an appeal to the people of Madras not to give way to panic and fright but to face the situation manfully and with courage.

The Government of Bengal issued three orders under the Defence of India Rules, with a view to regulating the distribution and disposal of certain essential commodities, such as rice, wheat, atta, flour, dal, mustard oil, salt, coal and matches in Calcutta and the neighbouring industrial area during the period of emergency specially after an air raid.

Mr. Kesho Dev Malaviya, in a Congress bulletin, said that according to the instructions of the President of the Indian National Congress, the Allahabad Congress Committee took up the work of making arrangements for holding the meeting of the A. I. C. C. and looking to the comforts of all its members.

1st. General Sir Archibald Wavel, in a broadcast to the Indian people, declared : "Our ultimate victory in the war is beyond all doubt. You have on your side the four toughest and most enduring races of the world. Another assurance I can give you, is of the quality of the troops who depend on India. Let nothing that has happened in Malaya or Burma shake your faith in the fighting powers of the British or Indian soldier."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, addressing a meeting at Dacca, observed : "The war was now at Bengal's frontier and at any moment it could come on Bengal's soil. It was the duty of the Government to protect the people during the war, but they could not do it without the people's whole-hearted co-operation."

Col. Louis Johnson, addressing members of the Press Association in New Delhi, said : "Will you convey to the good people of India the personal greetings and felicitations of the President of the United States and the people of the United States."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad chalked out a comprehensive programme suggesting how the people by their own initiative could deal with a situation which might arise from any hostile action on India.

The Right Hon'ble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in the course of a message to the *Daily Herald*, said : "I am not inclined to regard the failure of the Cripps mission as the last word in the matter. India is pulsating with the desire to fight aggression and this has to be made effective by transferring power to Indian hands. England and America will have before long to discover a fresh formula for this purpose and thus mobilise this nation-wide longing. Many mistakes were made, causing the failure of the Cripps mission.....It will be wise to avoid them when a fresh attempt at reconciliation is made."

2nd. Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking at a Press Conference in London, said that he did not regard the problem of India as insoluble during the war. But, Sir Stafford added, the approach would have to be made by Indians themselves..... It was impossible to frame a new constitution now. The immediate problem was one of defence of the country. "Indian leaders", he said, "will extend themselves in order to do anything they can to assist in an unofficial capacity the defence of India." He thought that his mission had impressed the Indian people and others with the sincerity of outlook of the British people and Government.

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, at his first Press Conference in New Delhi, said : "The sending of the American Technical Mission is further evidence of the realization in my own United States and in the United Nations that this is one war, a world-wide war, and not a European war with an Asiatic side-show."

Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister for Civil Defence Co-ordination, Bengal, addressing a public meeting at Midnapore, said : "Emergency measures in war time are dictated by military necessity for frustrating the plans of the enemy." Kumar Dehendra Lal Khan, M.L.A., presided.

The Government of Bengal issued an order prohibiting the taking out of

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Calcutta and the industrial area of food-stuffs and other necessaries of life such as rice, atna, wheat flour, oil, mustard oil, salt, coke and matches, without a permit issued by the chief controller of prices.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, said: "We must at least do everything in our power to bring reasonable Hindus and Muslims to work unitedly for the period of the war. If, Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah can and will meet for this united purpose, keeping bigger questions aside for the present, I think there will be a psychological revolution in the country."

23rd. A Press Communique announced in Madras, "that since the immediate threat to Madras city mentioned in the Government Communique of April 11, has now disappeared, the Government of Madras have decided to bring back the essential portions of their Secretariat and most of the other offices of the City of Madras."

"Yugantar", a Bengali daily, was directed by the Government of Bengal under the Defence of India Rules to suspend further publication, sale or distribution of the paper.

The "Prestige", a vernacular daily of Lahore, suspended publication, following the orders of the Punjab Government directing the paper to submit to the special Press Adviser, Lahore at his office between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m.

Rao Bahadur M. G. Rajah, M.L.A., in a statement to the Press, expressing his views on the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps said: "The proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps placed before us, as settled facts, if accepted by us, would undoubtedly place us under the yoke of our oppressors and blood and tears would be our lot for ever."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, speaking at a meeting in Vepary, Madras, declared that if the Japanese made the mistake of invading India, they would find their entire strength swallowed up, they would meet with certain defeat and that would be their end.

A Gazette of India extraordinary announced that after April 30, "no producer of sugar shall dispose of, or agree to dispose of, any sugar except (1) to a recognized dealer or (2) to a person specially authorized by the controller to acquire sugar on behalf of the Central Government or of a Provincial Government."

Sir Stafford Cripps resumed his position as Leader of the House of Commons. He announced that he would make a statement on his mission to India shortly and this would be followed by a debate. He added, "At the end of the debate we should ask the House to agree to a motion for the continuance in force of the proclamation made under the Government of India Act."

Sir Frederick Whyte, a former President of the Indian Legislative Assembly, stated in London: "It is a fashion to call the Cripps Mission a failure, but it is truer to say that though it had no success it was not by any means barren. The Assam Government issued a communique regarding the shortage of certain foodstuffs in the province and the rise in the prices of commodities. The communique said that both in Shillong and in the districts, Government and its officers are kept in close touch with the situation. The Governor also had a conference at Shillong, with representatives of merchants, municipal authorities, the officials concerned and representative house-holders."

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, at a meeting of Hindus and Muslims at Srirampur, Dacca, made an appeal for communal harmony. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, Bengal Ministers, also addressed the meeting.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, in a Press Conference in New Delhi, said: "With the knowledge that I have of the genesis and the scope of this Technical Mission I can state unequivocally that it is not the purpose of the Technical Mission to help American industrialists to build up factories in India."

Col. Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's envoy, in a broadcast from Delhi, said: "There is no goal for us and for you except victory. And in that victory may I say on behalf of the President that we propose to bring to the problems of the eventual peace no less than to the battle-grounds of the immediate war, our aroused conscience, our highest resolves, loftiest ideals."

A Bombay Government Press communique said: "Suspension of the publication of the 'Bombay Sentinel' for 30 days from April 22 has been ordered by

the Bombay Government. This action follows the publication in the newspaper of an offending article."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal to Hindus (from Bombay) to follow the lead of the Hindu Mahasabha and "deprive the Congress altogether of its representative character" and strong criticism of the Congress working committee's resolution on the Cripps' proposals.

An urgent meeting of the Press Advisory Committee was held in the *Hindusthan Times* office, in New Delhi, to consider the situation arising out of the ban on the publication of the *Bombay Sentinel*, Bombay, the *Yugantar* (Bengali daily conducted in conjunction with the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in Calcutta) and the action taken by the Punjab Government against the *Pratap*, an India daily of Lahore.—The meeting adopted a resolution which stated *inter alia* : "This meeting considers that the decision of these Provincial Governments (Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab) constitutes a violation of the spirit of the agreement which has so far governed the relations between the authorities and the Press and recommends to the President of the standing committee to summon an emergency meeting of the standing committee to review the situation and meanwhile to take prompt steps in conjunction with the Provincial Press Advisory Committees concerned to get into touch with the Provincial Governments responsible for these decisions and safeguard the interests of the Press in those Provinces":

Mr. M. S.aney, Overseas Member of the Government of India in an interview to the Press in Calcutta, said : "There is no road now confined to Europeans as such, nor is there any camp confined to exclusive use of Europeans and Anglo-Indians.

The Madras Congress Legislative Party at its meeting in Madras, passed a resolution recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Moslem League's claim for separation should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing the future constitution of India, and to invite the Moslem League for consultation for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, leader of the Party presided.—The resolution was moved from the chair.

24th. Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, in a signed statement addressed to the various Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, expressed the hope that employers and supervisors of labour would do everything in their power to instil into their workers a spirit of courage and resolution.

Mr. Kiron Sankar Roy, Leader of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party in a statement to the Press, expressed surprise at the resolution passed by the Madras Congress Legislative Party recommending to the All-India Congress Committee to acknowledge the Moslem League's claim for separation.

Mr. F. W. A. Morris, Civil Defence Commissioner, Madras, prepared a scheme for the supply of cooked food to the people of Madras, particularly to employees of firms of the city.

A Press Note from New Delhi stated that His Majesty the King approved the promotion of His Highness the Maharaj Jam Sahib of Nawangar to the honorary rank of Colonel, Maharajkumar Amarjit Singh, C.I.E., of Kapurthala, to the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and His Highness the Maharaja of Panna to the honorary rank of Major in the Army with effect from April 3, 1942.—His Majesty granted from the same date the honorary rank of Captain to His Highness the Raja of Suket and the honorary rank of Lieutenant to His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

A Press Note from New Delhi said that His Majesty the King approved the promotion of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to the honorary rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan, President of the All-India Moslem League Defence Committee, in a statement from Lucknow, said that the principal object of the Committee was made clear in the statement of the President of the All-India Moslem League from Delhi, to allay panic and to assist suffering humanity, irrespective of caste or creed.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, in a statement to the Press, said : "On behalf of the gallant people of the Punjab—the Sword Arm of India—I warmly reciprocate the sentiments expressed by Col. Johnson and request him to convey to President Roosevelt and the great and freedom loving people of the United States our cordial greetings and unshakable determination to stand by the united nations, undeterred by temporary vicissitudes.....and an unflinching faith in our final victory."

25th. By an amendment of the Defence of India Rules, it was announced that: "If, in the opinion of the Central Government or the Provincial Government, it is necessary or expedient so to do, for securing the defence of British India, public safety, the maintenance of public order or the efficient prosecution of the war, or for maintaining supplies and services essential to the life of the community, that the Government may, by order in writing, requisition any property, movable or immovable, and may make such further orders as appears to that Government to be necessary or expedient in connection with the requisitioning: provided that no property used for the purpose of religious worship and no property as is referred to in Rule 66 or in Rule 72 shall be requisitioned under this Rule."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, issued a statement on the resolution passed by the Madras Congress Legislative Party: "It greatly astonished and pained me that a man like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, inspite of his being a member of the Congress Working Committee, should have adopted an attitude. I am in communication with him. I would assure you that any personal relationship, howsoever dear to me, cannot deter me for a moment from discharging my duty as a President of the Congress. I may point out in this connection that in the Congress organisation only the Provincial Congress Committee is the competent body to represent provincial views—not the Congress Legislative Party. Despite this fact, the party itself was not fully represented in the meeting.....It clearly shows that it would be wrong to attribute the decision to the majority of the Congress of the province."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference in Calcutta, observed: "We are going to make no approach to the British Government and we shall face our problems and perils with such endurance and wisdom as we may possess."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in the course of an interview with the United Press Association of America, said that Col. Louis Johnson's New Delhi statements, giving reasons for the despatching of the Technical Mission and troops by America to India, "came at an appropriate time" and that they were very reassuring to the Indian people, eliminating the possibility of misunderstanding. India appreciated the "friendly interest" of the United States in the Indian problems.

26th. Mahatma Gandhi, in reply to the question, "If the Japanese really mean what they say and are willing to help to free India from the British yoke, why should we not willingly accept their help?" declared: "It is folly to suppose that aggressors can ever be benefactors. The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only to put in their own instead. I have always maintained that we should not seek any other power's help to free India from the British yoke."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in an interview at Allahabad, amplifying his criticism of the resolutions adopted by the Congress Legislative Party, pointed out that the resolutions were objectionable for two reasons: first, Mr. Rajagopalachari as a member of the Congress working committee should have waited till he had an opportunity to place before his colleagues in the working committee any fresh new material in his possession which he thought recuscitated the decision contained in the resolution. Mr. Rajagopalachari would not have had long to wait as the working committee was meeting within three or four days of the Madras Legislative Party's decision.

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, in an interview at Nainital, said: "Sir Stafford Cripps' picture of what he called the net results of his mission was typical diplomatic subterfuge. It had a deceptive ring of self-abnegation and magnanimity about it."

The President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce issued a statement, which observed *inter alia*: "We have been assured during our discussions that there is no question of any trade or tariff concessions being demanded for the U. S. A. in India in the post-war period as a price of American collaborations."

27th. Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru (a member of Council of State) and Mr. A. M. Dain M.L.A., member of the Central Standing Evacuation Committee, issued a joint statement to the Press giving their impressions of a visit to Assam to see the arrangements for Indian evacuees from Burma. Along with Mr. Aney, Member-in-charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, they visited Dimapur, Imphal (Manipur) Wanjing, Palel and other places and had discussions

with evacuees and with officials and non-officials. They then went to Shillong and discussed problems affecting the evacuees with the Governor and other officials.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty, head of the Indian Purchasing Mission, in a broadcast talk from Delhi, said: "Though every member of the United Nation is putting forth his utmost effort in the titanic struggle, the world looks to America in a special degree for material assistance. The unique machinery of Lend-Lease is the bold and unconventional symbol of America's determination to render all-out aid to the Democracies of the world in their great hour of trial."

The death occurred at Karachi of Sir Abdulla Haroon, M.L.A., (Central), as the result of heart failure.

The Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President was in the Chair.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when his attention was drawn to the order of the Bengal Government prohibiting the publication of "*Yugantar*" and suspension of other newspapers by the respective Provincial Governments, observed: "This kind of suppression of newspapers seems to me monstrous, and even from the military point of view undesirable."

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Vice-President, All-India States Peoples' Conference, in a statement on the arrest of certain State Congress members in Travancore, said: "It is deeply to be regretted that Travancore, of all States in India, should at this juncture have adopted measures by which two distinguished citizens like Mr. Pattam Thambu Pillai, President, State Congress, and Mr. Ramachandran happen to be arrested for disobedience of prohibitory orders in respect of a certain public meetings."

8th. Sir Stafford Cripps made a statement in the House of Commons on his mission to India. A full-dress debate followed. Sir Stafford Cripps said that the moment of his visit was difficult because of the imminent approach of the enemy to India's shores, because an atmosphere of defeatism was showing in certain sections of Indian opinion owing to events in the Far East and because communal differences over India's future Government had come more definitely crystallized. The British Government's hope was to use these very difficulties to bring together all Indian Leaders for the double purpose of solving India's future and reinforcing her defence against the foreign invader. Sir Stafford declared: "upon the fundamental and vital points of Indian self-Government and self-determination of their future constitution, there was no single case of disagreement. Disagreement came upon the way in which self-determination should be exercised."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in winding up the debate on India, in the House of Commons, declared that the primary object of the Cripps' mission was to remove all doubts as to the sincerity of the British Government's purpose. He said: "The main object of the Draft Declarations was to set India's suspicions as to our intentions at rest. Our ideal remains a United All-India."

The Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, told pressmen that one of the subjects considered was Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's position in respect of the Madras Congress Legislative party's resolutions. The Congress President said that he first gave the committee his comments on Mr. Rajagopalachari's action and then Mr. Rajagopalachari explained his position. The discussion was mainly from the personal angle without reference to the specific terms of the resolutions.—The Maulana said that in conformity with past practice, the A. I. C. C. would be called upon formally to endorse the Working Committee's decisions on the Cripps' proposals.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal from Bombay to the Hindus and to all Hindu Mahasabha organizations to observe May 10, as "Anti-Pakistan Day" and "Independence Day". Mr. Savarkar said: Independence of Hindustan implies inevitably in itself the oneness and the indivisibility of Hindustan as a nation and a State."

5th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in opening the session of the All-India Congress Committee at Allahabad, said: "If any Indian says that we should welcome the Japanese, then all that I can say is that his mentality is a slave's mentality which can think only in terms of a change of

masters and never in terms of his own freedom. Our differences with Britain should not drive us to welcoming the Japanese or any other aggressor. We will not tolerate any aggressor though he says that he is coming to give us freedom.

The Congress President, after recapitulating his interviews with Sir Stafford Cripps, said that Sir Stafford had emphasized at Karachi and on his return to London that the initiative in dealing with the Indian situation would not now come from the British Government. "But I want to make it plain that no further initiative will be taken from the Congress side either."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved that "the All-India Congress Committee having considered the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals of the British Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps and the correspondence between him and the Congress President, endorses and approves the decision of the Working Committee."—The resolution when put to vote was passed with one member dissenting.

The Bengal Ministry decided to set up an organization to be known as the Bengal Home Guards throughout the rural areas of the province.

Mr. Hem Chandra Naskar, M.L.A. was elected Mayor of Calcutta for 1942-43 in succession to Mr. P. N. Brahma.

The Duke of Devonshire, Under-secretary of State for India, opening the debate on India in the House of Lords, declared that the main object of the Draft Declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India was to overcome Indian suspicion that the British desire for a prior agreement among Indian politicians was a device to postpone Indian Self-Government. "I believe we have achieved a very valuable result in this direction."—The Lord Chancellor, winding up the debate said: "We will strain every nerve, as the Viceroy does, to make the best arrangements Indians desire for this constitution-making body. Nothing can be plainer from the Government plan than that it is not proposed and is not thought to be possible to make constitutional changes in the Government of India during the war."

30th: It was announced from Allahabad, that Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar resigned from the Working Committee of the Congress and the President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad regretfully accepted the resignation.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, hoisting the Congress flag on the All-India Congress Committee pandal grounds at Allahabad, observed: "Some aggressor nations have designs to fly their flags on our soil but we will prevent that even at the cost of our lives."

The All-India Congress Committee resumed its session at Allahabad:—Mr. Satyamurti, President of the Indian Overseas Association, moved the resolution criticising the arrangements made for Indian evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma. The resolution was passed unanimously.

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The All-India Congress Committee passed a resolution on war, stating *inter alia*: "The present crisis as well as the experience of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in a partial manner British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety and world peace demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations."—A policy of non-violent non-co-operation in resisting the invader was strongly recommended and people were advised to work out the Congress constructive programme, and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

The All-India Congress Committee concluded its session at Allahabad after rejecting Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's resolution acknowledging the Muslim League's claims for Pakistan and passed Mr. Jagatnarainlal's

counter-resolution opposing any proposal to disintegrate India.—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his concluding speech, said that Pakistan was against the spirit of Islam and in this connexion criticised the procedure adopted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

Sir Stafford Cripps in a broadcast speech stated: "The British Government have finally and fully made clear their intention that India should have complete freedom and self-Government the moment the war is over and as soon as the Indians can themselves frame a new constitution."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons, regarding the censoring in India of a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Amery replied that the Government of India confined their prohibition to one resolution and part of the second, on the ground that some parts of the said resolutions were based on "unverified rumours or misrepresented facts."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement to the Press, referred to the reply given by the Secretary of State for India with regard to the banned resolutions and said that if the Government would be prepared to let him know which parts of the resolutions were based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts and convinced him that the information in their possession was incorrect, he would unhesitatingly express regret on behalf of the Working Committee and withdraw the resolutions.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sanctioned a scheme of reforms for the State Army with a view to improving the status of officers and men of other ranks.

The All-India Students' Federation issued a statement in which it was stated: "We demand the removal of all restrictions on student politicals, because every anti-Fascist fighter is urgently needed at this most critical time to rouse the people of India to a consciousness of their danger."

At the second open session of the All-India Students' Federation in New Delhi, resolutions urging the people of India to rally to the defence of the country were passed.—A message from the Chittagong Armoury Raid prisoners was read out.

A new Ordinance gave the Provincial Governments power to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area for certain offences affecting the efficient prosecution of war.

Sj. Mahadev Desai, writing on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi, regarding the Hur menace in Sind, said: "It is no use defending the Congress or the Congress leaders.....They must take courage in both hands and defend themselves with whatever they can muster."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee, wrote: "Sri Rajagopalachari wants a Congress-League settlement on the basis of Pakistan to get British consent to the establishment of a National Government.....Is it a fact, whenever the Congress and the League have presented a joint demand, the Government has yielded?"

At an emergency meeting of the Madras Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, it was resolved to constitute a propaganda Committee to organize "effective" opposition to the move initiated by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

At the annual conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in London, a resolution was passed proposing that negotiations should be immediately reopened with the Indian National Congress for the formation of a representative National Government.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore, in a letter to President Roosevelt, suggested that United States should intervene and arbitrate in the differences between India and England along with the Governments of China and U. S. S. R.

1st. The All-India Congress Committee passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution on war.—The resolution stated *inter alia* : "In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India and the attitude of the British Government as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All-India Congress Committee has to declare afresh India's policy and advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future....."

"The A. I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis as well as experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain even in partial measure British control and authority in India. Not only the interest of India but also Britain's safety and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations....."

"The success of such a policy of non-cooperation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad seconded the resolution declared that the veil has been torn away from the face of British imperialism by the Cripps' proposals. Furthermore, in the proposals, the representation in the Constituent Assembly from the States was not to be on the basis of election. "We were against aggression on any nation."

2nd. The A. I. C. C. concluded its session after rejecting by 120 votes against 15 Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's resolution acknowledging the Muslim League's claim to separation and passing by 92 votes to 17, Mr. Jagatnath Lal's counter resolution opposing any proposal to disintegrate India.—Mr. Rajagopalachari moving his resolution said that Congress should not fear any accretion of strength to the Moslem League, but welcome it, as it would strengthen the Nation. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in his concluding speech said that Pakistan was against the spirit of Islam and criticized the procedure adopted by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in this regard.

Mr. C. P. Lawson, presiding over the annual general meeting of the Calcutta Branch of the European Association, in Calcutta, dealt with the war situation and the proposals brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps. Referring to the war situation, Mr. Lawson said that the time had come to get rid of the "scuttle complex" and to make it clear that "we had jobs to do in Calcutta and intended to stay in Calcutta."

A Government of Assam resolution on the report of the Department of Industries, Assam, for 1940-41, stated that the activities of the Department were as before, directed mainly towards improving handloom, weaving, and sericulture and imparting and encouraging technical and industrial education among the youths of the province.

The Government of India's scheme for the issue of identity discs for the civil population was accepted by a number of provinces.

3rd. Mr. S. Satyamurti, M.L.A., (Central) addressing a public meeting in New Delhi, made a stirring appeal to the people of the country not to bend their knees before the Japanese aggressor, not to betray the country, but to give a good account of themselves and offer non-violent non-co-operation to the aggressor.

Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in a broadcast speech from London, stated *inter alia* : "The British Government have finally and fully made clear their intention that India should have complete freedom and self-government

the moment the war is over and as soon as the Indians can themselves frame a new constitution. This is really a big thing. We have made clear to the world what I am sure is the desire of everyone.

- 4th. At a conference between the members of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the American Technical Mission in Calcutta, the scope of the assistance which America could extend to Indian industries engaged in the production of war materials was discussed.

Sir Andrew Clow was sworn in as Governor of Assam at the Durbar Hall of Government House, Shillong. The Hon'ble Mr. Justice McNair administered the oaths of office and allegiance.

Sir Aziz-ul-Huq, the High Commissioner of India, speaking in London, said : "Let no one suppose that the failure of the Cripps' motion means any slackening of the war effort or any weakening of our war attitude. All Indian parties condemn Nazism."

Mr. Chu Chiu-Hua, Vice-President of the Sino-Indian Cultural Institute, in a letter addressed to the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, conveyed the gratefulness of the Chinese people to the Congress and the Indians as a whole for the warm reception given to their leader Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek when he visited India and expressed the confidence that jointly the Chinese and the Indians would be able to defeat their common enemy and to realise their ideal of a righteous and free world.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, expressed dissatisfaction with the policy of the Congress, since, without a National Front symbolised in a National Government, it would be impossible to meet the emergency, and a National Government, he made it clear, meant primarily a settlement with the Muslim League.

- th. Lt. Col. Sir Henry Gidney, member of the Central Legislative Assembly died in New Delhi. He was the Anglo-Indian leader and member of the Central Legislative Assembly.

Certain claims put forward by Indians in respect of their losses in Burma were placed before Mr. M. S. Aney by Mr. Amritlal Seth, President, Far East Indian Association Bombay in an interview with the Overseas Member.

The Government of Madras in reviewing the report of the Director of Public Instruction for 1941-42, stated : "During the year, there was further slight fall in the total number of public institutions, due mainly to the closure of elementary schools which are inefficient according to the standards of the Educational Department."

Mr. Asaf Ali, member of the Congress Working Committee, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "His (Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's) analysis of the motive for a Congress-League understanding is unexceptionable, if this understanding aims at unity of purpose in the face of a grave emergency which confronts the country as a whole."

- th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement on the Allahabad resolution repudiating the Pakistan scheme, observed : "Anyhow to do a good thing even under pressure is a saving virtue, and I can only hope the Congress would stick to this resolution and stand by the integrity of the Indian State and Nation henceforth through thick and thin."

- th. His Excellency the Viceroy in a broadcast speech from New Delhi, said : "We must achieve unity and action and we must combine them in a spirit of attack. Passive defence or masterly withdrawal, forced on us as they are at times, do not win wars. Let us attack our work, attack the rumour-monger, attack the defeatist. We must make our front an attacking front, and think always in terms of the offensive."

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, was questioned in the House of Commons, regarding the censoring in India of a resolution passed by the Congress Working Committee. Mr. Amery said, *inter alia*, "The Government of India confined their prohibition to one resolution and part of the second."

Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Liberal leader, in a statement from Bombay, said : "To refuse to co-operate actively with the British Government in defending the country when the enemy is at our door is absolutely suicidal."

- th. The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement to the

Press, referred to the reply given by Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, with regard to the banned resolutions of the Congress Working Committee.—Mr. Azad said that if the government would be prepared to let him know what parts of the resolutions were based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts and convinced him that the information in their possession was incorrect, he would unhesitatingly express regret on behalf of the Working Committee and withdraw the resolutions.—The Maulana, however, affirmed with the fullest sense of responsibility that not a single phrase of the resolutions was either based on unverified rumours or misrepresented facts.

- 9th. The co-operation of the Hindu Mahasabha in connexion with the Bengal Government's Home Guard Scheme, was assured at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha held in Calcutta. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Bengal, and Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, presided.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in an interview in Calcutta, said: "From the national Hindu point of view the move of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari is most humiliating and no better way could have been conceived for bringing about the defeat of the object he may have had in mind."

Mian Iftikharuddin, President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, at a Press Conference at Lahore, said: "The best way to work for unity is by conceding the right of secession. Mr. Rajagopalachari's move, therefore, instead of being a Pakistan move, is actually the most effective unity of Indian move."

- 10th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a speech in Madras, said: "We must forge a National Front, wrest a truly National Government for India and mobilize the millions for patriotic defence."

Determination of the Hindus to resist Pakistan at all costs was voiced by speakers at a meeting at Chaupatty (Bombay) under the presidency of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, also addressed the meeting which was held to observe the "anti-Pakistan day and the Independence day."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister of Bengal, presiding over a meeting in observance of anti-Pakistan day, said: "The concept of Indian unity and integrity is so vital and sacred to us that it can never admit of any compromise and it can well justify any sacrifice on the part of the Indian people."

- 11th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, released to the Press some messages which passed between him and Mr. Allama Mashraqui. Mr. Jinnah appealed to Khaksars to join and support wholeheartedly the League policy.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir sanctioned a scheme of reforms for the State Army with a view to improving the status of officers and ameliorating the lot of all other ranks.

- 2th. "The Government of India have decided not to pursue, at any rate for the time being, their suggestion that, in view of the emergency situation now developing, Governments should be free from the obligation to consult their Advisory Committees in individual cases."—This assurance was conveyed in a letter, dated May 11, "from the Home Department of Government of India to the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference."

- 3th. A statement was issued by the All-India Students' Federation, which stated *inter alia*: "Politically throughout our country there is indifference to the great issues at stake. There is little desire to co-operate with the existing Government.....We demand the release of student politicals, we demand the removal of all restrictions on student workers because every anti-Fascist fighter is urgently needed at this most critical time to rouse the people of India to a consciousness of their danger."

Speeches demanding the release of anti-Fascist political prisoners were made at a public meeting held under the auspices of the Bengal Students' Federation in Calcutta. Mr. Satyendranath Majumder presided.

A new Ordinance gave the Provincial Governments power to impose a collective fine on the inhabitants of any area for certain offences affecting the efficient prosecution of war.

The Government of Sind issued orders under the Arms Act and under the

Defence of India Rules suspending all gun, rifle and revolver licenses held by individual non-officials in the four talukas of Shahdadpur, Sinjboro, Sanghar and Kleipro and directing their surrender at police stations before May 17.

Pir Illahi Buksh, the Education Minister of Sind, in the course of a statement at Karachi, said : "I believe that Pakistan is not practicable but I think that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's views to patch up differences between the two major organizations may be tried to achieve the ultimate object of freedom which is the final goal of every Indian."

14th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, sent a reply to the message of goodwill by the Islamic National Salvation Federation of China, sent through its representative, Mr. Othman K. H. Woo. In the course of his letter, the Maulana said: that it was an occasion of the utmost pleasure to have met Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a gathering in Madras, said that between the Congress Working Committee and himself it was a matter of difference of opinion and ~~not of~~ difference in action.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramiah delivered an address at Masulipatam, in the course of which he referred to the panic created as a result of the war approaching India and evacuation from various towns and cities and observed that self-sufficiency and self-help should be the motto and people should lose no opportunity of helping each other. Peace brigades should be formed everywhere to protect the property and lives of citizens with arrangements for first aid in case of accidents.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressing a public meeting at Muzaffarpur, enunciated the duties and responsibilities of Indians in general and Congressmen in particular in the event of any aggression.

15th. Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Food Production Committee of the Government of Bengal, stressed the value of the "Grow More Food" in relation to the emergency.

16th. A Press Communique issued at Madras stated : "His Excellency the Viceroy has paid a visit to Madras, in the course of a tour which he has just concluded. Its purpose was to permit His Excellency to acquaint himself more fully with the places and organisation of military and civil defence measures in the City and Presidency, and to stimulate both official and non-official efforts to unite the people in a common determination against any aggression."

The Government of India issued a Newspaper Control Order, effecting a further reduction in the maximum number of pages of newspapers.—This became necessary, in view of the worsening of the shipping situation and the need for enforcing the most rigid economy in the consumption of newspaper.

The National War Front was inaugurated in Bombay, at a public meeting at which Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, in an address, explained the objects of the front and outlined its activities.

A communique from New Delhi said : "In view of the present war situation it is becoming increasingly necessary to augment the existing supplies of motor spirit by the domestic production of rectified spirit and power alcohol from surplus molasses.

17th. At the second open session of the All India Students' Federation held in New Delhi, resolutions urging the people of India to rally to the defence of the country were passed. Sardar Eohan Singh Josh was among those who addressed the conference and a message from the Chittagong armoury raid prisoners was read out.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Moslem League, in a statement issued to the Press, emphasized the need for organizing at least one corps of Moslem National Guards in each village of the province.

Sir Stafford Cripps, speaking at Bristol, said he was convinced that the offer to India was full, frank and complete offer of independence as soon as the end of hostilities made a new constitution possible.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a message to the North Arcot District Youths' Conference, said : "India will lose nothing if she gives the uttermost freedom to the Mussalman areas even as the British Empire has not lost anything by giving the Westminster Statute to her Colonies".

18th. The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, in a letter addressed to prominent members of different political organizations in Bengal, requesting them to attend a meeting in Calcutta, observed: "In this crisis, our first duty is to unite for the promotion of better relations among the communities and the protection of life and property of the people."

A Press Note from New Delhi said: "The Government of India were recently addressed by the Indian Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, on the necessity for conserving food-grain supplies in this country."

Mr. Mahadev Desai, writing on behalf of Mahatma Gandhi, said regarding the Hur menace in Sind: "It is no use depending on the Congress or the Congress Leaders. They must take courage in both hands and defend themselves with whatever they can muster."

19th. Sir K. Nazimuddin, interviewed in Madras, regarding the resolution of the Madras Congress Legislative Party, said: "Personally, I think the move is in the right direction and, in my opinion, is the only way to bring about Hindu-Moslem Unity, specially at this critical time when India is faced with grave danger of foreign aggression."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting at Tanjore, explained his proposal for a Congress-League rapprochement.—Mr. Rajagopalachari said India had been made a belligerent unarmed as she was. If in spite of their differences with Britain, the Indians died in the defence of their motherland, that would be the greatest indictment of the British rule and a glory to India. It would hasten the advent of Swaraj."

20th. Mr. M. N. Roy issued a statement to the Press: "Sir Stafford Cripps' declaration in the House of Commons, that the offer of a substantial transfer of power to an Indian National Government, with which he came to India is withdrawn, because the Congress leaders refuse to accept it is an affront to democracy."

At a meeting of the leading citizens of Calcutta, under the presidentship of the Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad, ways and means for the establishment of communal amity between the different communities in Bengal during the crisis was discussed.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement, said: "I appeal most earnestly to the public in general and to drugs and chemical manufacturers in particular for donation in cash and gifts in medicines and medical equipments for people in Assam."

Mr. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee wrote: "Sri Rajagopalachari wants a Congress-League settlement on the basis of Pakistan to get British consent to the establishment of a National Government. He is convinced that if the unreasonable demand (he considers it perverse and childish) of Pakistan is conceded, the League will join the Congress for the demand of a National Government. As soon as this is done the British Government will yield. Is this view correct? Has it any historical basis? Is it a fact, whenever the Congress and the League have presented a joint demand, the Government has yielded?"

21st. The American Technical Mission, headed by Dr. Henry Grady, which spent in India about five weeks investigating India's war production, cabled to Washington some 35 specific recommendations.

The Governor of Bengal assented to the Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Bill and the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy (Temporary Provisions) Extending Bill passed during the last session of the Bengal Legislature.

The soundness of the financial position of the Government of India was emphasised by Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in an interview with Press representatives in Calcutta.

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, in the course of a statement at Bhagalpur, drew attention to the shortage in salt apprehended at almost every place that he had visited in the course of his tour and said that unless immediate steps were taken, it might cause great hardship and suffering to the people, particularly to the poor who, very often, have to depend only on salt, to enable them to gulp the coarse food they could somehow manage to get.

22nd. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, at a Press Conference at Lahore, said: "The

crisis which affects our country today is likely to impart a new tinge to the communal problem and give rise to a new approach for its solution."

The Government of Orissa issued a communique further clarifying the Government policy in regard to the expediency of exporting surplus stocks of rice in the coastal districts of the province following a number of articles and statements that appeared in the local Press on the subject.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Lahore, said : "The step taken by Mr. Rajagopalachari is detrimental to the interests of our country. It appears to me that he is breaking to pieces the weapon which the Congress has fashioned after 22 years of innumerable sacrifices."

The Governor of Sind, in the course of an appeal said : "As Governor of Sind, with the full support of and agreement with my Ministers, I think it necessary to issue the following message to the Zamindars of Sind and especially to the Zamindars of those areas in which the Hurs are committing abominable crimes. This message is an appeal to you. It is also a solemn warning."

The Government of India issued a food grains control order under which all persons, other than the producers of food grains, engaged in any undertaking which involved the purchase, sale or storage for sale in wholesale quantities (i.e. quantities exceeding 20 maunds in any one transaction) of any of the specified food grains would be required to apply to the Provincial Government for a licence.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, presiding at a meeting of the International Fellowship Centre of Hyderabad, said : "I am not at all worried about the Hindu-Moslem question because I know that with all the drum beats, with all the headlines in the newspapers and with all forms of the wrong kind of speeches that are being made on either side, things are shaping themselves very well."

1. A Press Note said : "The Government of India have reason to believe that a practice is growing up in New Delhi that landlords in leasing houses at the fair rent take from prospective tenants, before agreeing to the lease, lumpsum payments in cash in excess of the prescribed rent, for which no receipt is given."

At an emergency meeting of the working committee of the Madras Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, it was resolved to constitute a propaganda committee to organize "effective" opposition to the move initiated by Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

2. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption, "Lawlessness in Sind" : "The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Bahadur Alla Bux and his fellow Ministers to resign. These should form a peace brigade and fearlessly settle down among the Hurs and risk their lives in persuading their erring countrymen to desist from the crimes."

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan* re : Cripps' Mission : "Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. If he had done so probably the party they entrusted with responsibility would have succeeded in having the co-operation of the other party. In any event, the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of either party rather than having their own nominees."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement in reply to Pandit Nehru, said : "He says that Congress has been fashioned into a weapon of great potency as the result of twenty two years of innumerable sacrifices. This is quite true, but is it not all the more a tragedy that in this supreme crisis, Congress must watch things as a spectator."

Mr. Yusuf Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, in a speech at Poona, said that the Moslem League had not so far put forth its definite scheme for Pakistan only because they knew too well that it would be rejected the moment it was announced."

3. At the annual conference of the Communist Party of Great Britain in London, a resolution was passed proposing that negotiations should be immediately reopened with the Indian National Congress for the formation of a representative National Government "with full powers which could enjoy the confidence of the Indian people and mobilise them for active defence in co-operation with the United Nations."

The Anti-Fascist Conference after drawing up a six-point programme for the people of India in order that they should organize themselves against aggression, was concluded at Nagpur. Mr. K. M. Ashraf of Allahabad presided. The conference was largely attended by, among others, students and kisans.

The services rendered by the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee to the cause of University education in Bengal, were recalled on the occasion of the 18th anniversary of his death in Calcutta.

A Press Note from New Delhi said that a representation was made to the Government of India in connexion with the Revised Newspaper Control Order (1942) which was due to come into force on June, 1942.

A Press Note said: In connexion with the food production drive inaugurated by the Government of India, the question was raised whether the position of the cultivator might not be seriously affected if a nation-wide effort towards increased food production lead to such an augmentation of output as to affect the saleability of the crops. The Government of India regarded the possibility of any such developments as remote.

The Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee was held at Bezwada. Mr. T. Prakasam presided. It expressed full agreement with the All-India Congress Committee resolutions passed at Allahabad. The Committee heartily approved of the proposals of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, for bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity and trusted that steps had already been taken in this behalf.

26th. A communique issued from New Delhi, said: "His Majesty the King has approved of the extension for six months of the term of office of Sir Roger Lumley, as Governor of Bombay.

The Indian Agent-General, Sir G. S. Bajpai conferred briefly with President Roosevelt. Sir G. S. Bajpai told the Press that they exchanged views on matters of common interest. He said he had seen press reports that Pandit Nehru might come to Washington for discussion with President Roosevelt, but had no confirmation of this.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message to the civil servants in India. His Excellency said *inter alia*: "Victory is assured, our single minded endeavour now can bring the day of victory nearer. There is work enough for each one of you today."

b. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, addressing a meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party in Calcutta, appealed to members to take steps to allay panic and create a spirit of resistance among the people. The Government scheme regarding the formation of Home Guards was also discussed.

The Government of India issued orders prohibiting all future contracts, in wheat and gram.

A message of fraternal greetings to the people of India, and especially the workers represented by the All-India Trade Union Congress, was handed over by a delegation of the National Maritime Union of America to Mr. N. M. Joshi, M.L.A. (Central), General Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, in a statement on the Pakistan scheme, observed: "Though the Congress is a national organization by reason of its aims, objects and policies, it advocates an open door for all communities to join its ranks, it does not command the allegiance of all the denominational communities. It cannot purchase the good-will of one community at the expense of another, by conceding what is not generally accepted and what it itself consider wrong, mischievous, inspired by its enemies and repudiates all its aims, its historical past, its struggles and sufferings."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, at a meeting at Monghyr, said: "Congressmen at Monghyr who have taken an active part in forming Evacuees' Relief Committee have my entire support."

th. Sir Andrew Clow, Governor of Assam, in a talk on "National War Front" broadcast from Calcutta, emphasized the need for cultivating the spirit of the soldier, which meant discipline, unity, comradeship and chivalry."

The formation of a "national volunteer organization" was advocated by the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislature at its resumed sitting in the Bengal Legislative Assembly building in Calcutta. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, leader of the party, presided.

The services rendered to the Hindu Mahasabha movement by Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the president of the Mahasabha, were recalled at a public meeting in Calcutta. Mr. N. C. Chatterjee presided.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, welcoming the new High Commissioner for India, Sir Aziz-ul-Huq at a reception in London, said that there was still an atmosphere of great suspicion in India. Mr. Amery said, "I

Sir Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore was appointed as the Prime Minister of Jaipur State.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a speech to the Oxford Union, referred to India and said: "Our aim publicly declared and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions.....The question still to be answered is: Have her leaders enough spirit of tolerance and compromise without which self-government would inevitably destroy her peace within and invite danger from without."

At a conference of the Labour Party of India in Calcutta, it was resolved: "If we want peace, the only way to get it is to defeat Japan and destroy Fascism."

The Governor-General in Council decided to implement the recommendations of the American Technical Mission to the maximum extent possible.—A committee of the Executive Council was set up to deal with the co-ordinate problems of war production, transportation, communication, finance, rationing of goods and materials and all connected matters.

India's determination to adhere to the Allied Nations' resolve to fight Fascist aggression and to assist in establishing a just and durable peace after victory had been won, found expression in the observance of the United Nations Day in Calcutta.

Sardar P. S. Sodhbans, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce; on the observance of the United Nations Day at Lahore, said: "Punjabis of all classes and creeds are doing their duty to a man..... I am sure my countrymen will do everything to keep the enemy away from India's doors."

Mahatma Gandhi said at Wardha; "If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the Muslim League, then without waiting to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage."

A largely attended public meeting was held in Calcutta, to do honour to the memory of the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das, on the occasion of the commemoration of his 17th. death anniversary on the 16th. June.

Mr. L. S. Amery informed the House of Commons that 400,000 people, the majority being Indians, had reached India from Burma.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in an interview in London, observed: "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war, though we have no wish to remain there for any imperialistic reasons."

Pandit Jayharlal Nehru, in an interview in Bombay, replying to Sir Stafford said: "Much has happened in this war which the British Government did not intend and did not like and much is going to happen in India, and elsewhere in spite of the wishes of the British Government."

A Gazette of India Extraordinary notification stated that a resolution of the Congress Working Committee, adopted at Allahabad on the 28th. April, 1942, was banned under the Defence of India Rules.

The All-India Forward Bloc was declared unlawful under the Defence of India Rule 27A.

The Government of India published the new Rule 27A of the Defence of India Rules, which provided *inter alia* that "no person shall manage or assist in managing any organizations to which this rule applies; promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any member of such an organization; invite persons to support such an organization."

Sir Shanmukham Chetty resigned his office as head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the United States of America.—In succession to Sir Shammukham, Mr. K. C. Mahindra was appointed to the post.

The Government of India decided to admit Indians possessing foreign medical qualifications of the requisite standard to the emergency case of the Indian Medical Service.

1st. The salient features of the Budget speech of the Dewan of Mysore to the Budget session of the Representative Assembly (Mysore), were the increased provision for nation-building activities, such as education, public health, rural reconstruction, cottage industries, ample provision for the expansion of war industries, and adequate grants for food production and conservation, civil defence measures and irrigation projects.

The death occurred of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, G.B.E., K.C.S.I., C.I.E., ex-President of the Central Legislative Assembly, at the age of 80, in Bombay.

2nd. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said that the Cripps' negotiations broke down on defence alone, and Mr. Rajagopalachari's statement to the contrary was entirely baseless.—The Maulana was referring to Mr. Rajagopalachari's speech at Coimbatore, in which he was reported to have said: "The negotiations broke down over other points and not over defence."

Monogamy was made obligatory even as regards sacramental marriages, under the provisions of the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage prepared by the Rau Committee and published in the Gazette.

3rd. The Bill to amend and codify the Hindu Law relating to intestate succession published in the Gazette had three main features, viz., "(1) It embodies a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India; (2) it removes the sex disqualification by which Hindu women in general have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India; and (3) it abolishes the Hindu woman's limited estate."

Sir Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore, was offered and accepted the post of Prime Minister of Jaipur State.

4th. The extent to which India could aid the United Nations in the equipment of a formidable Indian Army might prove an important and perhaps a decisive factor in the war, said the preliminary report of the American Technical Mission to the Government of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, dwelling on his hopes for his proposal for a Congress-League settlement, in an address in Madras, said: "I know that reason must have its weight and I feel so strongly that what I say is right that I have the fullest confidence that Mahatma Gandhi will come round to my view."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in a speech to the Oxford Union, with special reference to India said: "Our aim publicly declared and sincerely held, is that India should attain as speedily as possible to the same complete and unqualified independence as the Dominions.....while also, like them, (the Dominions) maintaining the bond of free association with the rest of the commonwealth. We have given India unity, internal peace and right of law. We have inspired in her a passionate demand for democratic self-Government. The question still to be answered is, have her leaders enough spirit of tolerance and compromise without which self-Government would inevitably destroy her peace within and invite danger from without."

5th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru made an appeal to the public for funds to help the *National Herald* of Lucknow.

6th. It was announced that the Government of India decided to extend the existing concession to the glass industry for a further period of one year.

prices of matches fixed by the Government of India and said it was an offence for any one to sell matches at prices in excess of those rates.

7th. At a Conference of the Labour Party of India held in Calcutta, a resolution was passed stating: "Japan would ruin us 'All alike, ruin us as a people, degrade us as a nation. If we do want peace, the only way to get it is to defeat Japan and destroy Fascism.'"

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, under the caption "Differences very real", in reply to a friend "who is most anxious to bridge the political gulf between Rajaji and me". Mahatmaji stated: "But it cannot be by any make-believe. On the contrary, any make-believe will mislead the country and serve neither his immediate purpose nor mine. We love the country with an equal passion. But our modes of service for the time being are diametrically opposite. He believes in resisting the threatened Japanese attack with British aid. I regard this as impossible in the long end."

Acharya Narendra Dev, presiding over the sixth session of the All-India Kisan Conference at Bedoni (Muzaffarpur) declared: "The world will live in peace and tranquillity only when both Fascism and Imperialism are destroyed; economic security and freedom are essential pre-conditions for such world peace which can be delivered only by a socialist scheme of things."

8th. A communique from New Delhi said: "His Excellency the Governor-General has decided to extend the life of the existing Council of State, and Legislative Assembly for a further period of one year from October 1, 1942, when the extensions effected in his orders dated July 10, 1941, will expire."

In the Mysore Representative Assembly, a strong plea for the establishment of Responsible government in the State was made by Mr. Chengalraya Reddi, Congress Party leader, during the general discussion on the Budget.

Mr. Asaf Ali, General Secretary of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, said in a statement in New Delhi, "World strategy demands that operations in the Eastern hemisphere should be entirely based on a self-sufficient India, just as operations in the Western hemisphere should be mainly based on America."

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in a statement said: "It is necessary that we should know where we are standing. Personally, my mind is quite clear about the present attitude of the Congress..... The march of events would itself shape the future, and the attitude of the governments would be responsible for the results which would naturally follow."

9th. The Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, Sir Shaffat Ahmed Khan, said in Durban: "To say that Indian soldiers are fighting magnificently (in Libyan battlefields) is merely to state that they are true to type. I had the honour of addressing historic regiments of India and I am convinced that these virile sons of India will uphold India's honour among the allies."

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy in an address on the "National War Front" broadcast from the Calcutta station of All-India Radio, stressed the necessity for keeping up the morale of the people.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, replying to a question in the Commons said: "As regards the resumption of negotiations with leaders of several Indian parties, the attitude of His Majesty's Government was clearly stated to the House on April 28 by the Lord Privy Seal and myself."

10th. It was announced from New Delhi that the Governor-General-in-Council considered the report of the American Technical Mission and decided to implement its recommendations to the maximum extent possible.

A committee of the Executive Council was set up to deal with the co-ordination problems of war production, transportation, communication, finance, rationing of goods and materials, and all connected matters.—The committee would be known as the "War Resources Committee", and would consist of the Governor-General (President); the Defence Member; the Supply Member (Vice-President); the Finance Member; the Commerce Member and the Communications Member. Lieutenant-General His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester arrived in India.

11th. On the occasion of the celebration of the birth day of His Majesty the King Emperor, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal sent a message of respectful greetings on behalf of the Government and the people of Bengal.—

His Excellency received the following reply : "I sincerely thank you and the Government and people of Bengal for your kind congratulations on the celebration of my birth day in these anxious times. I much appreciate your loyal assurances."

Mr. A. V. Askwith, Chief Commissioner, Delhi, declared at a public meeting in New Delhi : "I have always found it difficult to believe in the likelihood of a full scale invasion of India by the Japanese; it seemed to me that their hope of success in such an enterprise, even after the fall of Singapore and the overrunning of Burma, was so faint that it would probably be not attempted and with the daily strengthening of India's defences the expectation of a grand attack is surely lessening."

12th. His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester arrived in New Delhi and was received by His Excellency the Viceroy.

His Majesty the King-Emperor in a message broadcast to India by His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, said : "It is with deep pride that I, as your King-Emperor, join with you, the millions of men and women of India, in the brotherhood of service. I am happy to think that my brother is now paying a visit to India, that great country which to my infinite regret, I have not yet had the good fortune to see, but which I look forward eagerly to visiting when peace prevails once more. I have asked my brother to deliver to you, the Princes and people of India, a personal message of greeting and good cheer from myself."

Pandit Hridaya Nath Kunzru, speaking on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Servants of India society at Poona, observed that Indians were anxious to give the utmost help they were capable of to the countries that were standing up for the principles of human freedom, but they were being denied the opportunities that they asked for to enable them to be free soldiers in the war of human liberation. Half-hearted measures would only lead to disappointment.

13th. Sardar P. S. Sodhbans, President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, in a statement on the observance of the United Nations Flag Day at Lahore, said : "Punjabis of all classes and creeds are doing their duty to a man and I am sure that my countrymen, irrespective of their individual views on political issues, will do everything to keep the enemy from India's doors."

Mahatma Gandhi said at Wardhagang : "If independence is the immediate goal of the Congress and the Muslim League, then without needing to come to any terms, all will fight together to be free from bondage."

14th. India's determination to adhere to the Allied Nations' resolve to fight Fascist aggression and to assist in establishing a just and durable peace after victory had been won, found expression in the observance of the United Nations Day in Calcutta.—His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in a message said : "Civilization, and all that it means to mankind must and shall be saved from these (Axis) bandits and barbarians. The peoples and lands which have been overrun and assailed must and shall be rescued from their greedy clutches."

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal in a message on the occasion of the United Nations' Day emphasized that the day "symbolizes the closest co-operation and unity of purpose between the Allied Nations in the pursuit of the common aim of destroying the forces that menace the very foundations of civilization."

15th. At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee in Calcutta, a resolution was adopted which welcomed the stand taken by the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad in categorically repudiating the move of Mr. Rajagopalachari conceding the Muslim League demand for Pakistan in order to secure its co-operation in implementing his scheme for the establishment of National Government in the Provinces even after the failure of Cripps' negotiations.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, replying to the welcome address from the Madura District Board, said that Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Mr. Jinnah should come together. He wished he had the courage to practice true non-violence, but self-deception and make believe were not an approach to non-violence, but were contrary to it. Indifference and inaction were not non-violence. They were a terrible snare and temptation.

The terms of the pact which was arrived at between Sardar Baldev Singh,

leader of the United Punjab Party and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan were announced by the Premier at a Press Conference at Lahore. The terms, which were embodied in a letter addressed by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to Sardar Baldev Singh, related to facilities for Jhatka, teaching of Gurmukhi, legislation regarding religious matters, service under the Punjab Government and Sikh representation at the Centre. The terms were so formed as to apply equally to all communities in the Punjab.

16th. The services of the late Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das were recalled in a public meeting held in Calcutta, on the occasion of the commemoration of his 17th death anniversary.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, in a written reply to a question in Parliament stated that it was estimated that 400,000 people, majority being Indians, had reached India from Burma by sea, air or overland up to the end of May.

Sir Stafford Cripps, in an interview in London referring to Mahatma Gandhi's repeated demand for British withdrawal from India, observed: "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war, though we have no wish to remain there for any imperiatic reasons."

17th. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, interviewed in Bombay by the United Press and Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that the British Government were not going to walk out of India in the middle of the war, observed: "I can quite believe that the British Government has no intention at present of walking out of India in the middle of the war or after this. But much has happened in this war which the British Government did not intend and did not like and much is going to happen in India and elsewhere in spite of the wishes of the British Government."

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru expressed the view in Bombay that he would willingly meet Mr. M. A. Jinnah if that would serve the cause the Congress had at heart—the achievement of India's independence.

18th. An attempt at bringing about a compromise between the Zamindars and tenants in South Orissa, where the Madras Estates Land Act was in force, was being made by the Orissa Government. They set up a Committee consisting of Assembly Members of different parties, under the chairmanship of the Revenue Minister to make recommendations for revising the Madras Estate Land Act and if possible to come to an agreement with the Zamindars.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his airgraph letter to His Excellency the Viceroy, stated: "At a time like this with the enemy at India's gates, every link that helps to bring us all closer together is of inestimable value."

His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir following the decision to postpone general elections extended the life of the existing Projasabha (State Assembly) for a further period of one year from September 7, 1942. His Highness ordered that the eight vacant seats in the Projasabha shall be filled by nomination.

19th. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad issued a statement from Bombay: "It is amazing how people of great intelligence and patriotism like Mr. Gaudhi and Pandit Nehru shut their eyes to realities and practice self-deception. They want the immediate withdrawal of the British, bag and baggage from India. They say that the first requisite is the independence of India and when that is attained, by the withdrawal of the British, India would deal with the Japanese menace. All-India of whatever political shade of opinion, desire the independence of India. But the question is whether India will gain independence and will be able to keep it under the present war conditions by the mere withdrawal of the British."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the Press from Madras, said: "To build our future political work on the possibility of a British defeat at the hands of the Japanese will be one of the greatest blunders. I do not suppose that the British are so rotten or broken; they will come out successful eventually."

A Gazette of India Extraordinary notification stated: "Whereas in the opinion of the Central Government the resolution adopted at Allahabad on April 24, 1942, with the words 'the Committee has noted'—

in Lower Burma and notably—

words "in particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give away to it" is a prejudicial report, the Central Government under the Defence of India Rules prohibits the further publication, sale or distribution of any document reproducing or containing a summary or translation of the whole or any part of the said prejudicial report, and declares to be forfeited to His Majesty every such document.—A portion of another resolution was similarly banned.

Mahatma Gandhi, replying to Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that "We are not going to walk out of India right in the middle of the war", observed: "The step that I have conceived overcomes all difficulties, shuts out all controversy about violence and non-violence and immediately free India to offer her best help to the Allied cause, and more especially to China, which is in immediate danger. I am convinced that the independence of India, which the withdrawal of the British power involves, would ensure China's freedom and put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis."

20th. Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier, addressed a letter to prominent Moslem Leaders throughout India regarding his proposal for a progressive All-India Moslem League.

At a Conference in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Hindu Moslem Unity Association, the supreme need for the promotion of amity and goodwill between Hindus and Moslems in the hour of danger to the country was stressed by a number of speakers.—The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad presided.

The Indian Army Act (Application) Ordinance provided for the application of the Indian Army Act to forces raised and maintained in India under the Central Government's authority.

At a meeting of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee held at Amalapuram, resolutions were passed wholeheartedly endorsing the main resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed at Allahabad and inviting the attention of the country to its operative clause at the end.

21st. Mahatma Gandhi writing in the *Harijan* answering the question: "What is the meaning of your appeal to the British power to withdraw from India. There seems to be confusion in the public mind about your meaning," said: "So far as my opinion is concerned, British authority should end completely irrespective of the wishes or demand of the various parties. But I would recognise their military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore, I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers, but as allies of a free India."

The Government of Bengal turned down the representation of the Calcutta Corporation asking to be exempted from payment of the Sales Tax in respect of their purchases.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*: "I have no desire whatsoever to woo any power to help India in her endeavour to free herself from the foreign yoke. I have no desire to exchange the British for any other rule."

22nd. The Government of India published the added Rule 27 A of the Defence of India Rules.—The new rules contained provisions closely parallel to those of a similar regulation in the United Kingdom and also included certain powers that might be used against unlawful Associations under the Criminal Law (Amendment) Act.—The new Defence of India Rule provided that "no person shall (a) manage or assist in managing any organization to which this rule applies; (b) promote or assist in promoting a meeting of any members of such an organization or attend any such meeting in any capacity; (c) publish any notice or advertisement relating to any such meeting; (d) invite persons to support such an organization or otherwise in any way assist the operations of such an organization."

The All-India Forward Bloc was declared unlawful by a notification issued by the Government of India under the new Defence of India Rule 27A.

At a public meeting held in Calcutta, a resolution welcoming the Anglo-Soviet Alliance "which brings before us a new perspective and the growth of a new international power which guarantee both victory in the anti-Fascist struggle and peace based on social justice and progress and prosperity."

Mr. Akhil Chandra Dutta, Deputy President of the Central Legislative

Assembly, issued a statement from Darjeeling : "India at present is almost a passive spectator in the world conflict but she cannot remain a passive spectator. Whether free or fettered she cannot remain neutral even if she chooses to do so. She must fight Nazism and Fascism which are a menace to the freedom and peace of the world. She must, therefore, fight the Axis."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement said : "I am glad that at last Mr. Gandhi has openly declared himself that unity and Hindu-Muslim settlement can only come after the achievement of India's independence and has thereby thrown off the cloak that he had worn for the last twenty-two years and preached day in and day out as the oldest "lover" of Hindu-Muslim unity."

23rd. Sir Shanmukham Chetty resigned his office as head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in the United States of America. The Government of India accepted the resignation with regret, and placed on record their appreciation of the very valuable services rendered by Sir Shanmukham.

Mr. K. C. Mahindra, member of the firm of Messrs. Martin and Company was appointed head of the Indian Purchasing Mission in succession to Sir Shanmukham.

Mr. K. M. Munshi issued a statement from Bombay : "Recent events have forced the protagonists of Pakistan to elaborate the idea which, as I have been insistently pointing out, has a very sinister significance. The day the Muslim League adopted Pakistan as its objective it declared war on the Indian nation. No sane man can have any illusions in the matter. A war is being waged on the Indian nation on every front which is possible and open to the disruptionists under the present circumstances, which render an armed conflict impossible."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, addressing a public meeting at Conoor, made an appeal to the Hindus to get their boys trained in military methods to defend India and to consider the Hindu Mahasabha as their saviour.

24th. Mr. M. N. Roy, in a statement from New Delhi, said : "Mr. Gandhi's reply to the London Times is pure sophistry. He complains that his proposals have been distorted. But he actually owns up to the charge levelled against him when he says if there is anarchy in India, Britain alone would be responsible, not I. What I have said, is that I prefer anarchy to the present slavery and consequent impotence of India. So he admits that his proposals involve the danger of anarchy for India. He has not proved that danger is imaginary."

25th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to questions in the House of Commons, declared that Provincial Governments, especially on the eastern side, made very considerable improvements in organizing and training the civil defence services since the war with Japan started. Co-ordination of the services with training schools and experienced instructors from Britain were provided by the Government of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar expounded his proposals for a Hindu-Muslim understanding to an audience at Matunga (in Bombay).

Pandit Hridayanath Kunzru, in his inaugural address to the students of Poona, observed : "If the youth of India worked with pure hearts for the freedom of their country, feeling that every one who regarded India as his motherland was their brother, the mist of ignorance and prejudice may yet lift and the Sun of liberty shine on this ancient land."

26th. A Press communique announced that His Excellency the Governor of the Punjab was pleased to appoint Sardar Baldev Singh to be a member of his Council of Ministers and to allot him the portfolio of Development in succession to Sardar Dasandha Singh.

Under the captain, "Production of Khadi" Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the Khadi Jagat : "Just as the 'grow more food' slogan is heard on all sides, the same should be the case with Khadi. If we do not produce Khadi, crores will have to go naked just as crores will have to die of starvation if we do not produce foodstuffs and their number will out-number the death roll in the war, with this difference that they face death knowingly and are called martyrs while no one takes note of those dying from starvation."

27th. It was announced that as a war-time measure the Government of India decided to admit Indians possessing foreign medical qualification of the requisite standard to the emergency cadre of the Indian Medical Service.

According to a Press Note issued in Calcutta, the special Criminal Courts

Ordinance, 1942 (Ordinance No. II, 1942) which had previously been enforced in Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Bakarganj, 24—Parganas, Midnapore, Khulna, Bardwan and Howrah Districts was brought into force in Calcutta and in the remaining Districts of Bengal. A Calcutta Gazette Extraordinary notified the appointment of certain judges and magistrates to be special judges and magistrates under the Ordinance.

Other notifications being the Penalties (Enhancement) Ordinance, 1942 (Ordinance No. III of 1942,) as amended by Ordinance No. VII of 1942 into operation in Calcutta and the Districts.

In pursuance of a resolution passed at the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference in Madras, under the presidentship of Dr. B. S. Moonji, a deputation waited on His Excellency the Governor, urging on the strengthening of the country's defences and the immediate starting of a Military School in the Presidency.

28th. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harijan*, re. the Hurs in Sind: "I have no doubt that if I could have gone to Sind, I might have been able to do something. I have done such things before, not without success. But I am too old for such missions. What little energy I have, I am storing up for what promises to be the last fight of my life."

Dr. B. S. Moonji, Vice-President of the Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a public meeting in Madras, stressed the need for militarization of the people of India on a large scale, to beat off the enemy from the shores of India.

Dr. Moonji made an appeal to Mr. Rajagopalachari to desist from his propaganda and join the Hindu Mahasabha. He said: Now that Mr. Rajagopalachari has given up the Congress and wants to fight the Congress as he wants to fight the Japanese, his only place is in the Hindu Mahasabha."

29th. A Sugar Control Order was issued from New-Delhi. It laid down that "no producer shall, after such date as the Controller may notify in this behalf, dispose of, or agree to dispose of, in pursuance of any agreement entered into on or before such date make delivery of, any sugar except to or through a recognized dealer or to a person specially authorized by the Controller to acquire sugar on behalf of the Central Government or of a Provincial Government."

30th. In the repair statistics relating to India, Britain and America, it was indicated that despite the war, the repair position of locomotives and wagons in Indian railway workshops and sheds compared favourably with the pre-war period and the position on British and American railways.

The Government of Bengal passed orders under which they withdrew or directed their officers to withdraw orders of restrictions upon a considerable number of communist members of the Bengal Students' Federation and they released from detention a number of security prisoners belonging to communist groups.

A communique issued from New Delhi, stated that in pursuance of a recommendation of the Food Production Conference held in April, the Government of India decided to constitute a Central Food Advisory Council consisting of both officials and non-officials.

Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, presiding over the District Political Conference at Aligarh, declared: "We don't want to be slaves of Japan or Germany. We would fight against any nation which wants to enslave us."

Mr. Herbert Morrison, Home Secretary, announced in London that the Indian fire-fighting organization would be strengthened by volunteers from the British Fire Service. He said that large response had been made to the call for volunteers for India and a number of British firemen had gone on that vital mission.

As part of the general expansion of the Royal Indian Navy, steps were taken at major Indian posts to meet the greatly increased demand for training in naval gunnery.

A joint meeting of the Scientific and Industrial Research Board, Government of India, and the Hyderabad Scientific and Industrial Research Board was held at Hyderabad. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, presided.

Dr. B. S. Moonje, Vice-President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, addressed a gathering at Tanjore on the political situation with special reference to Mr.

Notes on Indian History

It has truly been said that a History of India that reveals the whole panorama of the vast millenia of her distinctive life and civilisation in its actual shape and colour and due proportion and perspective, still remains to be written. The materials for drawing such a vast outline and making such a comprehensive and connected sketch are not yet in hand. A fairly definite outline and connected sketch which gives the promise of being some-day developed into what is called "scientific history" has, however, been steadily emerging out of the mist that veils the immensity of India's past—a mist which (thanks to the labours of the investigators) has perceptibly thinned without being as yet actually lifted as far as one can now make one's incursion into the age that saw the birth of Buddhism and Jainism in India in the Sixth Century B. C. Beyond that there is still only "cosmic nebulae" relieved here and there by a few stray constellations of lucidly distinct historical facts. These "nebulae" have probably a depth and density to be measured only in terms of millenia. But from the position where we can now make our historical prospecting, these vast remote dark spaces of Indian history recede and shrink and fold up and, at last, look like a far-away blank, black spherule beyond the galaxy of human remembrance.

Ancient Indian history is, apparently, "full" of such gaps and blanks. Beyond the time when Alexander the Great invaded the Punjab (326 B. C.), the galactical system of detailed and authentic Indian history does not far extend. There are too many unexplored blank spaces and unformed, chaotic nebulae beyond that time still. Beginning approximately with that period we are furnished, sometimes in abundance, with fairly trustworthy material in the shape of contemporary Greek testimony bearing on Indian history, and also, as time rolls on, with inscriptional and other kinds of decipherable and dependable domestic evidence. Of course, an immense mass of "documentary" evidence and evidence in the more or less fluid, volatile state of tradition, heresy and folk-lore (written or unwritten) have always lain by the side of the historian hitherto busy with his inscriptions, plates, coins, artefacts and any corroborative evidence that may be forthcoming from outside. And that mass of ancient Indian documentary evidence and tradition has, generally, lain neglected by his side. It has been, generally, of little help to him in reconstructing, "on scientific lines", the missing skeleton of ancient Indian History. It has been, however, of great use to the comparative mythologist, philologist and anthropologist. But even the historian who seeks to reconstruct on scientific line the missing skeleton of ancient history, whether of India or of any other country, should do well to remember that the dry bones of the skeleton he may have been able to put together will not be true, living history unless they can be made instinct with the touch of life which literature, art, tradition, 'myths', folk-lore, religious and social institutions in their earlier and later forms alone can give. From coins, plates etc. we can build a possible or even probable frame-work of chronology into which we can put our little bits of tested facts according to one possible plan or other. Such a mosaic of dates and facts (mainly relating to dynastic succession, war and conquest) is of course important as necessary ground-plan of history. But it is not the completed structure of history. It is not history as an organic process of evolution. So we have to distinguish between structural or morphological history and organic "physiological" history.

Now India has been so far poor in comparison with some other ancient countries like Egypt, Babylonia and China in her "materials" for writing the first kind of history, and the available materials, as we saw, do not carry us much beyond the time of Budha and Mahavira in the sixth century B. C. Recently, however, a very old and, apparently, a high order of civilisation has been unearthed in the Indus Valley in the Punjab and in Sind, which according to current official beliefs, is of the Sumerian pattern. The buried cities now discovered bring to light not only very interesting features of a civilisation thriving in the western part of India in so remote a past (when the Indo-Aryans had not, according to the common view, yet migrated into India), but they even put into our hands interesting clues that may eventually help us to unravel many of the riddles of our Vedic and post Vedic history. The Tantrik cult, for instance, may have older and deeper roots in the soil of India than have so far been granted or suspected. Nothing contemporaneous with or earlier than the Indus Valley civilisation has yet been unearthed in

other parts of the sub-continent. So the present trend of speculation is to regard the Indus Valley civilisation as a sort of wedge driven into Western India—the whole of which was still at the low level of aboriginal darkness (with the possible exception of some parts that might have risen to the Dravidian 'light' level)—probably by the races and civilisation of Sumer.

We are still in the duskland of probabilities or even less than probabilities as to the dates, origins, early habitats and earlier forms not only of the Indus Valley but also of the Dravidians and Indo-Aryan people. We do not know for certainty when and from where the Indo-Aryans came into India. The fact of Aryan immigration into India itself, though generally accepted, is still disputed. And if immigration be admitted, we have, probably, to admit not one but several successive streams of immigration. Such theory, apparently called for to account for some of the critical turnings and "sudden mutations" in our ancient historical evolution, will lead to many unexplored avenues of enquiry as to ages and dates, origins and characteristics.

THE RIGVEDA

The Rigveda—the earliest and the most informing and instructive "documentary" evidence that we possess—appears to set the stage amidst scenes which show the Aboriginal, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan factors fighting for supremacy first in the land of "Five Rivers" and in the Ganges Valley, and then gradually, beyond the Vindhya Range which with its impenetrable forest mantle, stood as a barrier between Northern India (Aryavatta) and Deccan. Gradually we find the aborigines cornered and driven to the hills and forest where their descendants, more or less Aryanised, still continue to live. In considerable parts they were also absorbed into the fold of Aryan society and culture. And in being absorbed they did not fail to impart some little part of their own character of the Aryan complex. There was not so much of racial or even linguistic fusion as of cultural assimilation. The process of Aryanisation in language, culture, etc. has been a process admitting, naturally, of different shades and degrees, leaving at the one end aboriginal races that have almost kept aloof from Aryan influence and having at the other others that have become part and parcel of the Aryan system. The Aryanisation of the Dravidian peoples, especially in religion, culture and civilisation, has been a much more perfected process. But on the other hand, the Dravidian impress on the Aryan system is also in many places, deep and unmistakable. The Dravidian is co-ordinated or even subordinated to the Aryan but not lost in the latter. This power of assimilation of alien races and cultures without losing the individuality of its own essential Type or Pattern and without at the same time making the diverse elements assimilated lose whatever is essential in them—has been a special characteristic of the Indo-Aryan race and culture-complex. This has meant organic unity or unity in diversity of a more fundamental and abiding nature than can, perhaps, be claimed for the political or national unity with which histories are commonly familiar. Historians, accordingly, commonly miss the unity which lies deep and sees only the diversity which lies on the surface. India to them is thus a veritable chaos of jarring elements of races, languages, religions, castes, sects and culture which have never known unity before the days of the unitary political rule of the British. Of course, the introduction, in later times, of the Semitic religions—Muhammedanism and Christianity—disturbed to some extent the ages-long unity and balance of the Aryo-Dravidian culture and social system in India. But even these elements were in the process of being slowly drawn into the sphere of influence of what we may call the genius of India. In other words, a slow but sure process of cultural assimilation even of these "militant" factors was going apace. Buddhism, which had risen as a "revolt" against orthodox Hinduism—but yet as a revolt from within—and which dominated the situation in India for several centuries, ended in the land of its birth by being eventually absorbed and assimilated into the parent religion. Jainism and many other old or later "revolts" have thus "squared their accounts" with the same parent religion, and have been for many centuries living peaceably side by side with one another and with the latter.

This power of assimilation and co-ordination in which all the components make their own contributions and are permitted to live side by side as members of a commonwealth of cultures, has been the secret of the wonderful resisting and staying power of the Indian culture-complex against such disintegrating forces as have smashed up many an old and glorious civilisation of the world. And it can be easily shown from facts that this staying power has been in evidence not only in the realm of cultural contacts and impacts but also in that of social and political

ones. There have been many raids into India and invasions before and after Christ, but it is a travesty of facts to imagine that Indian resistance has always been weak and short-lived and that such invasions are typically like the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni which even swept away Indian armies and kingdoms like cobweb or a house of cards. Before her final subjugation by the Mahammedan Power—and the final subjugation of the whole of India was anything like an accomplished fact only for a time during the reign of the great Mogul Emperors—India had been, it should be borne in mind, a mighty Power and a Model of civilisation and culture for at least three thousand years. And it should be remembered further that when the British in India turned from trade to conquest (always with native help and alliance) they had to settle their accounts not only with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan in the South but mainly the Maharatta and Sikh Powers which had risen on the ruins of the Mahammedan Power in India.

UNITARY INDIAN EMPIRE

But there were and still have been other factors which, to some extent, operated against India developing a compact and coherent political and military organisation, except occasionally like, for instance, the Great Roman Empire of old or the British Empire in modern times. We possess, apparently, no connected retrospect of the remote past of which the Vedas, Epics and Puranas speak. But as far as appearances go, an unitary, centralised, Indian Empire was the exception and not the rule. In later times also, an Empire like that of Asoka was not a common achievement. As we said, India has possessed deep-laid cultural and institutional unity beneath all her diversities. India has fought, and fought bravely, for the integrity of her sacred Land, her sacred religion and tradition, and for their sacred visible Symbols and Embodiment. But she has rarely fought for the "State" as such or an Empire as such. The spirit of her culture did not favour the formation and consolidation of Nationalism in the sense it is commonly understood, and her basic institutions would hardly consist with many forms of centralised State control. The all-controlling and co-ordinating Principle was Dharma (the Principle of Human Values and Conduct) rather than any State agency. Each village, for example, was a self-contained commune and autonomous unit owing permanent allegiance to the reign of Dharma and only temporary allegiance to any kingship that might function for the time being. So the village communes continued to live though kingdoms after kingdoms rose and fell. They were but little affected by the accidents and exigencies of politics.

Again, the spirit of Dharma (which should not be translated as religion) has definitely and systematically favoured all human or even all-living values and tendencies and a cosmopolitan outlook, and has opposed militant aggressive, "predatory", nationalism. The old Upanishads are clear and courageous in their conception of those higher values; and the Dharmashastras (or Codes laying down social and individual conduct) were bold and consistent in their execution of those ideas. Later, Buddhism and Jainism and other "reforming" movements have tended only to stress such values as non-violence and fellowship with all men and all living being. These forces operating through the ages tended to produce in the Indian classes and masses a common disposition not quite favourable to the formation and consideration of an unitary military state for purposes of offence and defence.

Of the immense back-ground of Indian History which is represented by the Vedas (Samhitas, Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanishads), the various Sutras (or Digests) Philosophies, Epics (the Ramayana and Mahabharata), Puranas and Tantras (our statement here is not anything like full), we possess (unless one is prepared to grant the claim of the Puranas recently put forth in their behalf that they do contain materials for reconstructing a fairly connected chronological history beginning with the very earliest times) very little precise and connected information for the purpose of writing a political history both copious and correct as to facts and their chronological order. But of the ideals and ideas, practices and institutions of the times we do possess a very full, informing and instructive presentation. And after all, what is real history but this? Scholars have been busy with their sketches and drawings of the ancient orders and specimens of ideas, beliefs, and practices that existed in India. But oftener than not their reviews and retrospects have been made from modern standpoints, with modern notions, criteria and standards of testing facts and appraising values. This has not enabled us in any just measure, to understand, much less appreciate, a civilisation (not confined to India but, possibly, reaching some of its greatest heights in this country) which was essentially of a different kind, and cannot therefore, be represented as only the first uncertain and timid steps taken on the

road which has through a long, long march, at last brought us to our present advanced stage. The ideology, plan and methods of that ancient civilisation we have yet not seriously studied and rightly understood. Much of that civilisation we still regard, without understanding, as consisting of "savage" magic, meaningless ritualism, "theological twaddle" and crude superstition. Side by side with all this we find, however, the highest philosophy, deepest mysticism and pure ethics. There is also much that is of original and genuine value from the point of view of human material and mundane progress. This seems to us a curious medley of what is nearly the highest and what is about the lowest. But let us pass on.

Coming to "historical" times we find that the invasion by Alexander the Great of India proves in the result to be little more than a brilliant raid. His victorious armies could only cut off a small slice of North-Western India, and this little slice the Macedonian would ingest, but could not digest. His steam-roller of conquest speedily developed "war-weariness" on the plains of the Punjab, and he had to go back only adding a bit of India to his vast Empire. He had won some of his battles in India, but it had not been an "easy walk-over" with him.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND ASOKA

After his death shortly afterwards, the vast Macedonian Empire practically went to pieces. Chandragupta, who became the king of Magadha, proved himself too powerful for the Greek invaders who had violated sanctity and integrity of the sacred Land of the Five Rivers. As the result of the formidable opposition by the armies of Chandragupta, a treaty was concluded between him and the Greek Megasthenes, who was sent by Seleucus as an ambassador to the court of Chandragupta, left a very valuable record of the times, of the customs and morals of the people, and of the administration, which though unfortunately fragmentary, bears an eloquent and admiring testimony to the high order of material and moral civilization attained by the Hindus centuries before the Christian era. And this high civilization was evolved in India not in isolation but in commerce with other civilisations that flourished in ancient times, such as the Babylonian, Greek, Persian and Chinese. Chandragupta's son was Bindusara who was succeeded by Asoka (269-231 B. C.), who was undoubtedly, one of the greatest rulers of men holding their sway for the material and spiritual good of mankind. Numerous edicts and inscriptions record the noble and glorious achievements of his reign which, in his later stages, left the bloody path of war and conquest and devoted itself to the much more noble and fruitful task of the moral and spiritual conquest and redemption of ourselves and our fellow-beings. With commendable catholicity and tolerance, not seeking to impose it upon others by his great imperial authority and power, he exercised that authority and power for the purpose of transforming Buddhism, which had been more or less a local sect in the Ganges Valley, into one of the greatest and most potent living world religions. Asoka's reign is therefore rightly held to be an epoch in the history of the world. His edicts also show the man, his ideals and his methods. But all this had not allowed or favoured the cement of the great Māurya Empire setting into the requisite hardness. Independent kingdoms like Bactria and Parthia took their rise in the border land, and the Greeks renewed their incursions. New races (the Yuen-chi) came in a surge of migration which swept all before them, and in the first century A. D. a considerable portion of North-west India came under their influence.

GUPTA DYNASTY

Kaniska, who made Peshawar his capital, proved great as a ruler and as a patron and missionary of the Buddhist religion. Under him the Kushan branch of the Yuen-chi reached the zenith of his power. But this power fell as another power in middle India rose—the Andhra dynasty. A peak like Amaravati or Ujjain would, some time, rise and shine in the midst of the moving vastness of Indian waters. In the beginning of the fourth century the centre of political influence in India was again shifted to Pataliputra in Magadha as the Gupta dynasty emerged into power. Samudragupta, who ruled for fifty years, and his son Chandragupta, greatly distinguished themselves not only in war but in the sphere of peaceful and fruitful administration, promoting general prosperity and giving liberal encouragement to art and literature, a glorious tribute to which was paid by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien. According to his testimony, their Empires were vast and their administration just, enlightened. Towards the end of the fifth century—when the White Huns had set Central Asia began to pour themselves into India—the sun of the Gupta dynasty set (during whose regime, it should be noted, there had been a revival and

reconstruction of ancient Brahmanism and Brahmaical culture as evidenced especially by the literature of the Purans; but this reviving process was, very largely, a process of quiet adaptation and peaceful assimilation.) More than a century had elapsed after the fall of the Gupta dynasty before there rose another great and enlightened monarch who could emulate with no mean success the greatest of the Indian rulers in historical time—Asoka. Emperor Harsha, who consolidated his authority practically over the whole of Northern India in the beginning of the seventh century, was famous equally for his great prowess, his high intellectual attainments and for the broad catholicity of his religious outlook. An account of his times has been left by a Chinese, Huen Tsiaug by name. In that, India is still painted in generally bright and even glowing colours.

MEDIAEVAL INDIA

After the death of Harsha, and gradually with the emergence of India into what may be called the mediæval period, the conditions which had made the political unification of India sometimes possible in the past, nearly disappeared, and India was thrown into a state of political confusion and chaos in which petty kingdoms rose like mushrooms and constant internecine strife prevailed. Some outstanding figures like Vikramaditya would occasionally appear on the stage; but such events were few and far between. In the South of India was being enacted a very interesting but involved drama in which the Andhras, Ballavas, Chalukyas and Cholas were the principal actors. Kashmir in the North, Kanauj in the Doab and Bengal in the east were also alive with many vivid and vital scenes and events of political, cultural and social interests. But we shall not try to make a review of them here. One outstanding event in the confusion and complexity of the general Indian situation which deserves notice even passing was the rise of the Rajput power upon which the mantle of the old caste Kshatriyas (the warrior and ruling caste) fell and which was the chief opposition that the waves of Mahammedan invasion coming one after another ever since the second quarter of the 7th century, had to encounter and ultimately bear down. Guzrat, Malwa, Ajmer, Kanauj and Delhi were the principal scenes of the new drama of Rajput ascendancy—a drama so full of episodes of superhuman bravery, noble heroism and sacrifice for the sacred cause of religion and liberty that they have ever since lived in human memory as models which future generations of patriots in any country might well try to emulate. Though Rajput opposition was borne down in Northern India by the end of the twelfth century, Rajput bravery and the spirit that animated it survived the crash of the Hindu Empire of Delhi and Ajmere over which Prithvi Raj, the hero, the last of the Hindu emperors, though not the last of the Hindu rulers, had held away. Rajput bravery and Rajput love of independence were still factors to reckon with in the days of the great Moghuls—Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzab. Col. Todd and some others have narrated the story, and it constitutes one of his proudest annals in the vast archives of the Hindu glory in India. As to the conquest of Northern India by the Mohamedans, it should be noted, the great prize was not very easily or quickly won: that the first Mahammedan impact was in the seventh century shortly after the passing away of the Prophet, and a Mahammedan kingdom in Northern India came into being towards the end of the 12th century. Even this did not mean either a complete or final subjugation of India, and there is another thing to be noted. Hindu power fell not because its resistance was weak and its bravery and heroism in the field was not backed by adequate tact, strategy and discipline in diplomacy, planning and preparation.

The centuries of the mediæval age in India were marked by a conspicuous lack of political unity and solidarity. But they were by no means unimportant and barren. It was not a 'dark' Age. In the Gupta period and in the centuries before and after, a marvellous process of social, cultural and religious reconstruction was going apace. The old Vedic scheme of social economy (involving as it did the four Varnas or "caste" and the four Ashrams or "stage" of life) was being transformed through a process of adaptation, assimilation and multiplication which made society more comprehensive and at the same time more complex. The influence of Buddhism, Hellenism and that of Mongoloid races also led to adaptations and assimilations, in many important directions in the older order of Indian customs and institutions. The gradual assimilation of Buddhism itself was a phenomenon of the greatest importance. The Vedic religion survived but it was transformed. The Puranas and Tantras renewed and gave a new expression to the Sanatana Dharma. In the domain of literature, art (both useful and fine), science and mathematics, philosophy and metaphysics, these centuries were also productive of fruits that were and still are of

the greatest interest and value. Great poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, and great Philosophers like Shankaracharya and Ramanuja, and also other pioneers and masters in other fields formed a galaxy of men of genius and talents which showed that an age of political dis-equilibrium and confusion in India was yet not necessarily an age of cultural depression and darkness and social disruption. The soul of India could, apparently, function to its best advantage, inspite of her troubled politics.

But whilst this was true for some time it could not be true for all time. Her politics at last began to tell on her constitution. We do not, however, propose to continue the story through the Mohammedan and British periods. The history of these periods is more settled and definite in features, and these are, generally, well-known. One special feature, which is not always clearly recognised and to which we should like to draw attention is this. From the twelfth century right up to the eighteenth, or even for some time later, the Hindu power of revival and regeneration, of initiation and execution, was never like dead or even dying. Independent and often powerful kingdoms like Vijayanagar in the South, those of Pratap, Shivaji and the Peshwas in the west (we do not mention some others e. g. those in Bengal) would, now and then, proudly lift their heads and challenge the authority of the great Moslem emperors. Under that authority, too, there flourished many great Hindu administrators, Ministers, governors, generals and financiers. In short, during the Mohammedan era, the Hindu genius was not at its best but it was not quite decadent.

THE MAHAMMEDAN RULE

The Mahammedan conquerors, again, from Mahomed Ghori who wrested the sceptre of the kingdom of Delhi from Prithviraj after a first unsuccessful attempt, came to India, as foreigners but they did not remain here as foreigners. India was the land of their adoption. Raids like those by Chengis Khan or Nadir Shah were rare and they did not represent the normal course of events. India suffered, and sometimes badly, no doubt, from the effects of the conquering ardour and proselytising zeal of some of the Mahammedan rulers. But the great Moghuls were as much "children of the soil" as the humblest of the Hindu "heathen". And this sharing together by the Hindus and Mussalmans of a common "hearth and home" naturally tended to breed a consciousness of community of interests in both as India's offspring. There was steady assimilation of the semitic and Indo-Aryan cultures also and even a growing understanding and appreciation of one religion by the other. The religions touched and even blended with each other at their highest points—e. g., in Sufism and Vedantic mysticism. They also met and evolved a broad common "shrine" to which folk beliefs, practices and institutions would bring their united homage. Even a common dialect (Urdu or Hindusthani) was evolved between the two in Northern India which gradually blossomed into a fine literature. The patronage extended by the Mahammedan emperors to Music, Architecture etc. was also fruitful of very fine result. India's wealth attracted the trade and commerce of the whole civilised world. In fact, America or the West Indies was discovered in an attempt to discover an western route to the Indian market. British, French, Dutch and Portuguese traders all came and scrambled for market, and eventually, for political power in India. It is also worthy of note that even under the sway of such masterful monarchs as Sher Shah, Akbar or Aurangzeb, the government of the country was in the main decentralised, allowing provincial and local autonomy—down to the autonomy of the village units—to adequately function. Even petty local chiefs—like the feudal lords of the mediaeval West—never unlearned the art of fighting and governing. So it was always possible for a man of ambition and ability, like Shivaji for exmple, to evolve sanctions whereby he could implement his high political aspirations. It was the very large measure of local autonomy and local initiative that existed that rendered possible the rise of the Marhatta and Sikh Powers and also of the kingdoms of Hyder All and the Nizam in the south. And British Power in India in its rise to paramountcy found its most formidable rivals or powerful allies in them.

THE BRITISH RULE

In 1599, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some merchants of London formed an association for the purpose of trade with India, and this association was granted a royal charter of incorporation. At first this Company was purely a trading concern establishing factories in the east and west coasts of India and in Bengal and administering its affairs in the three "presidencies" which were at first independent of one another but subordinate to the Board of Directors at home. In course of time

however, chiefly with a view to preserving and consolidating its growing and extensive trade in India, in the face of the French rivalry and intrigue and the prevailing political anarchy and unrest in the land, it established military garrison of defence which soon became involved in hostilities that saddled it with territorial responsibilities. It fought some decisive battles in Madras and in Bengal, which raised a trading company to the status of a political Power in India. French intrigue failed and French rivalry practically died down in India. One of the most decisive battles fought was the battle of Plassey in 1757. The battle was won with the aid of faithful native battalions, and with the active or passive support of the generals and noblemen of the unfortunate young Nawab of Bengal. It is worthy of note that the path of British supremacy in India, and often, its influence and prestige abroad has been paved, amongst other things, with the consent, alliance and willing co-operation of the Natives of India. It was so even during the critical period of the Sepoy Mutiny, one hundred years after the battle of Plassey. It was again so during the "ordeal" of the last great War. The machinery of administration by the East India Company was from time to time modified by Acts of Parliament (1773, 1784; and the Charter Acts of 1793 and 1833). By these a Governor-General-in-Council was made the supreme administrative authority in India subject to a Board of Control at home. By the last Act, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern and became a political and administrative body only. After the Sepoy Mutiny another Act was passed by which the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, and thenceforth the Governor-General was also the Viceroy of India. The functions of the Government of India are wide and its responsibilities heavy. But its responsibilities are to the Crown and the Parliament. It has not rested on an elective popular basis. There have been legislative bodies, but its motions, resolutions and votes have not, except as regards certain matters of secondary importance under the Act of 1919, a binding effect on the Government.

India's contributions and sacrifices in the Great War were great, but "reward" that come in the shape of the Parliamentary Declaration promising her a "progressive realisation or responsible government", the stages and times of which were to be determined by the Parliament alone was not comforting to her nationalist aspirations. And the Government of India Act of 1919, which is still in actual function, though it has been, apparently, broadened and amplified in some directions by a recent Parliamentary Statute, did not meet the wishes or expectations of India. By that Act dyarchy or a kind of dual responsibility was established in the provinces, where the "nation-building" subjects were "transferred" to Ministers (not responsible however to the legislature), whilst the more important subjects were "reserved." In practice the transference of certain subjects to Ministers (who were appointed by, held office under the pleasure of, and were responsible to, the Governor) meant little more than a complication of the administrative machinery which became, in consequence, more cumbrous and expansive. The Central Government continued to remain unitary under the scheme. The legislative bodies, both provincial and central, were expanded with non-official majorities, but this placed little power, for construction or even for obstruction, in the hands of the popular parties. Whilst the liberals proceeded to work the scheme, the main body of nationalist forces, as represented by the Indian National Congress, would not first even look at it. But some time later, under the guidance of Mr. C. R. Das and Pandit Matilal Nehru, a Swaraj Party, analogous to the present Congress Parliamentary Party, was formed which entered the legislatures, both provincial and central, in telling numbers and by its obstructionist tactics caused not a little embarrassment to those entrusted with the work of day to day administration. In some provinces it was even able to "wreck" dyarchy for a time. Generally, however, the system has worked, though not satisfactorily even according to official appreciation. We need not in particular refer to the unwelcome labours of the All-White Statutory Simon Commission, to which even the habitually co-operating Liberals refused to lend their co-operation. Meanwhile the Congress ideology was becoming bolder day by day, and the Lahore session adopted a resolution setting as the goal of India complete Independence or Purna Swaraj. A campaign of civil disobedience followed to create "sanctions" under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi who has been really at the helm of Congress affairs since the early twenties. The Round Table idea was broached rather too late; but Mahatma Gandhi after concluding, what is known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, joined the Conference subsequently. The result of the deliberations of that body fell short of the Congress demand. And the Congress again withdrew its offer of co-operation. This was forced on the Congress by the way in which the British ruling classes used during the Round Table Conference discussions India's internal

differences as an excuse for the frustration of her political ambitions. The "Communal Award" of the British Premier Ramsay MacDonald that imparted a "vote value" to religious differences and social inferiorities revealed the tactics of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. It was modified by the epic fast of Mahatma Gandhi so far as the Hindus were concerned. But in its wider ramifications, it has stimulated separatist conceits and ambitions that in course of the last ten years have created a "civil war" mentality in the country where almost every creed and class has been organizing themselves to capture political power in the name of their particularistic interests. It is well-known that Mahatma Gandhi wanted to avoid a fight so soon after the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. This attitude was evidenced by the wording of his telegram to Lord Willingdon sent on the 29th December, 1931: "whether you expect me to see you and receive guidance from you as to the course I am to pursue in advising the Congress." Lord Willingdon rejected this opportunity of cementing co-operation between Indian Nationalism and the enlightened self-interest of British Imperialism. The second Civil Disobedience Movement was the natural result which continuing for about two years—1932-34—prepared by repression the mind of India to receive the constitutional changes made by the Act of 1935. The genesis and the long-drawn processes of shaping this machinery were informed by a spirit of arrogant imperialism, ignoring at every step Indian self-respect. The Imperial Government could not accept any of the suggestions made in the Joint Memorandum of the Indian delegates nominated by itself. The arrival of "provincial autonomy" changed in no way "a relationship that rests on conquest," whose "sanction" was the physical might of Britain, to quote the words of the well-known British publicist, Mr. Brailsford.

With the passage of this Act the ruling authorities hoped that they had been able to provide things that the men and women of India would remain satisfied with their enlarged electorates, from 70 lakhs to about 4 crores, and with the Ministries charged with the solution of "things that matter"—the problems of health, education and economic well-being with which are intimately bound up the life of the majority of the people. These problems of dirt, disease and ignorance could not be neglected any more without doing permanent injury to the body politic. The increasing recognition of this sorry state of affairs joined to the increasing resentment with the pretensions of "external authority", felt by increasing numbers of Indians, created a conflict in the mind of India that was reflected in the discussion of public affairs—a contradiction between the spoken word and the practice that sought to give it shape and form. The organization of the election campaign on behalf of the Congress was characterized by this contradiction. The purpose of sending Congress representatives to the Legislatures was declared to be to "combat" and to "end" the Act of which these were the products; the incorporation of the "Fundamental Rights" resolution (passed at the Karachi Congress, 1931), and of "Agrarian Programme" (accepted at the Lucknow Congress 1936) in the Congress Election Manifesto (22nd. August, 1936) held the promise of relief through these Legislatures of the many ills—political and economic and social—from which the people suffered. Facing the Congress Party in this battle for votes, stood the upholders of varied interests, communal and class, that under various disguises and with radical programmes on their lips tried to canalize the rising temper and the organized feeling of the country. In the election contest the Congress secured absolute majorities in five provinces—Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and Berar, Behar and Orissa; it was the single largest party in four—Bombay, Bengal, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province; in the Punjab and Sind Congress members were in a minority—a negligible minority.

When their leaders were called upon by the Governors in the provinces to help him in forming the Ministries, they demanded of the Governors' assurance that use would not be made of their veto and emergency powers, and that the advice of the Ministries would not be "set aside in regard to their constitutional activities." The Governors expressed inability to divest themselves of "certain obligations" which the Parliament had imposed on them. Ensued a constitutional deadlock; the Assemblies were not called in seven provinces; "interim ministries" were appointed to "conceal" this "breakdown" of the constitutional device, said Prof Berriedale Keith. For four months the controversy waxed and waned. As the statutory period for the convening of the Assemblies drew nearer, the Government, "ultra-sensitive over questions of prestige", yielded. Congress Ministries were formed in seven provinces; in Bengal and Assam, in the Punjab and Sind coalition ministries were functioning from April, 1937; the Congress Ministries from the last week of July, 1937. The refusal of the Congress

to entertain the idea of allowing its members to enter into coalition even as the predominant partner, as it was possible in Bengal and Assam, enabled Muslim communalist Ministries to be set up in these two provinces whose activities helped to work havoc with the decencies of civilised life, to inflame the bitterness of communal feeling and waft its poison all over the country. The lowest depth of this degradation was reached when outbursts of arson and loot in the city of Dacca and the country-side within the district occurred during 1941. The device of the "Communal Award" has been working toward its logical end.

The India Act of 1935 had a federal scheme to introduce. A sort of Diarchy was contemplated and vast areas of power in the administration were withheld from the people's representatives; the nominees of the rulers of the Indian States were given a disproportionately high representation in both the upper and lower houses of the Central Legislature. The Reserve Bank and the Federal Railway Authority were ~~constituted~~ ^{constituted} of the former; and the so-called States' representatives were so many "pocket-boroughs" under the ~~control~~ ^{control} of the external authority represented by the Governor-General. These and the "industrial" and commercial and political "safeguards" with which the Federal Scheme bristled repelled public opinion in India. The majority of Muslim politicians were afraid of a central Government where their communalist politics will keep them in a perpetual minority and where they were not prepared to play their part in politics free from narrow appeals to credal and class conceits and ambitions. The rulers of the Indian States were reported to be trying to press hard bargains in their negotiations over the "Instruments of Accession" both in their relation with the "Paramount Power" and in their apprehensions of the rising tide of democracy in their own States. For two years Lord Linlithgow was kept busy smoothing all this opposition with his utmost diplomacy when in September, 1939, the World War II of the 20th-century burst upon the world.

India was declared a belligerent by the Governor-General without even the pretence of consultation with the Central Legislature. This was regarded as an insult to Indian self-respect; it exposed before all the world the unnatural relation that subsisted between India with her 40 crores of people and Britain with her 5; it exposed the hollowness of the slogan raised by Britain that she was being forced into the present war for the defence of democracy. The declaration was no panic measure; the ground had been prepared for it six months earlier by a new Section—Section 126A—in the Act of 1935 securing to the Central Government of India "essential powers of direction and control" over the Provincial Governments when an emergency due to war was proclaimed by the Governor-General under Section 102 of the Act. The emergency power granted by this latter Section had been given to the Central Legislature elected on a wide popular franchise, whereas the new Section empowered an irresponsible Executive with power to give direction to a Province as to the manner in which the executive thereof is to be exercised." The majority of the Provincial Ministries raised objections to this "invasion" by the Centre on the sphere of authority conferred by the Act on the Provinces." Technically the British Government might have been right. But in relations like those that subsist between India and Britain legal and constitutional correctness does not play a helpful hand.

The actual outbreak of the war did not ease the tension between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism. The Indian National Congress voiced almost universal Indian feeling when in a statement issued on the 14th September, 1939, it called upon the British Government to declare their "war aims in regard to Democracy and Imperialism and the New Order that is envisaged; in particular, how these aims are going to apply to India and to be given effect to in the present." Such a declaration, said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a message to the *London Daily Chronicle*, will be able to "make the people of India enthusiastic for a war which was not theirs." The Congress invitation to the British Government was international in its import. Disatisfaction with the vague generalities of British politicians that found expression even in the statements of British leaders of thought was a proof that these "war aims" needed clearer statement. Other organisations of vocal Indian opinion—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind*—the organization of Muslim divines of India, for instance—were in their statements as insistent on the clarification of Britain's war aims and their application to the peculiar conditions of India. Up to now, (1942), the British Government has not been able to satisfy any party in India, to set up a Central Government at Delhi-Simla that would enlist the self-respect and self-interest of the country on the side of this

war of continents and oceans. This failure had led to the resignation of eight of the eleven Provincial Ministries of the country—Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces & Berar, Orissa, Bihar, Assam, the United Provinces, and the North-West Frontier Province. Two of these have since been revived—Orissa and Assam—carrying on a pale imitation of "provincial autonomy" under the rule of the military bureaucracy in India whom this "world war" has placed in this dominant position.

Apart from this argument between Indian Nationalism and British Imperialism, the various elements in Indian composite life have not shown that unity for ends and means that would have wrested political power from unwilling hands. The "Pakistan" claim of the Muslim League demands that areas where the Muslims happen to be in a majority should be constituted into sovereign "Independent States." This claim has been recognized by opinion in India and in the wide world outside as a threat to the unity and integrity of India. Confronted by such a situation the British Government stands in anxious helplessness. Priding itself on its concern for minorities it has itself coerced the majority at every step. Since the 8th August (1940) proposals of Lord Linlithgow for the enlargement of his Executive Council, there have been two enlargements thereof till to-day it consists of eleven Indians and four Europeans inclusive of His Excellency. This increasing "Indianization" and the "Draft Declaration" brought by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Cabinet in March, 1942, have not for divergent reasons appealed to any responsible party in India. Japan's startling success in Burma, in Malaya, in the Philippines, in the Dutch East Indies, the failure of Britain, the U. S. A. and Holland to stand up to the far-flung Japanese aggression have brought down their prestige in the market-place of world affairs. And the peoples of these areas along with those of India have reasons to be apprehensive of their future. A sense of frustration appears to be oppressing the minds of the men and women of India. It is not fear of Japanese invasion alone that is responsible for this state of things. The evacuation orders on people living in the coastal areas of the country have disturbed and disrupted their habits of life; practically no arrangements have been made on behalf of the State for life in newer places and surroundings for hundreds of thousands of men, women and children; the orgy of profiteering in the necessities of life; the incompetence of officialdom in face of these anti-social activities—all these, the latter two specially, have spread a feeling of helplessness in the country. This mentality has been affecting, however indirectly, the "war work" that was to repel the enemy and wrest victory from his grasp. Since the "Mutiny" days eighty-five years back the certainties of existence for the people of this continental country have not been so rudely shaken as during the first six months of 1942. The break-down of the machinery of civil administration in Malaya and Burma have sent more than five lakhs of refugees to India—men and women of India who had made their living in those countries. This has also added to the confusion of the times. These betokened changes for which the minds of the people had not been prepared. This unpreparedness has created difficulties both for the rulers and the ruled. The Japanese occupation of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands in the heart of the Bay of Bengal, the advance of Japan's hosts towards India's north-eastern borders, the hurried defence arrangements set up in the eastern districts of India—all these signs and portents confront us as we send these pages to the Press.

But it is not all dark. In our neighbourhood China has been showing how disappointments are to be faced. She alone has been showing for five years an unbeaten front against Japan. And the visit to India of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek in February, 1942, has been interpreted by all as bringing a message of hope to an India divided against itself and preparing herself to fight against imperialism within and aggression from without. This visit will remain a land-mark in India's recent history. The United States of America has sent to India her armed forces across ten thousand miles of the waters of three oceans to sustain the cause of the United Nations. India, kept unorganized in the modern arts of war and peace, unequal to meeting the challenge of international anarchy, is thankful for such friendliness. But she is not quite happy with this arrangement. For, she remains a debtor both materially and spiritually.

India in Home Polity

Introduction

The year 1941 closed and the year 1942 opened with defeats for the "United Nations" in the Pacific area stretching from China to the approaches of Australia—about four to five thousands miles. Japan, the newest to arrive at the field of imperialistic competition and exploitation, proved during seven months from December 7, 1941 to June, 1942, that she had got the men, she had got the ships, that she had got the money too to successfully challenge the might and prestige of Britain and the United States of America, and make good her claim to be the dictator of conduct in East Asia. During these months controversy has waxed louder with regard to the personal and impersonal forces and influences that have been responsible for the debacle that has overtaken the A. B. D. Powers (America, Britain and Dutch East Indies.) The British Premier and his military advisers had promised that "every preparation" had been made to meet the danger, that "a good account" would be given of themselves by their fighting forces. These promises have not been fulfilled, presaging the closing of an epoch which is expressed so succinctly by Prof. Nathaniel Peffer of the Columbia University (U. S. A.): "The day of Western Empire in the Far East, if not in the whole East, is done". In a House of Commons discussion in the last week of January, 1942, Mr. Churchill described the strategic reasons that had advised the keeping of the various defence measures comparatively weaker in East Asia. His Vice-Premier, Major Clement Attlee, also sought to justify this by saying that they could not be "strong everywhere". Mr. Churchill made much of the facts that help had to be sent to Russia, that a major offensive had to be organized in North Africa to drive Marshal Rommel out of it. But the failure of this offensive, typified by the fall of Tobruk announced on the 21st of June 1942, has yet to be explained. A British Army 11 per cent. superior in numbers, 40 per cent. stronger in tanks, 60 per cent in artillery; and at least as strong in the air, operating closer to its bases of supply, suffered a defeat in the desert warfare, because the Germans were able to "surprise" their foes with a type of anti-tank guns that they had used in every campaign in this war and with better tanks than those that had rolled out from the assembly lines of U. S. factories to the battle lines of the Middle East. In this sea-saw of advances and retreats, of victories and defeats, that have characterized the North African campaign, a joint Anglo-American attack has started, as we send these pages to the press.

Russia is a front by itself. Despite the wonderful recovery of her powers which appeared to have wrested victory from the German hosts, at the end of June 1942 she was far from reaching the objectives that would permanently halt the German advance pulled up for a while by the Russian winter. Leningrad still remained encircled. The Germans held Schlusseeburg, due east of the city, confining

Russia's wonderful recovery not enough

Russian access to it only across the ice of Lake Ladoga. Smolensk had yet to be regained. And to survive in the South the Russians must make operations on the central sector as expensive to their enemies as possible. Dnepropetrovsk, the site of the great dam destroyed by Russians themselves, as a step in the pursuit of their "scorched earth" policy, remained to be captured. The surrender of Sebastople a week later showed that during winter Germany had not been idle, that "the most gigantic and most concentrated winter work that the world has ever known" was done in two-thirds of Europe, for the forging weapons of offense that made the re-capture of Theodosia and Kerch by the Germans possible. Kharkov, the Jamshedpur of the Soviet (Russia) Republic, was in German occupation. It was, therefore, no great consolation to the "United Nations" that the superb defence put up by Russia wrung from Herr Hitler the declarations: "What-
(Holland and Belgium), Norwegian and Balkan campaigns pales in comparison with the task in Russia"; that "we made a mistake about one thing—we did not know how gigantic the preparation of Russia against Germany had been"; "Not the Soviet Army but 30, 35, 45 degrees of front have forced the Germany Army to abandon offensive operations in favour of stationary warfare" For, the German Panzer divisions have rolled on, penetrating into the Black Sea coast of central Caucasus, and trying to go further east. But Stalingrad stands in the way, and for about fourteen weeks Slav and Teuton have been wrestling in and about it from street to street, from block to block, from room to room; a fatal fascination holds the combatants to this stretch of land where nothing built up by the hands of men could have stood under the hail of bombs and mortar shells. For about four months Stalingrad has stood as the symbol of human endurance, the height of which no human being could ever imagine—human endurance, Slav and Teuton.

What the Nazi leaders wanted we have discussed in Vol. II. of 1939 and in Vol. I. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register*.

The secret of Soviet recovery
What influenced them to choose the particular time for attacking the Soviet Republic, leaving their accounts with the British Empire unsettled, has remained almost a mystery. The apostolic denunciation of Bolshevism is a thing apart. In the last week of May, 1942, however, Marshal Hermann Goering lifted a part of the veil. The decision to invade Russia at the particular time chosen, was caused by "the Russian speed-up in tank production, by the Russian construction of nearly 1,000 aerodromes in one year in the newly-occupied Polish territories." But, what enabled "the sheep-like multitudes of Russia" to beat back this attack is well-known. It was their combination of intelligent, self-reliant courage which taught the people in a country, where

"People, army, industry and soil—they are inextricably mingled in the conception of the Soviet State and in the development of its strategy, in the 'peace' years as well as to-day."

Historians have told us that "every incident of the Soviet Union's history, every item of its... ne, every change in its

The foresight of Soviet rulers—her industries transported beyond the Volga

political form and every enterprise under its industrial Five Years Plans is related to its state of war during the last twenty-five years." Apprehensive of German attack on the industries growing up in the western territories of the Soviet Union, the new builders of the Soviet State early decided to create a second coal and metallurgical base in the vast region beyond the Urals. This is the Ural-Kusnetsk Combine—1,250 miles apart—the combination of Kusnetsk coaking coal with the ores of the Urals. Thus have been built up "the largest iron and steel Works in Europe"—the "Stalin Iron and Steel Works"—at Magnitogorsk. Machine tool factories are studded all over from the Ural-Region to the Maritime Province on the Pacific. The Aircraft Works at Irkutsk lies almost at the centre of this 4,000 miles expanse of territory. The oil that moves the mechanism of modern fighting forces comes to Russia from its own oil fields in the Caucasus-Maikop-Grosney in the north, from Baku in the south. The world has been told that the German drive towards the Caucasus will be threatening the pipe-lines of this region, that these and the oil wells will be dynamited and devastated by the Red Army itself. A "second Baku" has, therefore, been provided for. In 1938 at Syzran in the Samara bend of the Volga an oil refinery was established for the oil fields of this region. This very short story gives an indication of the foresight of the Soviet rulers. The Urals were organized as a second arsenal of the Soviet Union. Into this region have also been crowded all the factories that were evacuated from the Donetz Basin. A summary report of the industries and factories thus evacuated may be quoted here to give an idea of the dynamics of Soviet policy :

"The Voroshilov factory, formerly at Dniepropetrovsk, began its retreat to the Urals at the end of September, 1941. In October 11, it was in production. By December 1st, it was already exceeding its former output. In the neighbourhood of Kuibyshev machine-tool plants from Kharkov have been re-erected and are in full production. Tanks, planes and guns are now being produced in factories erected in the Volga, in the Urals and as far east as Irkutsk in Central Siberia. The tremendous feat of transferring these factories eastwards can be gauged from the burden on Soviet rolling stock. Over 7,000 freight cars were used in transporting the machinery and workers of a single factory plant—now a tank plant—from Kharkov to the Samara region."

The long-ranged Five Years Plans, and the new industrialism that has been built up beyond the Urals since the eruption of German onslaught on Russia, have gained a new importance since Japan attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour. The destruction and disruption of Russian industries in the Ukraine and in the Donetz Basin made it necessary for Russia to indent on Britain and the United States for certain of the essentials of war. A Three-Power Supply Conference was held at Moscow—the Soviet Republic, Great Britain and United States—to find the best way for the "distribution of their common resources." A plan was drawn up. But it was held up when Japan joined the war. She prevented the U.S.A. from sending machine-tools, oil and aluminium to Vladivostock by closing the Straits leading from the Pacific Ocean to the Sea of Japan and locking the maritime coast of the Soviet Far East. No merchant vessel of the Allies

could risk unconvoyed the submarine-infested waters of the Pacific; they have not the capital ships and destroyers and planes to spare for convoy duty in North Pacific. As it is, Britain and the United States are engaged in an Atlantic Battle against German submarine attacks which have dared approach the eastern sea-board of the latter; in addition their ships have been trying to carry some help to Russia through the North Atlantic Ocean and the seas. By drawing the U.S.A. into the war Japan has thus deprived the Soviet Republic of a great part of the help she used to get from the Anglo-American Powers, and has thus indirectly but powerfully helped her Axis partners in Europe. She has forced on the "United Nations" the adoption of the longer supply-lines for supplies to Russia through the alternative routes—*via* the Persian Gulf, through Iraq and Iran into the Caucasus or across Turkestan and the Caspian Sea into the Urals. An idea of the help that Russia might have received from outside can be had from what the British Minister of Production, Mr. Oliver Lyttleton, said on the occasion of the inauguration of the "Anglo-Soviet Week" in the middle of July, 1942: 2,000 tanks had been sent at the rate of 50 tanks a week during a period of little over nine months; by the end of May (1942) 11 per cent more aircraft had been shipped than those promised up to the end of June (1942); for every 100 aircraft promised 111 had been shipped. Whether or not they had reached their destination was another matter.

But this was not the only help that the Soviet expected to receive, and deserved to receive. For a year since the 22nd June, 1941, the Soviet people, civil and military, have been bearing the full fury of German attacks. And practically nothing has been done by the Allied Powers to draw off a part of this fury on themselves. We have seen it stated that it was not hoped that Russia could survive beyond the autumn of 1941, that any help rendered to her could not stay her defeat. On the 18th of July, 1942, some such sentiment found expression in a leading article of the *New York Times*.

"...From British and American points of view it is of vital importance that Russia in Asia should stand even if Russia in Europe should be temporarily knocked out".

Even up to the time when we send these pages to the press (December, 1942), Russia in Asia has stood whole and erect. But it has not been much of a help to the "United Nations". For, by a special clause the Soviet Government has released itself from obligation to participate in the all-out Allied campaign against Japan. By this attitude the Soviet has been relieved of any pressure from the east, from Japan. But from the west Germany has been allowed to work havoc with the life, work and liberty of the Russian people, and no pressure has been put upon her that could weaken her strangle-hold on them. To this failure of Britain M. Josef Stalin pointedly referred in November, 1941:

There is no doubt that the absence of a second front in Europe against the Germans considerably relieves the position of the German Army. Nor can there be any doubt that the appearance of a second front on the Continent of Europe—and

undoubtedly this will appear in the near future—will essentially relieve the position of our armies to the detriment of the German Army."

Four months later when the "United Nations" front had been organized, when the United States of America had been forced into war by Japan, and had been forced to take the leadership of this Grand Alliance, the Soviet people still looked in vain for the relief which their leader had indicated.

Their ambassador to Washington, M. Maxim Litvinoff, in course of a speech delivered at the Over-Seas Press Club Dinner in New York, gave blunt expression to a widely-felt disappointment :

"We hear a lot about the common efforts of the "United Nations".....But common efforts which do not include common fighting may not be sufficient.....only by the simultaneous offensive operations on two or more fronts.....could Hitler's Armies be disposed of....."

These statements from Russian leaders brought on the notions of "United Nations" strategy, specially of British strategy, harsh criticism. In the last week of May, 1942, a debate was held in the House of Commons in response to an insistent demand for a "second front" against Germany. Sir Stafford Cripps was put up to speak on behalf of the British War Cabinet. He very handsomely recognised that Russia was protecting the vital heart of our resistance in Britain itself. But with regard to the second front, he was vague and indefinite. He could only say that Britain intended to make a carefully-planned attack on the continent of Europe at the right moment. Britain's unpreparedness for such an adventure was made manifest in the same speech. "Orders for dive-bombers had been given in 1940; why these have not come forward could not be revealed in public." Statements like these could not but hurt the self-esteem of the British people who felt that they were not pulling their full weight in the war. Mr. Ward Price writing to the *London Daily Mail* in the last week of March, 1942, said that unless Britain took the lead in making "an attack somewhere before autumn," she could emerge only as "a minor partner in the victorious alliance", that

"when so much of the rest of the world is fighting desperately, it is hardly conceivable that this country should keep large military forces marking time at home throughout the coming summer."

The fact also came out in this article that the air-strength concentrated in Britain was "much greater than the Germans have in France." Yet, these concentrations could not make any impression on the German defence measures erected from Norway in the north to the Bay of Biscay in the South. An attempt was made at about this time to send to Germany and over her cities, factories and ports increasing numbers of bombers showering death and destruction on them, disrupting the production of weapons of offense of all descriptions. 300 planes were sent, directed against Mannheim—rail-road centre on the upper Rhine in which were the Daimler-Benz air-plane engine works (for Messerschmitts, Dorniers etc), the Lenz Armament plant, the vast Badische Chemical Works). Over Cologne were sent 1,130 planes—bombers, heavy and light—

Air Raids into Germany—a substitute for a "second front"

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Gologne which housed Air and Submarine Engine, Explosives, Synthetic Rubber, and Chemical Works. The Royal Air Force swept over "occupied" France with 1,000 planes; struck at Essen with 1,035; bombed Bremen with 200; swept the Channel coast with 500; re-visited the Ruhr with 200; hit the Emden with 200; attacked the submarine centres at Lubeck and Rostock, shattering as the Germans had done to Coventry in September-October (1940); the blasting of Kiel and Trondheim and other small objectives used more than 1,500 planes. "Altogether Air-Marshal Harris sent between 6,000 to 7,000 planes over the continent in 8-days' time". The effect of air-raids like these has been held up for the world's instruction from a quotation made from the *Kölnische Zeitung*:

"Those who survived.....were fully aware that they had bade fare-well to the Cologne (they knew), because the damages are enormous and because the integral part of the character, and even the traditions, of the city are gone forever."

The campaign of destruction opened by these air-raids was treated at that time as the beginning of a "second front". The British Air Ministry issued a communique suggesting that 15,00,000 German troops were being kept in West Europe by this new offensive and all that it portended.

The *London Times* claimed that "half of the entire fighter strength of the R. A. F attacks" being kept away from the Russian front to meet the German air-strength and its distribution over Europe estimate of the German annual production 24,000; air strength 30,000, has to be considered—France and Low Countries (Holland & Belgium, distributed as follows: France and Low Countries (Holland & Belgium, —1,050 (first-line planes); Norway—300; Italy and Sicily—700; North Africa—500; Greece and Crete—100; the Russian front—1,600; Germany—400; Total—4,650. It has to be remembered in this connection that for every air plane in the fighting line, there are about five more in reserve and in use for training and transport. Comparing these figures with Britain's there is truth in the claim made in the middle of April, by the latter's Labour Minister Ernest Bevin, that his country's air-craft production had reached parity with Germany's, and that in five or six weeks more the output of U.S.A. factories will be equalling it to the combined production of Germany, Italy and Japan. Accepting at its face-value this claim the question remained yet to be answered—why with this superiority in one of the major weapons of the present war Germany still retained her hold on "occupied" Europe, retained nine-tenths of the area that she had snatched from Russia; why Japan which has an aircraft production of 300 only a month should be able to range over more than 5,000 miles from the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific to New Britain north-east of Australia? Answers to this question have not been forthcoming. But this the world knows that the air-raids sent out from Britain that have ranged from Bergen and Danzig, to Venice Milan and Turin have failed to break through the defences erected by German engineers like Todt and Speer who have rendered the coastal areas of Continental Europe nearest to Britain "invulnerable against invasion attempt."

We have tried to draw a picture of the European and African war fronts as these stood in June, 1942, the events and developments during which form the subject of study in this volume of the *Indian Annual Register*. A "second front" to relieve pressure on Russia remained to be opened, though a U. S. A. paper spoke in the last week of May that the Russian Foreign Minister Molotov carried from his visit to Washington some sort of an "undertaking" that a "second front" would be opened in 1942. As the New York weekly, *Time*, put it :

"The map spoke eloquently for an Allied offensive in Europe. There the Allies would be closer to their own bases, closer to the enemy than in the Pacific..... They also would find welcoming, Nazi-hating populations, instead of the uncertain, imperialized hordes of the Indies, Malaya and India."

The world has been told by Mr. Churchill who dictates policy and strategy in the British War Cabinet of the many deficiencies in their armour, specially shipping and transport, of the many other difficulties that stood in the way of a "second front". But still the world speculated whether or not political prejudice has had any influence on the failure to send the long-awaited-for and long-delayed help to the Soviet people. In discussions of the subject specially after Japan's sweeping victories that had hit the U. S. A. so hard in her self-esteem, the point has been raised that as Russia has been receiving help from the "United Nations" and expecting and clamouring for more of it, she should reciprocate in some way. The news that a bomber, the "Flying Fortress", has been sent to Russia occasioned comments in the U. S. A. Press. The *Washington Post* can be regarded as representative of this feeling when it wrote :

"The landing of an American bomber on Russian soil will reinforce the feeling that the Russians should be asked at least for passive co-operation in our war with Japan."

"We are not asking Russia for active co-operation in the Pacific which the "United Nations" are giving Russia in Europe. Yet this co-operation is surely an argument for some approach to reciprocity."

The paper became concrete when it suggested that Russia should lend at least to the United States some of her air-bases in the Arctic area, thus making it possible for the latter to direct a continuous air offensive upon Japan. Certain U. S. A. tacticians planned it this-wise. As the key to the victory in the Pacific lies in the north, so does the key to the north lies in the Sakhalin. Geographic obstacles and poor communications should not be permitted to dim the value of this front. If the estimated losses of a year be concentrated and accepted in an offensive in this front that would not only eject the Japanese from Karafuto (southern half of Sakhalin) but would follow them to Hokkaido with Hanshu (the main Japanese island) and Tokyo as the objective. The invasion of Hokkaido may take place not only from the Sakhalin but via the Kurile Islands which continue the Aleutian chain. American carrier-planes and bombing squadrons based upon Kamchatka, would serve a double purpose. While considering this complication, it may be noticed that the tacticians of the Japanese fighting forces have anticipated such a development by

bombing Dutch Harbour, the chief naval and air base of the Aleutian Islands and by occupying Kiska, the western-most island of this chain of islands. Though the point discussed in this paragraph is a digression from the story related above, Russia's indifference to the debacle that has overtaken her comrades of the "United Nations" has a distinct place in the record of World War II of the 20th century.

The discussion of Allied failures in Europe and North Africa traced thus far may have its relieving features in the glorious chapter of Russia's fight against the hosts recruited under the Nazi banner from almost all countries of continental Europe except Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, and perhaps Portugal. In the Far East the Allies have failed more ignominiously. The measure of this defeat is incalculable to-day. An estimate of it given by a U. S. A. weekly, *The Time* of New York, in June 1942 gives in summary the effects and consequences of Japan's victory.

"The U. S. A. is already the senior partner among its allies in the battle."

"And in the Far East the U. S. A. has actually taken over from Britain the greatest burden of the battle."

"Yet the immediate military position of the 'United Nations' is far weaker to-day than it was before Pearl Harbour."

"Before Pearl Harbour the 'United Nations' commanded the Seven Seas. The British strategy has been to blockade Europe until Hitler ran out of oil. Six months later the 'United Nations' have largely lost control of the Mediterranean, the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, and a good part of the Pacific (the part where rubber came from). They have even had to permit the enemy to roam the Atlantic coastal waters of Continental U.S.A."

"Meanwhile oil has also become a problem of the United Nations. Australia must now get oil from the U.S.A. (7,000 miles). The British have to get oil from Venezuela, or around the Cape of Good Hope (11,000 miles.) In 17 States of the U.S. whose entire civilian economy has been oil-motivated for 30 years, oil is rationed. That alone suffices to tell the Americans that the winning of the war has not begun and that its losing has gone on apace.

"At the end of the first six months of the war the U.S. learnt three ugly facts :

(1) "That even its continental borders are not safe from attack, that West coast raids are 'inevitable'; the East coast is already strewn with the wreckage of its own coast-wise tankers."

(2). "That the British, as an ally, can be a liability as well as an asset. In the Far East, in Hongkong, in Malay, in Burma, aboard the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*, the unexpected weakness of their forces and the incompetence of their commanders almost made Americans forget the great lesson of 1940, that Englishmen are brave";

(3). "That defence cannot win the war."

"The campaigns to date have been won by the enemy.

"Axis submarines operating from Newfoundland to South America had attacked and sunk 213 vessels since Pearl Harbour, at the rate of more than a ship a day."

"The U.S. has been licked all along its eastern sea board.

As against this sombre story of retreats and surrenders the Press of the world could record "United Nations" success at the battles of the Coral Sea and the Midway, and the capture of vital bases in Madagascar. By the former two the U.S. Naval-and-air-forces "avenged" Pearl Harbour; "restored the balance of the Pacific naval power." By the latter Britain helped to clear the western part of the

Allied successes
in Pacific & Indian
Ocean areas

Indian Ocean of Jap prowlers of the sea. For once, it was said, "the British made an effort to get their first." This 980 miles long island, the fourth largest in the world, belonged to France. There was every possibility that it might fall into Axis hands as Indo-China had been allowed to do. Its naval base at Diego Suarez, and the 4 major air-fields at Diego Suarez, Ivato, Fort Berge and Majunga would have been invaluable for the Axis joining of hands in the Indian Ocean. In the last volume of the *Register* we have discussed the possibilities of the grand strategy of the Axis partners in Europe and Asia in which Marshal Ernest Rommel would be over-running Egypt and the Axis forces poised in Greece, Crete and the Dodecanese Islands, and sweeping through Syria and Palestine, would be meeting Jap ships in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea. That would break the "United Nations" blockade and present Germany and Italy with the riches of the East, the Near and the Far East. The beating that Jap naval and air-forces received at Colombo and Trincomalee and the capture of Madagascar did not a little to intercept the march of this "grandiose plan". If Madagascar had fallen into Axis hands, the 250-miles wide Mozambique Channel between it and Mozambique in Africa's eastern shore would have been infested with Axis air-craft and naval ships, playing havoc with Allied shipping to the Persian Gulf, to Egypt, to Karachi and to Bombay bringing the essentials of war and peace to Russia, to Egypt and to India.

We have tried to draw up a balance-sheet of Axis and "United Nations" profit and loss during the first six months of 1942. In the last volume of the *Register* we traced the source of the many forces that enabled Japan to gain such resounding successes against Britain and the United States. There cannot be any manner of doubt that

A six months'
Balance Sheet

the incompetence of military commands and the congenital weakness of civil administrations combined to produce the disasters that have startled the world—the vanquished and the victors alike. The report of the Commission appointed by President Roosevelt to investigate into and fix the blame for the Pearl Harbour "day of disgrace" revealed the complacent disbelief in the dangers of which the Commanding General and the Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. A. Pacific Fleet had been warned by the Washington authorities for about twelve months, and exposed the other military failing that "the Navy was Navy and the Army was Army and never the twain should co-operate". With regard to Britain's Far Eastern possessions, though the British Government has refused to hold an inquest into the disease of the "Singapore spirit", the same failings have been traced all through the Hongkong, Malaya, Singapore and Burma campaigns. We must await the end of the war to receive enlightenment on the many causes that brought down in ruins the structure of British Imperialism in this region of the earth. But one thing has come out in the context of this story of failures and stupidities—"the British Colonial policy of not carrying the indigenous peoples' support" for the prosecution of peace-and-war-aims, as Mr. Hore Belisha, Britain's war minister in the Chamberlain Government, phrased the indictment.

Observers from far and near, correspondents of the British and the

United States Press, who have accompanied the British forces in their retreats and fights, have time after time stumbled on this hard fact. One can go on quoting them for any length. We give below representative extracts from their comments and communications. In the *Over-seas Daily Mail* (London) of the 28th March, 1942, appeared the following :

"As the Japanese moved north the truth of the campaign in Southern Burma is, emerging from the smoke, and the full extent of Burmese disaffection can be revealed".

"Numbers of Burmese went over to the enemy. The Jap formed them into 'Burmese' bands with blue uniforms, and it is believed that these were in action against us. Certainly these were active in sabotage. The civilian population also to some extent were anti-British."

The United Press (U.S.A) correspondent, Karl Eskelund, was told by an American pilot of the *American Volunteer Group* of air-men after visiting four Burma towns :

"Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Britishers. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way.....Rangoon is a horrible place. Foreigners risk their lives when they walk in the city, which are completely in the hands of the looters and killers who are running amok".

The most comprehensive account of the various factors that contributed to the defeat of the British was sent by Jack Belden, special correspondent of the *New York Time* (weekly).

"In the first place we lacked sound political theory; we had no war aim in Burma. The people, advocating independence, were unfriendly from the beginning; and when the Japanese began to succeed this ripened into open hostility."

"The open hostility of the people caused us to fight blindly.....Intelligence broke down almost completely. The Japs were led by Burmese people through country paths, jungles, thickets, into the rear of our position again and again; causing numerous road blocks, clogging our supply lines, disrupting communications and causing an adverse psychological effect on the minds of men and officers.....Railroads were wrecked, cars were fired upon in the dark.....The Japanese and small groups of active Burmese that were their allies, literally and devastatingly burned their way through Burma.

"Our lines of communication were uncertain. The railroads often did not run because the railwaymen ran away or were intimidated by the Burmese".

"We never received any reinforcements....."

"Finally, the Japanese fought total war, backed by political theory and strengthened by powerful propaganda. They made this total war feasible by cornering economic life in conquered areas, utilizing labour power and seizing raw materials to supply continuing war from war itself. It is a type of war thoroughly understood by Russians and Germans, half adopted by the Chinese, and little understood by Britain and America."

"We lacked air support. The Japs continually knew our every movements and picked out holes in our lines through which they pushed their troops."

"Every cottage was a machine-gun nest. They (our troops) have trampled over treeless, waterless hills, and been sniped at by Burman traitors and Japs posing as Chinese."

In reply to analysis like this the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Leopold Amery, attempted a justification which only transferred the blame from these outskirts of the Empire to its centre at Downing Street. Speaking to members of the Birmingham Unionist Association, he asserted that Malaya had not been lost

"for lack of loyalty of its people or because of incompetence or want of sympathy on the part of our administrators. It is because we here at home failed sufficiently to honour the obligations for their defence implicit in our trustee-ship."

In trying to explain, in course of a broad-cast to Canada, the failures in Malaya and Singapore, Lord Beaverbrook said that the latter "was not lost to superior equipment", on the contrary "that weight of munitions was on our side". In course of a speech at New York on April 23, 1942, he said: "We cannot explain our failures". This official British attitude leaves the door open to all sorts of speculations in which Mr. Amery's are as plausible as the others that have been indulged in. Whether this attitude is conducive to the ultimate victory of the "United Nations" is more than one can hazard to say. Political sympathies or antipathies will have a part in colouring these speculations. But discomfort has seized the conscience of people whom force of circumstance has ranged on the side of Britain in what appears to be a defence of British Imperialism and all that it has stood for as the pioneer of capitalist exploitation of distant lands and peoples since the middle of the 18th century. This discomfort has become most manifest in the United States which willy nilly will have to foot the bill of the present "global war". It is to this discomfort that we can trace the argument as it has been framed by one of the most wide-awake of U. S. publicists—"Pundit" Walter Lippmann:

"It has never seemed possible to the pre-Singapore British Government that it could apply the principles of the Atlantic Charter east of the Suez.....The Western nations must now do what hitherto they lacked the will and imagination to do; they must identify their cause with the freedom and security of the peoples of the East, putting away the white man's burden and purging themselves of the taint of an obsolete and obviously unworkable white man's imperialism.

"We have reason to think that the peoples of Asia will believe us... the Phillipino knew that under American law their own independence is assured to them.....This is the only part of partnership that deserves to work. It is the only kind of patnership that can work."

This statement takes us into the heart of the problem of social and colour discrimination that has been embittering relations between men and men in the modern world. India and China which are inhabited by about half the population of the world are victims to such discrimination. This lowly status of theirs in the international world cannot restore balance to it when rival ideas and ideologies, conceits and ambitions, hopes and fears have converted whole continents and oceans into so many battle fields. Japan's cannibal designs on China and her success in bringing Thailand, Malaya, Burma, the Dutch East Indies and the Phillipines into her "co-prosperity sphere," have forced the hitherto dominant Western peoples to dimly recognise that without the help and co-operation of the more than ninety crores of these two countries their own particular interests and the peace of the world cannot be ensured.

For more than five years China has been maintaining the unity of her State and the integrity of the soul of her people under the leadership of one of the greatest men of this age—Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-shek. She has been encircled in the north-east and south-east of her territories; her ports in the more than two thousand miles of her coasts have been blocked or taken away from her; her contact with the world has been all but cut. Only through the North-West "Red Route" to

Racial & colour
arrogance

China's "lifelines"
& India

Russia and through the South-West "Burma Road" did she maintain the line of communication on which rolled to her the weapons of war and the materials of peace during these years. It has been reported that over this "Red Road" China received some of the captured German booty—Mauser rifles, machine-guns, anti-tank and anti-aircraft guns. Japan has been able to cut the "Burma Road" by her conquest of Burma. This danger did her far-sighted leaders anticipate. And they set their labour power to build an alternative Road. In the wild, peaked plateau where India and China meet, just above the conquered Burma "some 20,000 Chinese cutters of stones and some 4,00,000 other labourers blasted, hewed and dug away at a substitute route into India from Chengtu, capital of the province of Szechwan, across 10,000 ft. peaks, across three rivers and many other obstacles between Sichang in China and a border railhead at Sadiya in north-eastern India."—(*Time* February 9, 1942). The world knows now of this engineering feat, yet incomplete, though begun two years back; the same paper reporting that it took two years and 2,00,000 labourers to build the easier 350 miles stretch to Sichang. There is yet another substitute "route"—that supplied by about "100 transport planes" provided by the United States. Supplies landed in India's west coast are carried across India by rail and flown some hundreds of miles to China from air-bases "somewhere" in India. Each plane can carry a load of 3 to 4 tons; daily rounds of trips by these planes could carry 9,000 to 12,000 tons a month—as much as the Burma Road had carried on trucks. These planes could carry most of the things the trucks did—pack mortars, field mortars, Bren guns, small machines, engine parts, medical supplies, radio equipment. This is how through India has been going help to China from the "United Nations". By driving the U. S. administration from the Phillipines the Japanese have converted India into one of the bases of operations—distant operation through China—to be directed against them. By cutting the "Burma Road" the Japanese have shut one back-door of China, and forced another through India.

This development has given meaning to the new Allied strategy in the Far East—"India must be held not only for herself but for China also." The failure of Britain to hold Burma and India's place in this strategy Malaya and the eastern half of the Bay of Bengal, has forced this extended line of offence and defence. Till the end of the war when Governments will publish their versions of the war's successes and failures, and commanders of their armies, navies and air-forces will publish their stories, we must continue to speculate why the British did not accept the help proffered by the leaders of China in the shape of seasoned soldiers who have been trained into hardness by five years of battle with the Japanese technique. We have been told that this help was offered before the Japanese had burst into Thailand in their way to Malaya. We have yet to understand why the Allied High Command did not direct attack on the right flank or the rear of the Japanese army as it moved into Malaya. The Chinese soldiers were there at least.

The consequence of this policy or strategy was that it was

possible for the Japanese to take Burma with "only 50,000 troops", to quote Lieutenant-General Stillwell, the U. S.-born Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese forces in Burma.

The story of
"jungle warfare"

It might also be that the superiority of Japanese soldiers—their toughness, their ability to "linger

on meagre rations"—weighed all along the campaign; that to quote Lieutenant General Stillwell again—"you can't go up against him (the Jap) with a rag-tag and bob-tail collection of troops and hope to win". This depreciation, and the story, given out later, that the army in Malaya and Burma were not trained in "jungle warfare", were hard to accept at their face value. We do not know the classes of people that constituted the British army in these two countries. But it is difficult to believe that a few battalions were not formed by men from the tribal areas to the north-west of India—the training ground of the Indian Army for about three quarters of a century; that Garhwal and Nepal did not supply their quota. All these men came from hilly and jungle tracks. Further, we learn from the *Daily Mail* that the 93rd Foot of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders went to Singapore in August, 1939, one month before the present war broke out, with the object of becoming "jungle specialists", and forming "Tiger patrols"; other sections of the Indian Army—Indian and foreign—must have been made to pass through the same training. The question will, therefore, continue to be asked—why should the British army in Malaya's jungle warfare and Burma's have failed to stand up to the Japanese as they poured into these foreign countries? Perhaps, it is best to rest content with the reply given by Lord Beaverbrook that the failures in the Far East could not be explained.

The developments during the seven months—December 1941 to June 1942—since the 7th of December, 1941, when Japan started the

Why did not
Japan invade
India?

war in the Far East—have brought us to this fact—to hold Burma the Japanese must attack India; to maintain possession of the Dutch East Indies they must attempt the invasion of Australia. British and

American papers gave it out that they were capable of attacking both simultaneously. None of these anticipations have come true. Between Mandalay and the eastern borders of Bengal lie 300 to 400 miles of almost uninhabited jungles and mountains without roads. In and about the Solomon Islands the Japanese have been held back. The possession of New Britain's Rabaul and New Guinea's Gona-Buna area has not enabled them to approach nearer to Australia, though they have bombed Port Darwin any number of times. The monsoon has stopped them at a distance of about 40 miles from the State of Manipur within India's borders. The hands of their opponents have also been stayed from attempts to dislodge them from Burma. Cherrapoonji and Akyab are in the same line—north and south—which is the wettest region in the world; the former registering 500 inches of rain in the year, the latter 250 inches. It is not possible to say why the Japanese did not utilize their position in the Bay of Bengal to attack India through the air and sea, trying to disrupt and destroy the various organizations and institutions that have been set up there preparing weapons of war for future use. The bombing of Vizagapatam and Cocanada, of Colombo and Trincomalee showed the danger of this

attack. In the Ceylon area the Japanese suffered a defeat, though inflicting on the British the loss of two cruisers—*Dorsetshire* and *Cornwall*—and of a small carrier—*Hermes*. Then they turned their back on India. Why?

The air-attack on Tokyo on April 18, 1942, must have been partly responsible for this turn of the tide. From the sea to the north-east had swept a fleet of U. S. bombers and "for the first time in 2602 years the island cities of Japan were subjected to enemy assault". Tokyo received the first bombs; Yokohama, the first port of Japan, was left "a wreckage"; the great Mitsubishi and Aichi air-plane manufacturing plants at Nagoya received attention as well as the shipyards and foundries of Kobe. The raiders were reported to have numbered 60. This air-attack posed a problem for Japan—where did the raiders come from—from carriers or from air-bases in China? Much later it came out that they had flown from carriers that had started from Pearl Harbour, more than 4,000 miles away. But in April, the Japanese thought that these came from air-bases built in the provinces of Shantung and Chekiang, the latter the Generalissimo's native province. The names of Kinkwa, Nanchang, Hankow and Changsha leapt into prominence in those days. The fear of large-scale bombing attacks on their island homes from bases in China drove the Japanese to concentrate their whole attention on China—to destroy or occupy the air-bases in China, and to cut China off from all external sources of supply. For the latter purpose Japan directed attack on China's south western province, Yunnan, from three directions—up the Hanoi-Kunming railway from Indo-China, up the Burma Road, up by roads from Myitkyina into western Yunnan. This combination of Japanese moves appeared to be "a graver threat to China than any that has appeared in nearly five years of war", to quote an American authority. British failure to hold Burma intensified this threat. And the importance of India in the scheme of "United Nations" strategy for saving China and defeating Japan increased.

We noticed in the last volume of the *Register* the differences that had arisen between London strategists dominated over by Mr. Churchill and the leaders of the Pacific nations. Australia's leaders were very bitter in their criticism of this policy. But China's Military Mission to U. S. the rulers of China could not afford to be so outspoken. They had to wait, do their own part of the fighting, send their strategists to London and Washington to tell their opposite numbers amongst the "United Nations" of the experiences that they had gathered during their fights with the Japanese. In the second week of April, 1942, they sent a Military Mission to Washington headed by General Hsiung Shih Hui; the Generalissimo's nephew, Mr. Peter Chuh, was one of its members. A U. S. A. paper has told us that the Mission rented a house, set up an office on the walls of which hung military maps, showing in detail the disposition of Japanese troops in China and all south-eastern Asia: inside this office sat on chairs "several men whose heads are crammed with

information about the Japanese army, how it operates and how it fights". But during five weeks "no high-ranking U. S. Army officer" took the "trouble" to call on the telephone or knock at the door of 2,374 Massachusetts Avenue". And General Hsiung issued a statement to the press pointedly pointing out that the "United Nations" might not win "unless there is a unified strategy covering all the theatres of operations."

In the last week of May the "United Nations" High Command—the Combined Chiefs of Staff—held its first session at Washington in which the principal Pacific Powers were represented. This new organization superseded the earlier arrangements, announced in the beginning of January, 1942. The bitter disappointments of the Malaya, Burma, and Dutch East Indies campaigns had led to this supersession. General Archibald Wavell reverted to his position of Commander-in-Chief of India, adding Ceylon to his jurisdiction. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek retained his supreme command of the "United Nations," which are now or may, in the future, be operating in the Chinese theatre of war including certain portions of Indo-China and Thailand. Lt. General Joseph Stillwell as Chief of Staff of the "Gissimo" controlled U. S. forces in India, Burma and China. It was at this meeting of the Allied Chiefs of the Staffs that the United States accepted "primary responsibility" for the Pacific Front.

We in India had no part or lot in these discussions, though our hearts beat in unison with the cause represented by China. The reason for this failure and inability is implicit in the unnatural relation that subsists between the people and the State in India. The rulers of China early recognised the danger of this inner weakness of the country that should be a shield to the western frontier of their own country. This recognition must have brought Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India in the first week of February, 1942, when the Japanese were hammering their way towards Singapore. The object of this visit was, to use the words of the supreme leader of China, to have a "personal exchange of views" with the members of the Government in India, and with "prominent men" in India's public life, in order to "secure more effective united efforts against aggression". The visit had been preceded by a discussion held at Chungking between China's Supreme Commander and General Wavell as the threat to and through Burma became imminent. In his parting message he explained this idea more explicitly. To "his brethren, the people of India," he addressed as follows :

".....at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the cause of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and the Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India there could be no real peace in the world".

To their "ally Great Britain" he confidently appealed: :

.....without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, (she) will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression

nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom.

These two quotations give us the idea which brought about this historic visit—to make an attempt for the reconciliation of India's national self-respect with Britain's interests. For the success of this work he must have used his powers of persuasion both on Lord Linlithgow and on the leaders of the Indian people. We know that his mission was a failure. Great Britain could not transfer "real political power" into the hands of the Indian leaders; the latter, therefore, could not persuade their people to render that heart-felt help to China that they desired. We will come to know the real facts of the Generalissimo's talks with Lord Linlithgow and the Indian leaders when the history of these times comes to be published. We do not know whether or not the bureaucracy in India welcomed the idea of the Chinese leader's interference, however friendly, with affairs in India. He was feasted and feated and spoken of in complimentary terms, no doubt. But the correspondents of the Press, Indian and foreign, could not help commenting on the fact that Lord Linlithgow sent his aide-camp only to the New Delhi aerodrome to receive the honoured guests from China. The New York weekly, *Time*, dated March 16, 1942, wrote: "Last month when Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek paid his momentous visit to India, the Viceroy sent an aide to welcome him instead of going himself". The leaders of the Indian National Congress, of the Hindu Maha Sabha, and of the Sikhs were profuse in their welcome; the leaders of the Muslim League were of divided mind; they were afraid that the removal of the Indian deadlock at the instance of the Chinese leader might do harm to their particularistic conceits and ambitions.

It is a historical fact, however, that the vast majority of India's politically-minded people have been keen supporters of the national cause of China since the days when Dr. Sun Yat-Sen began his struggle for the realization of the "Three Principles of the People" in the life of the "Five Peoples" that make up the Chinese Nation—The Han, The Man, The Mung, The Huai, and the Tsan—The Chinese proper, the Manchus, the Mongols, the followers of Islam, and the Tibetans. It is true that Japan by her victory over Russia in 1904-'05 captured the imagination of all non-white peoples as the rising hope of their racial and national self-respect. In the opening years of this century, the visit of Kakuju Okakura, the author of *The Ideals of the East*, was one of the influences that inspired the Swadeshi Movement associated with the agitation against the Partition of Bengal. It is on record that this Japanese thought-leader was a welcome guest in the Tagore family at Calcutta where foregathered Rabindra Nath Tagore and other members of the family, Sister Nivedita of Ramkrishna-Vivekananda, Bipin Chandra Pal, P. Mitra and other thinkers and public men who were planning to make a "new departure" in the political thought and conduct of our people. But Japan's treatment of Korea (1910-'11), the history of her "21 Demands" made on the Chinese Republic in 1915, her invasion of Manchuria (1932) worked a change in their dreams of

The motives of
the Generalissimo's
visit

India's relation
with China &
Japan

an Asian Unity to be organized under Japan's leadership against the pretensions of the Western peoples.

The lining up of the Indian people by the side of the Chinese became vivid in the correspondence between the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi and Rabindra Nath Tagore (September-October, 1938). The former had appealed to the latter, and through him to the Indian people, "to study the Japanese stand-point" in this fight between two neighbours. Time was when the Indian poet had spoken of "the living bond of love and reverence" that had bound him to the land from beyond which the sun rises. In the correspondence under notice he spoke with sorrow of the causes and the many consequences of the "desolating mutual destruction" in which China and Japan had got "entangled". And this sorrow was intensified as he and his people contemplated the shattering of their hopes of an Asian renaissance in which Japan would be plying a helpful part :

"I can no longer point out with pride to the example of a great Japan. It is true that there are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and that the so-called civilized peoples of the West are proving equally barbarous and even less worthy of trust".

The Japanese poet drew attention to the ultimate harm that India's attitude of criticism and condemnation of Japan's adventure in China may lead to :

"What I fear most is the present atmosphere in India which tends to wilfully blacken Japan and to alienate her from your own country.....Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia".

Rabindra Nath found no grace in this doctrine. And the developments that have taken place since then to the present day when Japan has made good by blood and iron her claim to be the leader of a "co-prosperity sphere in Greater East Asia" have proved the hollowness of this propaganda, as unsubstantial as the idea of the unity of a Christian Europe. It was true that in our own country also the question of an Asiatic Federation had been canvassed for about the same length of time, for about 40 years since the Russo-Japanese war. In certain previous volumes of the *Register*, specially those of 1938 and 1940, we have tried to understand and explain the many personal and impersonal influences that have played their part in encouraging and discrediting belief in this propaganda. The proceedings of the Indian National Congress during the twenties and the latter thirties have to be studied to get a clear idea of the movement of thought on this subject.

At a time when the forces of progress and reaction in Eastern Asia have ranged themselves in distinct and definite positions, when Japan has become the disturber of the peace to all progressive peoples in Asia, when China has become the hope and friend of all that stands for human dignity, India has chosen her side. It is not possible to trace in full detail the history of the evolution of the new comradeship of India and China, during the recent decades. But students of international relations have not failed to take note of the fact that the Nationalist

Reflected in
Rabindra Nath's
correspondence
with Yone Noguchi

Rabindra Nath &
renewal of Indo-
China comradeship

Movements in India and China have acted and reacted on each other. Others have tried to recall us to "the ancient bonds of history that unite the people of China and India as brothers," to quote Madame Chiang Kai-shek's felicitous expression. We had lost all traces of this history till Rabindra Nath Tagore recovered them from the debris of ages during his visit to China in 1924. The Chinese in appreciation of this great work, perhaps, conferred on him a Chinese name—*Chu-Chen-Tan*—"Thunder-voiced Rising Sun of India"—on the occasion of his 64th birth-day. Rabindra Nath recalls this episode in lines of sensitive feeling :

Once I went to China. Those whom I had not met
Put the mark of friendship on my forehead.
Calling me their own.

.....
I took a Chinese name, dressed in Chinese clothes.
This I know in my mind—
Wherever I find my friend, there I am born anew."

In these words Rabindra Nath speaks as a representative of India. Through him India and China have come nearer to each other, renewing ancient relations. In one of our *Puranas*—records of old times—there is a reference to one of the *Rishis* and saints of the clan of Vasishta who went to *Maha-Chin*—Great China. In historic times since the rise of Buddhism the commerce of spiritual and material things between the two countries became brisk and remained so for more than a thousand years. The names of religious pilgrims, of seekers after truth, that became prominent and find a place in history are Kasyapa Matanga, Kumarajiva and Gunaratna among Indians ; Fa-Shien, Hsuan-Tsang and Ti-Tsing among Chinese. In the history of the *Tantrik Cult* there was mention of inter-communication between the two countries. How and why this profitable commerce shrank in value and volume, it is difficult to say. And there is no doubt that for about three centuries it ceased completely. From the side of China the pilgrims to Buddha Gaya and other holy places of Buddhism in India have kept up some sort of a relation. From the side of India there was hardly any appreciation of this avenue of spiritual give-and-take. It was Rabindra Nath, as we have said, who revived the old traditions. And in the *Cheena Bhavan* attached to the *Visva-Bharati*, the nucleus of a World University, established by him at Shantiniketan (Bengal), we have the sign and symbol of a renaissance in Asia that would build up a newer and better world.

For, there cannot be any manner of doubt that for better or for worse the life and labour of 90 crores of human beings will have to be counted in any world-development that we can foresee. As Will Durant put it in a magazine article, speaking of the Chinese :

"Surely the future must belong to a nation that can be happy without money, content without love, strong without good food, healthy without soap. And intelligent without knowledge ! "

The coming together of this vast mass of humanity must have a meaning in the scheme of creation, hidden though it may be at

China's awakening
& the world's
future

present from our limited comprehension. A sensing of this development was presented to the European world in a book by a pacifist who suffered for his belief during 1914-'18, Dr. G. F. Nicolai, sometime Professor of Physiology at the Berlin University. In *The Biology of War* he indicated the possibilities of a Chinese awakening in these words :

....."the Sons of Heaven have the enormous advantage of being able to work equally well under all heavens, whether under the icy waste of tundras or under the burning sun of Sumatra. Apparently, this is a special Mongolian peculiarity ; even primitive Teutonic peoples simply melted away under the southern sun to which their impulse had led them, and Negro races got consumption if transferred to colder climates."

There may be a hint of "Yellow Peril" in the words quoted above. The late Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany who started and lost World War I. of the 20th Century is credited with raising the cry of "Yellow Peril" to Europe. That is no longer a factor in international affairs. New developments have started the growth of certain mental and material processes that, the world hopes and prays, will help to eliminate all narrow racial and colour conceits in the conduct of States. The joint efforts for the defeat of reactionary forces in which India and China are partners to-day indicates the possibilities of such a future. In a previous para we have referred to commerce in matters spiritual between India and China. In recovering fuller traces of it Indian and Chinese scholars and researchers will come upon many interesting things. The *Cheena Bhavan* at Shantiniketan under the guidance of Prof. Tan-Yun-Shan has been laying the foundations of a noble and necessary work—necessary for friendship between nations—friendship built on knowledge. The appreciation of the worth of this work has been more than handsome from the side of China. Funds have come from it to give the *Cheena Bhavan* a start ; the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have donated Rs. 80,000 for the development of "cultural fellowship between China and India," through the medium of the *Viswa-Bharati*."

This fellowship will also pave the way for the commerce in things material between our two countries. And in this connection it is significant of the future that the country that is to-day known as Bengal had a part to play in the evolution of China's economy. Havell's *History of India* made a reference to this fact. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* (September, 1934) has said that without a knowledge of bronze weapons and irrigated rice culture there could not have been increase in population and the foundation of large organized States in China. Referring to the development of the latter the article has the following :

"The cultivation of irrigated rice culture appears to have begun in North-eastern India, somewhere around the head of the Bay of Bengal. Its diffusion hence, both East and West, had commenced at least as far back as the second millennium B. C. It must have reached the Yang-tze Basin by the Burma-Yunnan route, and then travelled to the Red Basin of Szechuan. Thence it even worked up to Kansu where the painted pottery makers knew it. Eastward the growing of irrigated rice extended itself down the great river and latterly up its tributaries until it reached the coastal regions."

The relation between India and China has thus a longer history than we generally know of. The Burma-Yunnan Road is not a 20th century fact on which 20th-century books and newspapers have written so profusely. The necessities of survival in a 20th-century war might have brought China's South-west—the six provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan (Chungking, the war capital of China lies in this province) and Sikang—into the lime-light, as the base of China's national recovery and eventual victory in the war. We may excite ourselves over projects of building a railway between Burma and Yunnan; over the building of high roads between Assam and Szechuan. But in times beyond memory, four thousand years back, from the head of the Bay of Bengal area started a stream of culture, irrigated rice culture, material and concrete, that enriched China's life, and enabled her to build up organized States for herself. That stream flowed to meet the demands of a not less stronger urge to life. Thus through the expanse of four thousand years, India and China stretch their arms and link their fingers for the service of a common cause. And men and women with historic imagination in both the countries can view the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang Kai-shek as a natural event, as the renewal of a brotherhood in things material and in things spiritual.

Students of sociology have told us that there has been a mixture of Indian and Mongolian blood in the eastern provinces of India; one or two publicists of the Brahmaputra Valley (Assam) have told us that they are not Indian, that they belong to the Mongolian race, and that after centuries of "Indianness" they feel in themselves responses to the cry of common blood—the Mongolian blood. We do not know what the future holds in store for us of the two nations, how near we will be coming together through the highways and airways that are being erected in the now-unknown regions which once had been trodden by Indians and Chinese in their comings-in-and-goings-on. The dust of times and the jungles of Nature might have hidden these paths from us both. But in the 20th-century struggles for survival as self-respecting human beings, the Gods and men have brought Indians and Chinese together for the advancement of what national and international good only the future can say. In the living present we have been called upon to co-operate in a war of continents and oceans, in which old relations are being snapped and new ones forged. It is in the background of events far and near, in the perspective of revolutionary events shaking the foundations of social life far and near, that the visit to India of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek has to be viewed. And in this effort of imagination and intellect the meeting of two ancient friends, long lost sight of, gains a new meaning in the new world that is being shaped by the blood and tears of millions of men and women in all the parts of the globe.

The story told so far makes it clear that India and China have got to know more of each other if they were to co-operate for pur-

Can be realized
by process of re-
education

poses of world history in the near future. The politically-conscious people of India know more of Britain and Europe than of this immediate neighbour of theirs to the east; the politically-conscious classes of China know more of the life and conduct of the U. S. A. people across the Pacific Ocean, 5,000 miles distant, than of their immediate neighbour to the west. Pearl Buck has told us in an article in the New York monthly, *Asia*, that "Thanks to Japan", to Japanese bombers and the Japanese army, the intellectuals of China have been forced to know anew their country and their people which they had come to regard as non-existent beyond the coastal area of their country wherein had been built up by the "foreign devils" the towns and cities that drew into them all that was enterprising and adventurous amongst the Chinese. As Lin Yutang has written in his book—*My Country and My People*—"Shanghai is not China, but Shanghai is an ominous indication of what modern China may come to." Authors of books on countries that bowed low before the aggressive modernism of Western countries, accepted the political domination of white rulers, have written on the class of men and women produced by the methods of administration and enlightenment of their alien rulers—men and women "who frankly did not know how to live in their own country and in the age in which their country still was." In China also this phenomenon had developed, and would have continued longer if the West had not betrayed itself during the last world war, and had not been hit by slump and depression that followed after a year or two of the war profiteers' prosperity. The failure of science to control or regulate its innumerable progeny has created the mentality of disappointment and discomfort, of bitterness and resentment amongst the hitherto "master races"—amongst their toiling masses.

In every country this bitterness found expression in books, pamphlets and poems. The Victory in the last Great War and the betrayal of the peace that was to sanctify it were parents of vast revolutions in thought and action. Feelings generated then draw their inspiration from misery in material life. They burst out into view in poems like the following that appeared in the *Daily Herald* (London) entitled—"The Toast". It was addressed to England, it is true. It might have been addressed to the rulers of any country, victor or vanquished, great or small, Imperial or Colonial. England which had set herself up as an example to all the world or claimed to do so, England as guide to conduct to all people, England in this poem is taken as the representative of the ruling classes in all countries. The poem was written by "an unemployed Ex-Service man," Frank W. Howe of 35, Addington Road, Bow, London E.

Masses in the
West weary &
disillusioned

"Protector of weaker nations, whether Arab, or Pole, or Greek;
Always ready to help—abroad—'tis the second time we speak,
We have drunk before to thy greatness where the sunken roads ran red.
Some of us drink this second toast—but the lucky ones are dead.
Ocean and dock and harbour, where flaming warship sank;
Field and forest of Flanders are red with the first we drank.
Now—workless, homeless and hopeless—a second toast we give
To a land where heroes—and profiteers—but no one else—can live.

We're down in the gutter, England—down and damned and done—
 But we pledge a toast to thy greatness, thy greatness that we have won,
 With water stale from the gutter, we pledge thee, deep and strong,
 Oh land, where a man is free—to starve, if he doesn't take too long."

Interpreters of the new developments in world history known to us as Bolshevism, Fascism and Nazism or the "Imperial Way" of Japan, have told us that the people, the toiling masses in almost all countries, have shown by their conduct that they were prepared to sacrifice their freedom and the democratic ways of their life if they could get an assurance of economic stability, of peace between men and men, between nation and nation. These experiments have not yet fulfilled the hopes and desires of the masses. They have, on the other hand, been called upon to more work, to sacrifice more, to bleed more, for the sake of hopes that are proving to be liars, for the sake of desires that are destined to remain unfulfilled. Faced by disappointments like these, thought-leaders amongst western nations have been surveying the world for a philosophy of conduct that would restore health to their twisted world. In this search they stumble on Eastern truths that appear to promise them peace, and deliverance from the fret and fever of which they are the victims. The story of this search suggest to "colonial" or "semi-colonial" peoples that they should return to their own institutions of society and state, and regaining their—*Swaraj*, contribute to the healing of the world. This appeal has helped to strengthen the nerves of understanding and the moral fibre of disinherited peoples. This come-down of the dominant nations, the description and demonstration of the failure of Western peoples to uphold human happiness have come to Asiatic and African peoples with a new message of assurance that perhaps their habits of thought and conduct were not "so bad" after all, that perhaps their quietitude held in its bosom seeds of a completer life. In the 1936 volume of the *Annual Register* in tracing the evolution of the process by which the people of India re-captured confidence in the philosophy and practices of their composite national life, we dealt with this aspect of the matter in certain detail. The present stirring on the waters of life in all countries will start fresh comparisons between the social patterns of the Western and Eastern peoples, and we have no doubt that the latter will come out of the test quite honourably. Not only in the realms of thought but also in the practical conduct of affairs of State a new confidence is astir among Arabs and Persians, Egyptians and Afghans, Turks and Syrians, Indians and Chinese, that is the promise of a better world order.

For five years China has been meeting Japanese assaults on her honour and material interests. Single-handed she has been keeping up this fight. And when Japan has presented to her such valuable allies as the United States of America and Britain, she appears to be facing a greater danger in June, 1942, than in July, 1937 or 1938 when she had to leave her capital at Nanking to the tender mercies of the Jap soldiery. It was a tragic irony that Britain refused or declined her assistance at the early stage of the Burma campaign; and it was an eye-opener at a later stage, after the fall of Rangoon, that for about ten days

since March 18 at Toungoo and round about, "a lone Chinese division" was left to fight "the Japanese motorized 55 Division and regiments from the 33rd Division," to quote from the chapter—"Military Affairs"—in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Chinese Ministry of Information, and available at the Calcutta Branch. The book is made up of certain pamphlets written by Chinese publicists on various phases of Chinese life functioning under the pressure of a national war. The disappointing experiences of the Chinese divisions with British tactics in Burma must have been partly responsible for the Burma debacle, throwing light on the political and military deficiencies of British administration in eastern Asia. This discovery must have been one of the reasons that brought the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India to use their influence in setting right the political deficiency by persuading the leaders of political thought and conduct in our country to throw in their weight and prestige—their individual and party influence, into the defence-and-offence organization of India.

The Supreme Commander of China had a right to expect better results from his Mission to India. His people had demonstrated that they had the stature, moral and physical, to stand up and exchange blows with the Japanese, not for weeks or months, but year after year, for five long years. The *New York Time* has recorded this glorious chapter in China's history.

"His people had been beaten and battered from one end of China to the other. Their cities had been bombed; their soldiers gassed; their women raped. From Valley Forge through Valley Forge he has fought and gone on fighting. The aid that the democracies promised him was never enough. But he kept on. In earlier years he had fought a retiring battle. But in 1941 he fought the Japanese to a stand-still. That was an achievement neither British nor Americans have yet accomplished."

This epic of endurance is being written by men and women—crores of them—in their blood and tears. How the miracle has been achieved will be the theme of bards and poets of many lands which they will love to celebrate in words of pathos and of fire. Lin Yu-tang in the chapter entitled—"Story of Sino-Japanese War"—in

How China discovered herself

his book—*My Country & my People*—has traced for us the process by which China did discover herself: how the bitter lesson in disillusionment first at the Versailles Conference, then at the League of Nations, and finally through a life-and-death struggle with Japan, rid her "of hesitancy and importunity and begging for mercy, of evasion and futile pleas for intercession, and useless crying over broken pledges," and at last enabled her to "nerve herself to the new atmosphere of the household" of modern aggressive and predatory nations. In *China after Five Years of War*, we have an informing record of the various organs of social life and institutions of constructive nationalism that have grown up under the auspices of the Kuo Min-tang. These have undertaken the task of shaping "a sprawling mass of humanity" into a modern "fighting nation organized by railways and radios and propaganda bureaus and equipped and armed for carrying on or resisting international aggression." It, China's history of shame and disgrace since 1840, when Britain's "Opium War" started the era of aggression and encroachments on her sovereign

rights to 1893-'94 when pigmy Japan defeated her, to the "Boxer" outburst in 1900—organized by "The Righteous Fraternity of Fist-fighters"—and the sack of Peking by the international army—this history discredited the Manchu Court beyond recovery. Then came the attempt at recovery by the Republic; the "21 Demands" presented by Japan which, if acted upon, would have reduced the country to a "colony," followed by persistent encroachments till Japan exposed her hands by the "rape of Manchuria"—this story of a diseased body politic recovering itself by the inner strength of its being is told us in the two books from which we have quoted above in many places.

Lin Yu-tang's book helps us to probe into the biology of the Chinese people and understand its psychology. The miracle of her survival through the centuries, as of India's, is an argument in support of the plea that these two ancients amongst the other nations of the world have continued in the world's stage for thousands of years because in the scheme of creation they have a definite

**The General-
issimo embodies
the spirit of new
China**

contribution yet to make for the enrichment of the world's life. He has given us a character-study of the Generalissimo whom he calls "the supreme chess-player of the Far East and one of the greatest political chess-players of all time." His "inhuman coolness" has enabled him to stand the insults that Japan heaped on his people for about twenty years; the cultivation of this virtue has made it possible for him to rein in his people from making an ultimately outburst against the aggressor from the east. His coolness, his "fine calculations," his stubbornness, "unusually un-Chinese," have made him the recognized leader of "a new nation," the law-giver of "a new society," recognized all over the world as such—one of the builders of China—one of those few in every age and every clime whom Pearl Buck described as "a modern, whose roots are firmly in the past, but whose rich flowering is in the present." The spirit that moves these millions has embodied itself in the Generalissimo, the spirit that has enabled unknown men and unknown women to face the Japanese terror, to see their homes burnt over their heads, to see their children die, and yet go on building roads and dams and clearing waterways so that a better China may emerge out of the tribulations in the material conditions of their life. Watching from afar the hundreds of Chinese labourers building her roads, a Western writer broke out into this paen of praise :

The great Himalayas tower about the men, toiling at their task. Like white-capped giants the mountains look at labourers who seem like ants, scurrying hither and thither. But in the hearts of these men there is a great faith. And it is a faith which can move mountains."

This admiration, so poignantly felt and so vividly expressed sanctifies the sorrows and sufferings of our Chinese neighbours. And India would have been glad and proud to be of service to the noble cause represented by them. The Indian National Congress has been consistent in its sympathy with China.

**The Indian
National Congress
& China**

And we know that under Dr. Sun Yat-sen's leadership the politically-conscious among the Chinese showed their awareness of the many events that was demonstrating the strength of the Nationalist Movement in India. The founder of the Chinese Republic in his lectures

on the methods and ideals of Chinese Nationalism delivered in 1923-'24, which were later incorporated in *The Three Principles of the People*, drew attention to the Non-Co-operation Movement in India, and its application to the different conditions in his own country where the "foreigners" had not yet come to run into Governmental and administrative machinery. From the side of India the establishment of the Republic in China had been welcomed as paving the way to an "Asiatic Federation,"—a topic on which C. R. Das and Srinivasa Iyengar as Presidents of the Congress had expatiated in their inaugural speeches in 1922 and 1926. At the Madras session (1927) a proposal to send a Medical Mission to China was mooted ; a resolution was passed recording protest against "the dispatch of Indian soldiers by the Government of India to suppress the Chinese national movement of freedom," demanding the recall of Indian troops from China and calling upon Indians never to go to that country "as an agent of the British Government to fight or work against the Chinese people." The Congress Medical Mission failed to go because the Government refused to allow the necessary passports. At the Calcutta Session (1928) the Congress sent greetings and congratulations to China for having "ended the era of foreign domination in their country." The next few years in India were years of intensive political fight against British Imperialism. The Lucknow, Faizpur and the Haripura Congress sessions were marked by an international out-look that had developed under the inspiration of Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Basu ; Japan's "China Incident", started in July, 1937, swung India's feelings and opinions wholly against the aggressor. And it was while the latter was head of the Congress Executive (1938) that the Indian Medical Unit could be arranged to be sent to China on September 1, 1938. A former President of the Congress, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, spoke of the unimportance of this Unit compared to China's needs. But its value lay in the fact that it was "a gesture of India's solidarity in endorsing China's valour." Dr. Atal who had experience of similar service in Spain was head of this Unit. Since those days the sympathy of India and her admiration for China has been constant and unwavering. Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's flight to Chungking in August, 1938, linked the two countries more closely. Till to-day Japan's victorious march through Malaya and Burma has made the two countries comrades in feeling in a common fight for the defence of international decency and national self-respect.

Japan has turned China's flank, and both by land and sea she has made a threatening advance in her rear. Confronted by this new peril the Generalissimo and the Government of China had to know what was the position in their rear, represented at present by India. It was for getting this information first-hand that the leader of China paid his visit. The Calcutta British daily—*The Statesman*—thus described the purpose of this visit, and the impression the party carried with them from India ;

To know where India stands, how solid she is in support and, if not solid, how she can become so, what potentiality and resources she can be counted on to develop and contribute, what is the country's morale—all these information is vital for China.....They are not satisfied with what they found. They have indicated clearly what is wrong and they return full of hope that under the

compelling impact of the world war India is about to find herself fully where she ought to be."

We have tried above to understand and explain the developments that led to this latest contact between India and China, forced by the conditions of war released by Japan upon the hundred crores of men and women in Eastern Asia. It was suggested in "die-hard" quarters that the leader of China by trying to interfere with the affairs of India did a thing which was unusual. But the times were unusual also. And China by her heroic endurance of five years has earned her right to say something on how the "grand strategy" of the "United Nations" should be carried on in her immediate neighbourhood.

China's life and death struggle, her concentration on war activities, form part of an evolution that was laid down by the founder of the Chinese Republic about 20 years back. It has not been possible for us to deal in detail with the basic ideas that started from Dr. Sun Yat-sen and have brought China into this war with Japan—the doctrine of the *Three Principles of the People*, and the three stages by which these have to be realized in the life of the people, and how they have responded to their message. The "The Principles" are :

- (1) Independence of China as a nation ;
- (2) Democratic control of the internal life of China ;
- (3) Socialization of the more important units of economic activity, such as railroads, electric power etc.

The stages are—Militarism, Tutelage, and Constitutionalism. At the first period the revolutionaries are to subdue the war-lords and other provincial satraps who would try to take advantage of the transition created by the fall of the Manchu dynasty. These men tried to set up independent administrations thus threatening the unity of the country. Their defeat was the first duty imposed on the republican leaders by the conditions of their country's ultimate victory over all separatist and selfish interests. This stage—the Napoleonic stage of the Chinese Revolution—Dr. Sun Yat-sen defined as Militarism. The war against Japan has also been helping to strengthen this militarism. The second stage—Tutelage—was built on the belief that the Chinese people were not ready to undertake the form of representative and responsible government of the present times. On the party—the Kuo Min-Tang—devolved the exercise of the sovereign powers of government and the duty of preparing the people for the exercise of their political rights. The third stage—State Socialism—would work out the problem of decent "livelihood" for the people. The Re-organization Convention of the Kuo Min-Tang adopted, in January, 1921, a programme in this behalf ; a few items of which are given below :

- (1) all unequal treaties to be abrogated.
- (2) All loans that do not injure the country politically and economically to be repaid.
- (3) Loans contracted by militarists which do not serve the good of the people of China, not be paid.

These have been the basic principles and policies of the Chinese Nationalist Movement. Tactics have differed with different times and

Political affiliations of China's leaders in post-Republican days

different leaders. Dr. Sun-Yat-sen in his early life as a revolutionary, for instance in 1905, was rigid in his programme of the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, of the foundation of a Republic; at that time the Tong Min-hui in which were represented the three principal groups of Chinese revolutionaries had suggested or adopted as a plank of their party "an alliance between the Chinese and Japanese peoples." It is well-known that Dr. Sun received valuable help from Japanese civilians and militarists, and often found asylum there from the wrath of Manchu administrators, and of the reactionary politicians of China after the foundation of the Republic. Of these the most prominent was Yuan-Shi-kai, and the agents of foreign capitalist interests, the chief of whom was Chun Limpak, leader of the Canton Merchants' Party, the "campadore" (head business agent) of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank at Canton. This person organized a Merchants' Volunteer Force which aimed at the overthrow of the Canton Government. The Generalissimo himself had had his military training in a Staff College in Japan, and had served several years in the Japanese army. As a matter of tactics the Kuo Min-Tang had resolved in 1924 to co-operate with the Soviet Union, to allow communists into membership, and to organize the farmers and workers to build up a basis of mass support for the Party. In his last days Dr. Sun had leaned on Soviet help. The Russo-Chinese Agreement signed on May 31, 1924, had by its Art. IV abrogated all the treaties and agreements "concluded between the former Tsarist Governments and any third party or parties affecting the sovereign rights or interests of China." For years the Soviet has been helping to uphold China's struggling democracy. But General Chiang Kai-shek, as he then was, did not appear to have much appreciated the value of this alliance. Lin Yu-tang has spoken of his "anti communist complex, born of his days of association with Borodin." His campaign against the labour unions, the peasant movement and the student organizations, begun in 1927, has cost China dear. The Nanking Government under the control of General Chiang Kai-shek had pledged itself to "the ruthless extermination of the communists", an activity that became "an obsession with him." For seven long years "he spent his best time and a very heavy part of China's national revenue in fighting them, in five successive campaigns, using more and more resources until in the Fifth Campaign, in late 1933, he mobilized nearly a million soldiers." In Edgar Snow's book—*Red Star Over China*—we have this epic story told; Lin Yu-tang has summarized it, and tells us why he dwelt on the "anti-communist complex" of the leader of China, the bias that

"made him commit the one mistake of policy in all those years and pass by the opportunity of making a definite alliance with Russia in 1935, which would have prevented the war" (between China and Japan).

This interpretation was based on insufficient data, as it appears from later events which came to light in January, 1939. Lin Yu-tang's book was first published in February, 1939; the edition we have seen is dated May 1939. This fuller knowledge makes necessary a modification of the criticism of the policy followed by the Chinese Government. We get

Soviet help and advice to China

it from Dr. Sun Fo, President of the Legislative Yuan, in a statement made on January 1, 1939. It appears that M. Bogomoloff, the Soviet ambassador to China, arrived at Nanking in April 1, 1937, with proposals for a full-dress Russo-Chinese Alliance, namely, that Russia and China should sign a Non-Aggression Pact as also a Mutual Assistance Pact; he also suggested that China should take the initiative in proposing the convocation of a Pacific (Peace) Conference. The Chinese Government "deliberately" postponed action on the lines suggested by the Soviet Government "for fear it might prejudice assistance from Great Britain and America". This expectation was not realised then, and even now when China is one of the pillars of the "United Nations", British and American help during these months since December 7, 1941, has been like a trickle. It was not any "anti-communist complex" that really stood in the way of a Russo-Chinese Alliance. All the same, it has to be deplored that the Soviet suggestion was not acted upon. Chinese initiative in convening a Pacific Conference would have turned the tide of world affairs, at least of affairs in Asia. By acting as suggested China would have come as a leader and not as a suppliant to the imperialistic Powers of the world. Such a Conference would not have confined itself to Japan's "special position," but would have dealt with the special privileges of other Powers—the presence of foreign troops in China, concessions, extra-territoriality, spheres of influence, control of China's Customs Administration, leased territories, naval bases, etc., etc.—problems that China had unsuccessfully raised at the Washington Conference (1921-22).

It appears also that Japan got scent of some such matter, and announced on July 4, 1937, its plan to call "a Continental Economic Conference to consolidate the economic relations of Korea, Manchuria and North China" and to establish a unified economic system under a comprehensive economic plan for the three areas. British capital was to assist the

Japan's move to
Counter China's
recovery

Japanese in the exploitation of this "Organic continental bloc"—particularly North China; and this "bloc" was to be closely linked, through capital investments, with Japanese industries. Questions in the House of Commons with regard to negotiations between leaders of British and Japanese industries could not wholly re-assure feeling in China, as Dr. Arnold Toynbee in his "Survey of International Affairs (1937)" commented:

".....there can be little doubt that the fears engendered by the London negotiations contributed to the determination of the Nanking Government to strengthen their grip on North China before any agreement among third parties had time to become effective."

We have told our story of the many recent events that have brought India and China nearer to each other in one of the greatest crises of their national life. Both the countries had adopted the "hermit policy" as a protective measure of their social and cultural values. Why they did so we will never know, when they did so we cannot point out to any exact date. Four thousand five hundred years back India and China were not hermit nations. Historians have commented on a remarkable fact that during the century, five hundred years previous to the Christian era, a galaxy of prophets appeared almost at the same time in countries as far apart as China and Italy—Laotze and Confucius in China, Buddha and Mahavira in India, Zoroaster in Iran, Ezekiel and

A remarkable
century & its
prophets

the Second Isaiah in Judea, Thales in Ionia and Pythagoras in Southern Italy. Their advent can be explained by a wide-spread social disintegration threatening the life and conduct of millions of men and women. These path-finders must have appeared in response to keenly-felt distress and doubt felt by the Chinese, the Indians, the Iranians, the Jews, the Greeks and the pre-Roman Italians. This distress and doubt must have been a link between peoples so distant from one another. And the prophets must have been moved by a common impulse to have appeared almost at the same time and to have pointed to the way of salvation to so many millions of people. This history ought to have prepared them for a League of Nations where their representatives would meet and discuss the many ills from which their societies suffered. But experience proved otherwise. And our ancestors more than four thousands years back who had thrilled to the message of these prophets in the different countries were followed by men and women who knew not their common heritage.

To-day it requires no little effort of imagination to draw inspiration from this history. But world events, the threats of barbaric appetites and ambitions, have made us all, in all countries, into partners in an adventure on the result of which the self-respect and happiness of mankind depends in ways not fully understood at present. Humanity may be divided into warring nations to-day.

Through rivalry of material interests to co-partnership

But the forces released by modern science and the present war must compel us, if we desire to survive, to build a world-scheme of partnership in a common work. The visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek to India, and the manner in which the Indian people welcomed them, have spun new threads of fellowship for ninety crores of human beings, counting almost half the population of the world. We may hope that this will be no short-time war-arrangement. India and China might not have gained the immediate object desired by both of them. But the events of February, 1942, will stand as a land-mark in the history of their two countries, and will influence world-history, and its future evolution. Men and women conversant with international affairs, in touch with vital forces of present-day history, have begun to speculate on the outcome of an Indo-Chinese Alliance, and its influence on "the inevitable Consortium of Asiatic Powers". Thirty years back Bipin Chandra Pal in *Nationality & Empire* discussed the consequences of the awakening of the giant nation of eastern Asia. Upton Close in *Revolt of Asia* prophesied that Asia's rise to consequence would remove the centre of world affairs from the Atlantic to the Pacific Basin; that Russia, China and the U. S. A. would assume the importance which the size of their populations and the wealth of their resources would enable them to do, that the U. S. A. will "succeed Great Britain as the spokesman of Western Civilization and the vanguard of the white peoples in their front against a revived Asia." Scott Nearing in his book—*Whither China*—published in the latter part of 1927, looked forward to "a rivalry of races and cultures as well as of economic interests" in which be placed a "Eurasian bloc," consisting of Soviet Russia, China, and Japan "as a subordinate but powerful member"—one-third

of the world's population—in opposition to “the arrogance and predatory ruthlessness of the last two of the Great Empires”—Great Britain and the U. S. A. He arrived at another interesting conclusion from these stated premises.

“The Soviet Union will continue to be the spiritual father of the new social order. But the Chinese will be its business manager.”

World War II of the 20th century has, however, modified, for the time being at least, the alignment of forces in the international field. Japan has moved out of the bloc; the Soviet Union, China and the United States are allies in a “global War”. India, the second largest country in the world in point of population, is an uncertain and unknown factor as her man-power is under the direction and control of a non-Indian State. But when India comes by her own and is able to make her own decisions in national and international affairs, she will have a decisive say in the development of human relations. Placed almost at the centre of the continent of Asia it may well be her destiny as well as her desire that she should play a “co-ordinating role” in the clash of races, cultures and economic interests which Scott Nearing had prophesied. An Indian publicist, long resident in the United States, Krishnalal Shridharani in an article in the *Pacific Affairs*, entitled—“India In A Changing Asia”—has indicated this role for his country. He sees India as “the centre of the coming consortium of Asiatic Nations.” Geographically, the Sinkiang province of China may look as a probable. But the logic of economic forces would weigh the scale on the side of India. And the Hindu-Muslim rivalry within India herself would be playing a decisive part in the matter.

“.....the Muhammadans are dragging India westward towards the Muslim world, while the Hindus are accelerating India's eastward orientation towards the Buddhist world. This tug-of-war may result in a tie and turn India into a meeting place of the two great arms of Asia.”

This study in power politics puts a narrow interpretation on the role that India may have to play in the near future. Thought-leaders of India from times beyond recorded history has reserved a nobler part for their sacred land to play. As the meeting-ground of many races, of many cultures, now lost in a new composition, her social legislators had risen over creeds; they spoke not of racial or national creeds but of *Manava Dharma*—the law of being of humanity. In our own days and in our own times, the prophets and poets of Indian Nationalism have spoken and sung of their country as the ocean into which many streams from the right and the left empty their waters and find their fulfilment in this loss of identity in the heart of a great immensity. All the living cultures have their followers in this country—Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Sikhs, Parsis, to name only a few of them. By their neighbourhood to one another they have had to arrive at some sort of a synthesis and reconciliation. This spirit of give-and-take will have influence in all other spheres of life—in politics and economics also. Therefore has it been thought that India offers the best testing-house of the many problems of racial, political and economic conflicts and competitions that twist and disfigure the life of the modern world. India has developed

India's role in this re-grouping of peoples

The ideal role that India could play

the mind fit to receive and impart a wider and all-embracing view of human relations. It is felt that being the meeting-ground of all the living cultures of the world India has gained the experience and earned the right to act as the co-ordinator of all separatist conceits and ambitions of the various nations of the world. An identical service to the Western world, to Europe and to the Americas, could have been rendered by the United States which has been called the "melting-pot" of races, of Western races specially. It was expected that she would act as the arbitrator between the warring nations of the West. But the experience of the two world wars have belied these hopes, and there is none in the world, individual or nation, who by reason of his or their prestige and tradition of disinterestedness can act as the peace-maker between modern States. Perhaps, hopes like these are never realized in actual life or never have been. The experiences of India during the centuries of her history supports the hopelessness of such hope. In her epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, are recorded how attempts at peace and reconciliation proved failures, and Vivishena and Sri-Krishna had to be witnesses of mass-murders which they did their best to halt and stop.

Feelings like these assail our minds as we survey the battle-fields in all parts of the globe. Old men and old nations are said to be cynics with regard to the talk about justice and international friendship; they know that it is merely a diplomatic mode of speech and sheer "rubbish", and that all international diplomacy is based not on sentiment but on the conflict or community of interests. Indians and Chinese have acquired this knowledge through their bitter experiences of the remembered and recent past. In the case of the former, being a dependent country, this feeling stands between her and Britain who has been using her man-power and her natural wealth for the purposes of her survival as a Great Power. The Generalissimo could understand this during his visit, and the reasons for the failure of his efforts at reconciliation. His appeal to the people of India and to the British, carried in his parting message, has not borne the fruit desired and expected. The British Government made, however, an offer sent through Sir Stafford Cripps which did not in any sense transfer "real political power" to the people of India and their representatives and accredited leaders. The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek returned to their country in the third week of February, 1942.

And on the 11th March a discussion was held in the House of Commons in course of which the British Premier made an important statement bearing on the Indian situation—important not for any positive change to be brought about in the irritated relations between the two countries but for the recognition on the part of a "die-hard" politician that a change was required.

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made us wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader."

As Leader of the House of Commons Sir Stafford Cripps announced that "a debate will be held possibly very shortly upon the

basis of a Government decision in the matter." This came of on the 28th of April after his return from his mission to India. These announcements did not, however, seem to assure world opinion, or "United Nations" opinion though many regarded them as some sort of response to the Generalissimo's parting appeal to the British Government and people. A sample of the opinion expressed in those days spoke of the fear that "Britain's something would not only be late but far from enough," that when the war was bearing down fast on "India's disunited, disaffected Hindus, Moslems, Princes and untouchables," Britain's "shortly" was much too far away for "either action or debate on India." The retention of Mr. Leopold Amery as Secretary of State for India during many of Mr. Churchill's Cabinet re-shuffling was also regarded by many as "a bad sign for India's political hopes." The British Labour Party issued a statement in the first week of March, 1942, in course of which they said that it was "the duty of the British Government to take every possible step to promote Indian Agreement." And as preliminaries thereto the British Government should give "all posts in the Viceroy's Executive Council of 14 to Indians," that this Council should immediately take steps towards the drafting of a new Indian Constitution to be ratified after the war. There were other indications that the British and other peoples who were organized in the "United Nations" were uneasy with happenings in Malaya; they were justly suspicious of a regime that could betray their cause in the way it was done there.

The debate in the House of Lords held in the first week of February was expressive of anxiety widely felt, and of "die-hard" mischief making. Lord Farringdon who initiated the debate put the Labour point of view with moderation; Lord Rannkeillour in putting forth the Conservative view doubted whether the calling into the Governor-General's Council of more Indians, the releasing of political prisoners, would avail more in conciliating extremist Indian opinion than the remittance of Southern Ireland's debts and the handing over of naval ports had done. The official view was put forward by the Under-Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Devonshire. The difficulty in India to-day was not with regard to transference of power by the British Government but "what Indian Government or Governments were to take over" the reins of administration from British hands. The use of the word—"Governments"—is significant, for it occurs in one or two other places of the speech, showing that even more than a month before the Cripps Mission was thought of the mind of the London Government had been dallying with the idea of more than one Government for India. The Duke of Devonshire was scion of a family whose the-then head did his best or worst to kill the first Home Rule Bill for Ireland in the eighties of the last century. The father of the present Premier of Britain was the inspirer of revolt in Ulster when he declared—"Ulster will fight, and Ulster will be right". And the Duke of Devonshire was carrying on a very venerable tradition, when he declared :

"The Moslem and Hindu communities do not want the same thing, and to think of them as a majority and a minority is to risk a serious error, for that line

of thought will suggest that it is the duty of the minority to bow to the wishes of the majority. The minority has no more duty to bow to the wishes of the majority merely because it is a majority than the smaller peoples of Europe, such as the Greeks had to bow to the wishes of the Germans merely because they were a minority."

The Under-Secretary of State did not rest satisfied with granting this "charter of intransigence" to all minorities in every part of the world ;

he spoke of "chaos" into which India would be plunged if the British Government transferred "control of the Government" without securing some measure of agreement between various elements of the population of India. We have our doubts with regard to any good coming out of any argument, mild or heated, on this imperialistic plea. We have grown so familiar with it that we propose to dismiss it with quoting what the Calcutta Indo-British daily said so neatly in noticing this speech.

"The British Government continually adjures Indians to get together. It omits to say what it is prepared to transfer to them as soon as they do so. That is the root of the trouble. Hindus and Moslems will not face the fact that neither of them can have all the cake they want till they are offered the cake between them.

We have to recognize that in getting hopeful over the proposals that Sir Stafford Cripps was carrying to India it was not possible for any one, even in those days, to forget this history. Politicians

A sampling of
advice and
threats to India
from outside both in India and Britain might speak of the British War Cabinet sending Sir Stafford to India as a move in the right direction, as a proof of British sincerity.

But the majority of the politically-minded people in India could not help feeling anxiety over last-minute penances. The Press of the "United Nations" did their best to boost the Mission. The people of India became recipients of advice from all and sundry. From far and near flowed into our country these streams of advice and veiled threats. It was difficult to resist resenting all this solicitude. From the United States came most of the pleadings passing through the sieve of a discriminating censorship the control of which was in British hands. We propose to sample out some of these for the benefit of nations. As was but natural the reported intervention in the Cripps negotiations by Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's "envoy in New Delhi" in those days, was given a wide Press in his country. The majority of the U. S. Press cuttings that we have come across asked us to take note of and understand the significance of this intervention. They made this the text of their preachings.

"This should bring home to India the United States' profound concern at the Indo-British negotiation. That concern is not limited simply to the desire to see an agreement as such between Britain and India but it extends to the details of the agreement. India's fortunes and ours now are so inter-locked that the gates of India at which the Japanese are hammering have become as vital to our security as if they were our own frontiers.....The agreement which Colonel Johnson is urging in New Delhi, as the Indian people must know, has the support of the neighbouring China as well as of a friendly America."—*Washington Post*.

"We in the United States are inexperienced in the mazes of Indian politics but we can see with perfect clearness that if no agreement is reached the lot of India and Britain, our own too, will be infinitely worse than even if an imperfect compromise is accepted. Final failing would be devastating to the cause of freedom for India and the United Nations. If such occurs and if persons responsible can be identified the burden of their public guilt will be enormous."—*New York Times*.

"The notion that the United States could do so (impose a solution) tends to stultify the position which nationalist leaders themselves have claimed that India should be free to work out her own destiny without artificial hindrances or restrictions by the British. That opportunity Britain seemed categorically to promise in her latest offer, but now the objection to it is that various Indian leaders are not now asking for greater freedom to meet their own problems. Instead they seem to be insisting that the problems should be fore-closed in their favour. The way in which the offer has been received has not increased American estimate of the realism of Indian political leaders. The most that any of us can hope for in this desperate world is the chance to solve our own problems and not guarantee that they be solved for us."—*New York Herald Tribune*.

"If Indian leaders reject Britain's amended terms it means they cannot agree between themselves on the alternative proposal; for, it is evident that Mr. Churchill, probably prodded by President Roosevelt, is ready to accept almost any compromise that would be backed by the two main groups in British India—the Congress Party and the Moslem League. Whatever is the answer to the British offer India is at war. The military problem remains the same. The immediate decision of India's leaders cannot affect the effort of the other fighting nations to defend India to the utmost against the common enemy."—*Ann McCormick in New York Times*.

"There is every indication that the military situation will soon run over the political, that no matter what decision is reached there will be no time to put it into effect before the Japanese are on India's door-step. What happens on the fighting fronts in Burma is likely to mean more to the future of India than what happens in New Delhi."—*Philadelphia Recorder*.

"India's decision is almost as important to the United States as to Britain. The United States with Britain and other nations fighting the Axis has a right to ask India's acceptance of freedom which is qualified only by the demands of war itself."—*Nation (Weekly)*.

"India will not fight for any kind of empire personified by Mr. Amery, and we gloomily see a major disaster ahead for the United Nations."—*Chicago Times*.

"The crux of the situation in India does not lie so much in the character or degree of Indian independence—or rather of English dominion—offered by the British Government. It lies in the unwillingness of Asia any longer to recognize any form of foreign dominion. Asia for Asiatics is the principle around which the people of Asia are for the most part rallying. The first obligation of England, the first step in framing a practical plan for the defence of India, is to overcome that sentiment and completely convince the leaders and people of India that co-operation with the United Nations means not only freedom from the Japanese aggression but from English domination. There is only one requirement necessary in the situation and it is sincerity."—From the *Hearst chain of newspapers*.

We present this sample of U. S. A. opinion to enable our people to see themselves as others see them. A similar result will be gained if they cared to study the debate in the House

A sample of
British opinion

of Commons on April 28, 1942, that ensued on the report submitted to it by Sir Stafford Cripps on his Indian Mission. The impression is left on the mind that the members of the House could not make out why the negotiations failed. Mr. Gordon Macdonald who spoke on behalf of the Opposition drew attention to the "authoritative statement on the break-down of the New Delhi negotiation," made by Pundit Jawaharal Nehru, "which presents a different viewpoint and puts an entirely different complexion upon what happened." His analysis of the character of Sir Stafford Cripps, and the manner in which he presented his case, is so interesting that it should be shared with our readers.

"Mr. Gandhi has been defined as a saint brought up in a lawyer's office."

"Sir Stafford was a lawyer brought up in a saintly home."

"He seemed to do his job pretty well like a lawyer this morning, and I detected here and there, especially in the closing passages of his speech, a hint of the saint,

but I saw more of the lawyer from the beginning. I would not expect anything else from him."

His reference to the Secretary of State for India was perfectly courteous but devastatingly cruel.

".....I know that policy sometimes fails because of certain types of personality. I am just wondering.....I have already said that the best man fitted to be sent out to India was sent out. That in itself is a reflection on the Secretary of State.....I do not want any man who has not the confidence of the Indian people, and whose words do not carry the weight that the words of a Secretary of State ought to carry, to remain in office too long."

Sir Alfred Knox quoted two un-named Muslims, "one very responsible and highly placed" and another "who has done great service for the

British Government in his own country," slanging the Indian National Congress. The former represented it as "a body of industrialists and capitalists, essentially of

non-martial elements" which will try to "save itself and the moneyed people.....in the manner and fashion of Thailand"; the

latter complained that the Government has "given latitude to Congress Fifth Columnists and others." Earl Winterton attempted a bit of psycho-

analysis of the Hindus and Muslims of India. "Unfortunately" in many cases the former seemed to produce better briefs for the information of the

members of the House of Commons than did the latter. "Possibly the latter are not as acute politicians." He represented the Muslims as

feeling that "partly connected with the extremely intellectual character of the Hindu religion," the Hindus were good in putting a case. But this

is an old story : they do not or need not feel like that today. For, they have found in Mr Jinnah "one of the most acute and analytical brains that any

community has had in India for many years." He also threw a bouquet at Mr. M. N. Roy—"a very remarkable man of whom much will be

heard in the future"—who was "prophetic" when he said that as in China so in India as a result of the "revolution," old ideas and regimes would

be destroyed ; and that when power came into the hands of the workers and peasants not much would be heard of "the type of leaders like Mr.

Nehru." Sir Stanley Reed instructed the world on the reason why the word "Union" was used in preference to the word "Federation"

in the declaration that Sir Stafford had carried with him to India. The latter meant "a supreme Central Government handing something back

to the constituent units which are the Provinces," while the use of the former meant "that the Provinces are the constituent units giving

powers to the Central Government for the purpose of unity, strength and direction." Mr Sorensen believed that he was right in saying

that "the actual breakdown in negotiations was precisely on the question of the transfer of power." Mr. Richards confessed that he

was "left with the feeling that even he (Sir Stafford Cripps) finds it rather difficult, when he analyses the position, to say exactly why the

negotiations should have broken down."

One member, Mr. Cove, expressed the opinion that Mr Churchill's Indian record should have prepared them for the failure of the

Cripps Mission. He quoted from the British Premier's "Speeches on India," picked up from a second-hand

shop, extracts to drive home his point. During discussions on the Government of India Bill, Mr.

Churchill had blurted out in the House of Commons the truth of the hypocritical side of British policy in India :

The Churchill
tradition & failure
of the Cripps
Mission

"It was even pretended, or at any rate allowed to appear, that Indian disunity was the only or the main obstacle to our speedy departure."

And to give colour to his picture of Hindu-Muslim antagonism in India, Mr. Churchill used very picturesque language indeed :

"Side by side with this Brahmin theocracy and the immense Hindu populationthere dwell in India 70 millions of Muslims, a race of far greater physical vigour and fierceness, armed with a religion which lends itself too readily to war and conquest. While the Hindu elaborates his argument, the Muslim sharpens his sword."

Three extracts from Sir Stafford Cripps's speech of this day, his presentation of the New Delhi negotiations, will enable us then to turn to India, to her parties, to her official and non-official participants in the Delhi talks. Sir Stafford Cripps' difficulties stated thus the difficulties that stood in the way of the success of his Mission.

"I was not prepared to bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive."

"But once self-determination has been promised to India as was proposed in the Draft Declaration, it would be impossible for his Majesty's Government to impose terms in the new Indian constitution."

.....the position of complete power asked by the Congress—which was not demanded by any other section of India—would leave the matter in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to any one but themselves, or in a somewhat looser way, perhaps, to their political or communal associations, and there would have been no protection, therefore, for any of the minorities....."

In the days when the Cripps negotiations opened at New Delhi, there were high hopes in the "United Nations" that Britain was doing the right thing, and India could do no less. *The New York Times* could, therefore, write : "The prayers of all who pray, the hopes of all who hope, are with her (India) at this terrible moment." After the publication of the Draft Declaration of the British Government, the paper

came on solid ground, and could appreciate the stand-point of India : "There is justice in the Indian demand for participation in the direction of the war. Nor can the Americans consistently quarrel with the objection raised against the right of secession from the All-India Union which the British proposal provides." Then followed the days of exhortation and hectoring, of the growth of "a tendency to indulge in judgment of this group or that, and this leader or that, and so bringing bitterness to the controversy", to quote the words of Dr. William Temple, the Archbishop-designate of Canterbury. The *Washington Post* could go so far as to write : "Congress control would be a dissolvent rather than a cement of resistance to a Japanese invasion." In their anxiety for the success of the Cripps Mission many a British and U. S. A. publicist did lose sight of the central issue of the controversy as it emerged out of the vague generalizations of the "Draft Declaration"—the issue stated so succinctly by Mr. Brailsford in the *Reynold's News*.

"Does Englishman shrink from serving under an Indian Minister of Defence ? This one misunderstanding we dare not risk. Our white skins are not at this moment an asset. This is by all accounts the main issue which endangers the Government's offer, and its substantial issue because it touches India's self-respect so closely."

By bringing into a focus the view-points of U. S. A. and British people, as reflected in the Press and in the House of Commons

respectively, we get a clear view of the argument that has been agitating the relations between India and Britain. The fortunes of war, the defeats suffered by the "United Nations" in course of the first six months of 1942, have made this Indo-British quarrel a concern of the whole world,

despite the desperate attempts of the British authorities to keep it a "domestic question." The impact of Japan's war and the unpreparedness and incompetence of British strategists, however, forced on the British

Government this unpleasant task of making advances to Indian Nationalism. This may be true. But the time chosen was or seemed to be in March, 1942, "too late". British troops had begun retreating out of Burma. Singapore, the bastion of the British domination in the Far East, had long ago fallen; Rangoon had been left a burnt city; by the time Sir Stafford Cripps reached India the Andaman Islands with its bases had been captured by the Japanese. And the feeling even amongst loyalists, and beneficiaries from British connection, was expressed by a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi: ".....we have been left in the lurch. Goodness knows how we are to defend ourselves!" There is bitterness in these words, there is helplessness in them. Prof. Coupland in his book—*The Cripps Mission*—has tried to indicate the various ways in which people in India reacted to the happenings that had brought the dangers of war to the frontiers of their country.

".....it is understandable enough that people who had been so often told that, if British had taken away their freedom, she had paid for it by giving them the *Pax Britannica*, should vent their rage on the British Government. And this new bitterness inevitably sharpened the nationalists' earlier resentment at the false position, as they conceive it, which had been forced on India from the very outset of the war."

An Indian participator in the Cripps negotiations has speculated what would have been the result of a Mission like what brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India if it had come before the fall of Singapore, before the fall of Rangoon, before the Japs began bombing India itself. The Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, has suggested that if Japs bombs had not fallen on Vizagapatnam and Coconada, Colombo and Trincomalee, the response of the various political parties in India, specially of the Congress, would have been different. Candid friends of the Indian Nationalist Movement have charitably probed into the feeling of Congress leaders thus—"this was no time to be accepting any increase of political power whatever." This kindly interpretation was put in face of the words used by the President of the Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, in his letter dated April 11, 1942, the last letter that he wrote to Sir Stafford Cripps:

"But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's Government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power."

Another factor that must have had its influence in creating difficulties for the negotiations, apart from the imminence of Jap attack

on India, was the story that was brought from Burma by the hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing from the Japs and Burmese. This evacuation had extensively started in the last week of December, 1941, when Rangoon had begun to be bombed. And in handling this vast problem, the racial discrimination as between Indians on the one side and Anglo-Burmans, Anglo-Indians and the "allied communities" on the other, stirred feelings of disgust the like of which we have not witnessed during recent years. From the statement issued over the signatures of two members of the Central Legislature—Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru (Council of State) and Sri Ananga Mohan Dam (Legislative Assembly) who accompanied the Hon'ble Mr. Aney, Member-in-Charge of the Department of Indians Overseas, in his tour through border stations in Assam including the State of Manipur, this feeling can be gauged. The experiences of the "White Road" and the "Black Road" will long be remembered; the bitterness carried in the hearts of evacuees and transferred to their friends, relatives and neighbours has like the memory of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy lengthened over the whole of India. By the time Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, these experiences and details of them had become the talk of the country. Jack Belden, the correspondent of the New York Weekly, *Time*, who accompanied Major-General Stillwel in his retreat from North Burma, in his letter to his paper that appeared on May 11, wrote of "the utmost misery" that he witnessed—"roads were lined with belongings abandoned by refugees"; on the day before he wrote this letter 20,000 of these had crossed the Irrawady, "hoping to get to India, but their chance is very slight." Even those who escaped into Indian territory, at Tammu for instance, "were unanimous in complaining bitterly of the callous and insulting attitude of the evacuation officers and their principal subordinates," (we are quoting from the statement issued by the two members of the Central Legislature):

"It appears that Indian refugees are treated in such a way as to humiliate them and make them feel that they belong to an inferior race."

"In this matter, as in some others connected with evacuation, we are paying the penalty of our political subjection."

We have tried to indicate the adverse conditions under the shadow of which the Cripps negotiations were carried on. Prof. R. Coupland,

Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, came to India in the autumn of 1941, to study the constitutional problem under the auspices of Nuffeld College.

When he was on the point of returning to England, Sir Stafford Cripps arrived, and at his request the Professor "joined his staff." He has attempted a brief record of the Mission's work, seen at "close quarters" and while his "impressions were still fresh." This record has been prefaced by a record of the mental and moral reactions of India to the British handling of affairs since September, 1939. A title of one of his chapters is—*Distrust and Disunion*. In tracing the growth of the "distrust of British intentions" he found it difficult "to exaggerate the disquieting effect of.....Mr. Churchill's statement in September, 1941, that the Atlantic Charter was primarily intended to apply to Europe." He found a new suspicion spreading "beyond nationalist circles"; he reports the confes-

sion of a "highly intelligent Indian official"—the anxiety and uncertainty which "this business of the Charter had for the first time implanted in his mind"—and there was little doubt that "many of his colleagues felt the same." And it seemed to Prof. Coupland.

"more than probable too, that many of the young Indians who were obtaining commissions in the fast-expanding Indian Army were affected by something of the same uneasiness about the future."

Then he traced the "intensification of the old antagonism between the great Indian communities, Hindus and Moslems"—how the rivalry between them "has now become a struggle for political power". He dealt with Mr. Jinnah's "atrocities" story—and came to the conclusion that "the case against the Congress Governments as deliberately pursuing an anti-Muslim policy was certainly not proved." The

The story of the
"intensification of
antagonism between
Hindus &
Muslims

Oxford professor then reports on the evolution of the idea of Indian Muslims being a separate "nation"—how what had hitherto been a "vague dream," a theme for poets or young visionaries became a "definite political objective—Pakistan". The adoption of this theory has tended to stiffen the political dead-lock in India. Sooner or later the grim words, 'civil war', were uttered by most of those with whom Prof. Coupland had occasion to discuss the communal question; Mahatmaji has talked of its possibility "coolly enough". And he reports further that many sober-minded men, indeed, are thinking that India may have to tread the Chinese road before she attains a final solution of her major problem, be it union or partition". As a report of developments in India, one may not quarrel with its authenticity. For these are impressions gathered by him during his tour. And impressions depended so much on one's mental attitude. Even an Oxford professor, however, may miss some of the other factors that have contributed to the "disunion" in India that he came here to diagnose. For a full and truthful report he ought to have at least hinted at the contribution that his own people, men and women, official and non-official, made to encourage and patronise the many forces, personal and impersonal, that add to the volume and extent of this "disunion". Men and women do not welcome the dread prospect that Professor Coupland's "sober-minded men" hold before us, unless something more valuable than peace was involved in the matter. The United States through whose help Britain hopes to tide over the present crisis will appreciate the choice that the Indian people may be called upon to make. China has made it, and come out victorious over separatist conceits and ambitions. Britain with all her proud boasts has not been able to save us from this choice. The verdict of history will amend Prof. Coupland's report on this point at least. Till then we have to suffer this misrepresentation. We know that Sir Stafford Cripps and many British public men and publicists have been trying to represent the failure of this mission as due to communal bickerings in India; in his report to the House of Commons Sir Stafford stated that the shadow of communal differences constantly lowered over his attempts to negotiate acceptance by the Hindus and the Muslims of the "Draft Declaration" of the British War Cabinet—the "Declaration of Independence", Professor Coupland calls it in his enthusiasm. How unsubstantial was the structure sought to be built up by the Declaration has been proved during the last few months as the smoke-screen, raised by British public men and publicists,

has had time to get thin. The hectoring of U. S. papers has grown weak and silent. British propagandists have found their occupation discredited. The truth of Abraham Lincoln's words has been again vindicated that—you can mislead some people for all time; all people for sometime; but you cannot mislead all the people for all the time.

Writing after about seven months of the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps to India, it is easy to lose sight of the many psychological factors that played havoc with the negotiations during the last week of March and the first ten days of April. It becomes necessary, therefore, to labour to build up the back-ground of those three weeks which were regarded as fateful. The seven months that have followed have not realized all the fears entertained then. But one fact has remained unchallenged yet—as a U.S.A. paper, *The New York Times*, put it then—"the significance of the proposal (Cripps) lies in the fact that Britain does not feel confident in their ability to defend a reluctant and divided India." The compulsion of an apprehended full-scale invasion by Japan was the driving force of British and Indian policy—Britain recognized the need of the help of the "unbribed" mind and body of India; India was anxious to play her legitimate part in the defence of her hearth and home, but she was not quite confident of the competence of British military leadership to do this; Britain was even then suspicious of the *bona-fides* of Indian opposition to the Axis Powers, specially to Japan; India saw Britain planting Ulsters all over her territory. On this lack of confidence (Indian) and on the rock of suspicion (British) the Cripps Mission was wrecked. The Indian point of view was confirmed by what happened in Malaya, Burma and Borneo; the British point of view was asserted by Sir Stafford Cripps in the first Press Conference held by him at New Delhi on March 29, 1942. In reply to a series of questions on the defence of India and whose responsibility it would be, he said:

"The defence of India will not be in Indian hands, even if all the parties want it. It would be the worst thing for the defence of India."

The representatives of the Congress to talk with Sir Stafford Cripps—its President, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad with his interpreters—
 Loose use of the words—"National Government"—by Sir Stafford Cripps
 at first Mr. Asaf Ali, M.L.A., (Central) of Delhi and then Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru—knew of this declaration of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. Yet for twelve days they carried on negotiations with him. They, perhaps, believed that they would be able to pin him down to his talk about "National Cabinet" and of the Governor-General acting as the king in England did—reigning but not ruling. There is no denial from any quarter that even at his first interview with the Congress President Sir Stafford Cripps did use the words. In various public statements and in private talks also he used these words. In his letter dated April 7, 1942, to the Congress President there were the words—"New National Government." It appears now that he used the words in a sense that is different from what is attached to them by constitutional

pundits and by the general public. And the Congress President was right in his suggestion that Sir Stafford was playing with these words.

"These have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet with the Viceroy acting as a constitutional head."

The above appeared in the letter dated April 10 from the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps. And in his letter dated April 11 intimating the rejection of the "Draft Declaration," there is an element of bitterness felt by negotiators who found out rather late that they had been misled and misunderstood.

"The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview."

This bitterness has characterized all reference to Sir Stafford Cripps and his Mission in the controversy that ensued on the failure of the March-April (1942) negotiations. The public do not know details of the many conversations that Indian leaders of various parties and schools of politics had with him. *The Congress Bulletin*, issued by the office of the All-India Congress Committee, containing the "Congress Resolution and other Papers Relating to Negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps," is the fullest that we have so far seen. The Congress resolution rejecting the "Draft Declaration," and a few letters that were exchanged between the Congress President and the negotiator of the British Government, are given in full; the other papers and statements are published therein in summary. The other organizations and their representatives—the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the "Scheduled Castes," the Indian Christians, the Sikhs and others—have not cared to help the public with even this much in understanding the various issues involved in the proposals of the British Government. The failure of the Muslim League to do this obvious duty has given opportunity to Sir Stafford Cripps and British propagandists, big and small, to beat the big drum of the "absolute dictatorship of the majority," of subjecting all the minorities to "a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet," to quote from Sir Stafford's letter to the Congress President, dated April 11, 1942.

On behalf of the Indian National Congress it has been asserted times without number that the "communal question" did not occupy any important part during the whole of the negotiations. In his letter to Sir Stafford dated 11th April, 1942, the Congress President made the positive assertion that

"in my first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal and like questions did not arise at this stage. As the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach."

Of course, there is the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League released to the Press on April 11, in course of which it is said that "as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the

Reports of negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps

Communal question did not form a major subject of discussion

Muslim League & All-India Muslim Conference

immediate arrangements." But there is no reference in it nor in the speech of Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah as President of the annual session of the Muslim League held at Allahabad, to the difficulties in the way of accepting the Cripps proposals so far as these applied to the immediate present. The Muslim League appeared to have had no concern for the self-determination of India; it asked for the self-determination of Muslims only; it demanded the unequivocal acceptance of "Pakistan" which required the division or partition of the country of India that geography and history has made one and indivisible. But not all Muslims in India are of this politico-religious persuasion. The All-India Muslim Conference claiming to represent 44 millions of the Muslims of India, about half of the Muslim population of India, spoke with another voice. Its Working Committee adopted a resolution declaring their firm belief that

"the solidarity, integrity and unity of India is vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India";

"that such communal dissensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India."

The Committee further held that

"the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised in-as-much-as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulsters' in India."

And a constructive suggestion was made with a view to meeting the fears and suspicions of "minorities" in the following modification:

"That no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for ten years."

The Congress negotiators had exerted their utmost powers of persuasion on Sir Stafford Cripps for acceptance of the "National Government" and "National Cabinet" ideas on which

Angry reaction to the "non-accession" clause

he had expatiated with eloquence in his talks with some of the Indian leaders. Except the Muslim League, all other organizations, national and sectional, were

startled into flaming opposition to the whole of the "Draft Declaration" owing principally to the presence in it of Clause (C) which ran as follows:

"His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitution so framed subject only to (i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

"With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union....."

The Hindu Mahasbha based its rejection of the scheme on religious and cultural grounds, on the "basic principle" of its being—

The Hindu Mahasbha goes into the heart of the question

that India is one and indivisible. It takes another objection which we think goes into the heart of the pretence that the British Government was giving India "an opportunity...to determine for herself and

organize in all liberty of choice her freedom and unity..." to quote words from Sri Aurobindo's message of appreciation sent to Sir Stafford Cripps. It contended that

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be

justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority."

The British Government by indicating how the "New Indian Union" should be formed has tried to "determine" the future development of India, thereby taking away from the principle of self-

The Sikh All-Parties Committee's Stand determination its very pith and marrow. The Indian people are not left any "liberty of choice" to frame their constitution, to mould its shape and size. And the

British offer to accord to non-acceding provinces the opportunity to enter into a new State-organization having the same status as the "Indian Union" creates a competition or rivalry between different conceptions of the future State in India that will be approaching conditions of civil war in the country. This promise or readiness to promise recognition to any and every recalcitrant element in India's vast population has taken the grace away from the promise to completely transfer responsibility for the governance of India "from British to Indian hands." How intense was the feeling raised by this part of the "Draft Declaration" was vividly brought to view by the representation made to Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the Sikh All-Parties Committee. It characterized "the specific provision" made for the separation of provinces as a blow to the "integrity of India," as "a betrayal of the Sikh cause." And the bitterness was expressed in language instinct with the sentiment of outrage to moral prestige and injury to material interests.

"Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in "every battle-field of the Empire and this is our reward that, our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position, has been finally liquidated."

In their despair of receiving any consideration from the British Government, the Sikh All-Parties Committee has, strange to say, succumbed to the very temptation that is the parent of all the separatist fears, conceits and ambitions in the country. By its very question—"why could not the population of an area opposed to separation be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit?"—it supplies an argument to the separationists organized at present, for instance, under the leadership of Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah. Their objection to the "extraneous trans-Jhelum population"—the people of the districts of Jhang and Multan—dominating "the future of the Punjab," raises the question of the proper redistribution of the Punjab as at present constituted. The Committee tells the world that "the Punjab proper extended up to the banks of the Jhelum," that the trans-Jhelum area, the districts of Jhang and Multan, were "added by the conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British for administrative convenience." The purpose of reciting this history is, evidently, to suggest that it is the huge Muslim percentage in these two districts that has made the Punjab the "Muslim majority Province" that at present it is represented to be, that the elimination of these two districts from the Punjab would weaken the basis of the claim made by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah that along with Bengal which will be corner-stone of Eastern Pakistan the Punjab should be the "centre-piece" of Western Pakistan. By quoting figures from census reports the Sikh All-Parties Committee prove their contention. We quote from their Memorandum :

"From the boundary of Delhi to the banks of the Ravi river the population is divided as follows: Muslims—45,05,000; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—76,46,000.

"From the Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Jhang and Multan districts: Muslims—82,88,000; Sikhs and other non-Muslims—93,48,000,

"To this may be added the population of the Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26,00,000. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of the Muslim population still further.

The facts stated and the claims built thereon by the Sikh All-Parties Committee would require the overturning of the boundaries of all the provinces in India. They indicate that every group, class, caste and community in India are preparing their body and mind for cutting their country's body into slices. People have begun to think and speak of it as a "struggle for political power." For the capture of this very material thing the help of religion, philosophy, history and even of mysticism has been requisitioned—the memories of wrongs done by dead men and women to dead men and women have been sought to be stirred into life. The cynicism and materialism at the back of this mind was best brought out in the speech of Nawab Sir Muhammad Yusuf as Chairman of the Reception Committee to the delegates and visitors of the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League on April 3, 1942.....

".....The conception of a strong unitary form of Government is all right as long as the British Government is there as the third party to hold the balance evenly between the Hindu and the Muslim nations. But the moment we think of the British withdrawal and the mooted question of transfer of power to India, they manifestly give rise to some pertinent questions such as "Who will be heir of the British Government? On whom should the power devolve?" Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus although they happen to be in majority because the Mussalmans do not agree to it. Similarly the power cannot be handed over to the Mussalmans simply because the British Government snatched away the empire from them. If no agreement could be reached then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Government, or the British Commonwealth of Nations....."

The "Depressed Classes" or the "Scheduled Castes" opposed the Cripps proposals for reasons not stated in their letter to Sir Stafford Cripps. Dr. B. R. Ambedker and Rai Bahadur M. C. Rajah told the world that they had stated these reasons at their meeting with the British negotiator on March 30, 1942, why they were "convinced that the British proposals would do the greatest harm to the depressed classes and are sure to place them under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule." They also asked him to impress upon his Government that they look upon it

"as a breach of faith if his Majesty's Government should decide to force upon the depressed classes a constitution to which they have not given their free and voluntary consent and which does not contain within itself all the provisions that are necessary for safeguarding their interests.

We do not know what they proposed to obviate the necessity of their being placed "under an unmitigated system of Hindu rule", the 'safeguards' that they would require in a democratic State in India.

For, this is the consummation towards which all public men and publicists, all reformers in every sphere of our life, since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, have been taking: their people. This State or social organization in the bosom of which all men, women and children will have assurance of the full flowering of their personality, in which their self-respect will have a secure anchor in the awakened conscience of all of them, where the decencies of material life will be made possible for them from their birth to their death—the foundation of such a State or social organization has been the dream of these path-finders amongst us, has engaged every thought and activity of their active hours, has lived in their unconscious minds as the patterns of conduct to be realised in the life of every man, woman and child of India. Every one of us who draws his breath under the Indian sky, who draws sustenance from the soil of India, has this duty imposed on them to strive to build this life beautiful in the land of their birth. There may be controversy with regard to the ways and methods of realising this dream, of bringing into being all the institutions that will work towards enriching our common life by freeing individual lives from the cramping conditions of selfishness and ignorance. Dr. Ambedkar and Rao Bahadur Rajah may have very good reasons, very well-documented histories, to support the brief they placed before Sir Stafford Cripps. But the public statement that we have seen in the Press issued over their signatures has not told us the constructive suggestions that the Indian public may consider with a view to ameliorate the conditions of our life in its various phases.

A section of the Muslim community feels and thinks that they will find their salvation in "Pakistan", though it is difficult to say how they propose to bring the same solace to their co-religionists who happen to find themselves in areas where they are in a minority. We have not yet heard of any such scheme of "Ghettos"—"reserved plantations"—being suggested for the "Depressed Classes"—the "Scheduled Castes" of the British Government's manufacture. Dispersed as they are all over the country, forming countless racial varieties, they have either to remain as they are and be prepared to play their legitimate part in the composite life of their neighbourhood or fall back upon what has been indicated for them by Dr. Abdul Latiff—"the fullest freedom to select their place in either the Hindu Nationality or the Muslim or the Christian." By supporting or seeking advantage under the "Communal Award" of the MacDonald Government, the leaders of the "Depressed Classes" or "Scheduled Castes" must bear on their foreheads the hall-mark of one of the religious communities—hall-mark that has been given a "vote-value", a hall-mark that has become the most important qualification of voters in India, of the rulers, potential and legal, of the country.

The census reports tell us that there are six crores of people placed in the enumeration of these classes. Their number can have a deciding influence on the future of the country, either for good or for evil. Many of these classes supplied from amongst their number

Stafford Cripps, a new member of the British War Cabinet, Leader of the House of Commons, with a new prestige gained as the patient diplomat who had "brought Russia into the war", was being sent out to India, it was natural that hopes would be raised high amongst the sedate and sober politicians in our country—the old Liberals who, soured by many disappointments, yet retained their faith in Britain doing the proper thing by India. Even amongst people represented in the Congress there was discernible a little flutter of hope. For, has not Sir Stafford Cripps mixed mostly with Congress leaders, and has not Mr. Mahommed Ali Jinnah publicly complained when the news of this "gesture" was made public that "he (Sir Stafford) is a friend of the Congress?" Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru represented even this sector of Congress opinion.

And the Memorandum that he and the Rt. Hon'ble Mukunda Ram Jayakar presented to Sir Stafford gave expression to their disappointment with the measures proposed by the British Government for the transference of "real power in the Central Government at the present moment". This Memorandum, which appeared in the Press on April 4, 1942, was a carefully prepared criticism of the scheme brought out to India. Half of it was occupied with consideration of the problem of the "defence of India" which has gained a new significance since the advent of Japan on the eastern frontier of our country and in the Bay of Bengal. They pleaded for the abandonment of "the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of un-armed helplessness, and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which has led to this policy....." They pleaded for the appointment of an Indian Defence Member as "an unmistakable token" of the reality of the transfer of real political power from British to Indian hands, and "as a symbol of the confidence" of the London Government in the people of this country. Those who have gone even carelessly through the "literature" that has grown round the Cripps Mission must know what has been the response of Mr. Churchill's Government to these pleadings. The Sapru-Jayakar idea of a Defence Member was transformed beyond all recognition into a mockery and a parody. To meet the criticism of the Indian public on Clause (e) of the original "Draft Declaration", Sir Stafford Cripps was authorized to make some amendments to this part of the scheme. In his letter to the Congress President dated April 7, he proposed a way out of the present difficulties.

The Defence Membership was bifurcated—the Commander-in-Chief was to retain his seat in the Governor-General's Executive Council as "war member"; an "Indian representative member would be added" to the Council who would take over "those sections of the Department of Defence which can be organizationally separated immediately from the Commander-in Chief's war Department....." These were specified in an *annexure* sent with this letter. The matters thus to be transferred to a "Defence Co-ordination Department" are as follows :

British Cabinet's
idea of an Indian
Defence member

- (i)
 - (a) Public Relations.
 - (b) Demobilization & Post-War Reconstruction.
 - (c) Petroleum Officer.....
 - (d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.

(e) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependents, including Indian soldiers abroad.

(f) All canteen organizations.

(g) Certain non-technical educational institutions, e.g., Lawrence schools, K.G.R.I.M. Schools and, the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.

(h) Stationery, Printing and Forms for the Army.

(i) Reception, accommodation, and social arrangements for all missions, representatives and officers.

(ii)

In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing department.

Examples are :

Denial policy.

Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.

Signals Co-ordination.

Economic Warfare.

A lot of negotiation was carried on between the Congress representatives and Sir Stafford Cripps. The former asked for a list of the subjects to be transferred to the Defence Minister when a new "formula" was presented by a "third party." The politicians of the Army Headquarters at Delhi-Simla Was it Colonel Louis Johnson, President Roosevelt's representative? Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru has told the world that this "formula" afforded, in the Congress Working Committee's opinion, "a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence." The list was never sent. Instead, the Congress negotiators were treated to "a long disquisition on the Indian Army;" that "it was really an off-shoot of the British Army, controlled by the British Government, through their representative the Commander-in-Chief." From the report, summary of the report, given by Pundit Jawaharlal, it appears that the two Congress representatives were rather quiet listeners to this pedantry. They took eager pains to explain to the pedagogue that "it was not their intention to do anything to upset arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian army feel that the Army was theirs". But the pedagogue was "rigid", instructed from London and by his New-Delhi surroundings to be "rigid". We get an inside view of these interesting talks from what the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, told a Press Conference, held on April 11, 1942, when the negotiations had completely broken down. Referring to these talks on the Defence problem, he said :

"In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had repeatedly emphasised the technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side better."

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert politician."

The discussion at such length of this "Mission that failed" has become necessary to expose the propaganda of British public men and their dupes that Sir Stafford Cripps returned to England without being

able to deliver the Dominion Status because there was none in India with authority to receive it, because the Hindus wanted one thing, the Muslims another; and the others something else. Sir Stafford Cripps took infinite pains to propagate this fiction. But within the course of four months or so we have seen it exploded. A U. S. A. publicist and lecturer, Mr. Louis Fischer, who was in India during these negotiations, told the world that the Mission had failed not because there was the Hindu-Muslim disunity but because Sir Stafford Cripps could not make or was not allowed to make good his assurance about the "National Government". In an article in the New York weekly, *The Nation*, he said that he had interviewed "the British official" whom Sir Stafford Cripps met "late every evening" to report on his conversations with Indian leaders. This high personage told him that negotiations had failed because of political reasons, because the Congress negotiations had "reverted to the question of the Viceroy's rights in relation to the Indian members of the Government." He had interviewed a high-ranking military man who told him that in talking about "National Government", Sir Stafford Cripps was saying something which he had no "authority" to do. The "British official" could be no other than His Excellency Lord Linlithgow. For, it was to him that Sir Stafford had to report every day. The high-ranking military man could be no other than one of the two—General Hartley and Major-General Molesworth—who were present when the Congress President and Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru had met General Wavell to get enlightenment on India's military complexities. Yet, even to the uninstructed Indian, the matter was simple. Long before Sir Stafford Cripps was heard of we had known that the Indian Army was an instrument of Britain's imperialist policy, used in countries as far apart as South Africa, Egypt and China; since 1914 it is being called to Europe to fight the Empire's battles. Control over this Army, power to order its movement to any part of the world, is not a military problem. It is the major political problem on the rocks of which the Cripps Mission was wrecked. Clause (e) of the "Draft Declaration" wherein it is claimed that the British Government "must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain control and direction of the Defence of India as part of their world war effort"—was the crux of this problem. We do not know whether or not the two Congress negotiators did put any question with regard to the basis of this conceit of the British strategists which after the bitter experiences of the Malaya and Burma campaigns could think of using the words "must" and "inevitably" in connection with their self-inflicted sense of responsibility for the defence of India. The British Government has never shown imagination to understand the insult to the self-respect of India implied in the assumption of this responsibility. Sir Stafford Cripps with all his radicalism did not show himself any way better; he most naturally fit himself into this assumption of superiority. And his Mission "inevitably" failed, as it deserved to do.

The bitterness of disappointment with this much-applauded man was symbolized in Mahatma Gandhi who made himself the mouth-

piece of the programme for the "orderly and timely British withdrawal from India." These words appeared in an article in *Gandhiji's reaction to the Cripps Mission* *Harijan* dated April 26, 1942. From an article in the same paper dated July 5, over the pen-name of M.D., entitled—"Friends' Ambulance Unit in India"—we are able to get a glimpse of the genesis of this idea in Gandhiji's mind. In a letter written to Prof. Horace Alexander of Wood-brooke College (Birmingham), sent by air-mail on the 22nd April, voice was given to this idea for the first time. As M. D. said: "he was the first person with whom Gandhiji had shared his great thought." Again: "He had not discussed it with any soul on earth, but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind ever since his return from Delhi, came to his pen". The relevant words were put thus :

"My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma. That act would mean courage of a high order, confession of human limitations, and right doing by India.

In this letter Gandhiji described his feelings with regard to the "dismal mission" that had brought Sir Stafford Cripps to India; the meeting between them; how he did not want to go to New Delhi; how—he being "anti-all-wars"—all his suggestions were brushed aside as "not practical". All this he narrated to give Prof. Alexander and through him all progressive men and women "the back-ground" of the

The history of his conversion to this idea

developments in India. This he tried to draw up for the world in successive issues of *Harijan* all through May, June, and July, 1942. In an article that appeared in May 17, entitled—"To Every Briton"—Gandhiji analysed the glib British talk of "India's participation in the war"; described the British "ingenuity" in making even "an anti-all-war register" like him pay for the war in a variety of ways—he is made to pay two pice as an indirect war-tax on every letter he posted, one pice on every post-card, two annas on every wire sent. Even before the Japanese menace approached India her homesteads were being occupied by British troops—Indian and non-Indian; the dwellers were summarily ejected and were expected to shift for themselves; they were paid a paltry vacating expense which carried them nowhere; their occupation was gone; people in East Bengal may be regarded as amphibious—living partly on land and partly on the waters of their rivers; light canoes enable them to go from place to place. "For fear of the Japanese using the canoes the people have been called upon to surrender these". This is like cutting a limb of theirs. And to complete the most prominent of the details of this background, more in sorrow than in anger he wrote what appeared in the issue of May 24 :

"But it is from the frustration of every effort made to bring about unity by me among many others, that has arisen the, for me, logical step that not until British power is wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity, because all parties will be looking to the foreign power".

From that time on it became "the fixed determination behind every act" of Gandhiji's that "the British must withdraw". By the first week of May, 1942, this demand and request of his gained world-

wide publicity. In the "Question Box" columns of *Harijan* dated May 3, a correspondent put him the straight question—".....are you not inviting the Japanese to invade India, by asking the British rulers to withdraw?" The answer was as explicit: "I am not, I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British wisely decided to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the

Struggle with
the implications
of his own idea

Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans. The very novelty of the British stroke will confound the Japanese, dissolve the subdued hatred against the British....." Questions like these began to pour in

on him, and in trying to answer these he was helped to clarify to himself the various issues involved in this suggestion, charged with the destiny of nations, of 50 crores of men, women and children. For an "orderly withdrawal" of British domination would require a moral revolution in India and Britain, in all the peoples—Briton and non-Briton—who are united to-day in a disagreeable companionship. It is the realization of this unpleasant state of things that led Gandhiji to reverse the story of Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea in its general application to the relation between India and Britain. This he did in course of a conversation that he had with Mr. Preston Grover, the representative of the *Associated Press of America* (News Agency). M. D. in the issue of *Harijan*, dated June 21, has reported this interview from which we quote the words:

".....Gandhiji reversed the simile and likened Britain and the Allies to Sindbad carrying a heavy carcass on his shoulders.....India is thus a corpse—a heavy carcass of which the weight might make your victory impossible. If by some chance England comes to her senses—the Allies come to their senses—and say, 'let us get rid of this carcass', that single act will give them a power which no military skill or resources and no amount of American help can give them."

"To-day the Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain, I would even say at the feet of the Allies. For, America is the predominant partner, financing the war, giving her mechanical ability and her resources which are inexhaustible. America is thus a partner in the guilt."

It was natural for Mr. Grover to try to get a clear idea of the implications of Gandhiji's ideas on the matter. He

He softens in his
attitude to India's
participation in
the war

asked the question—"Do you see a situation when after full independence is granted, American and Allied troops can operate from India?whether you contemplated complete shifting of the present troops from India?" Gandhiji's answer to the second

question was—"Not necessarily"—ought to have removed the "lot of misconception" which Mr. Grover wanted removed. When India is free, the Allies, the "United Nations"—will see "real co-operation"; it will be "real help from a free India". In the same issue, in its "Question Box" columns, Gandhiji was more explicit.

"But I would recognize their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. That prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore I would tolerate their presence in India not in any sense as rulers but as allies of free India.....The terms on which the Allied Powers may operate will be purely for the Government of the Free State to determine."

In an article in *Harijan* of the 28th of June, entitled—"A Poser"—Gandhiji returned to the same problem. He accepted the reasonableness of the contention that the "abrupt withdrawal of the Allied troops" from India might result in the "Japanese occupation of our country and China's sure fall".

"I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I feel that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the National Government.....But India must not by any act of hers short of national suicide let China down or put the Allied Powers in jeopardy."

There were critics, friendly critics, who regarded this concession to Allied necessities as a derogation from India's independent status.

There were others who criticized Gandhiji's "reconciliation" to the presence of Allied troops in India as "a descent" from his position of non-violence. The first class of critics argued that if India had or attained independent status as a nation, she might not get entangled in the present war or might remain neutral as Eire (Southern Ireland) has been though she is part of the British imperial organization. We have seen it suggested that it was Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru's anti-Fascism or anti-Nazism and his adhesion to the cause of China's freedom, his hatred of Japan's "Imperial Way" that has forced Gandhiji to make this compromise with his creed of non-violence by agreeing to the idea of India taking part in the present war, by recognizing the Allied necessity for India being made "a vast arsenal and supply base" for the organized offense against Japan, for the campaign in north Africa, for the support of Soviet Russia through Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq. Reading through all these articles one can detect the unexpressed regret that India, even free India, should have had this choice forced on her of joining in this suicide of nations. Gandhiji could only plead that his "non-violence dictated a recognition of the vital necessity" of the Allies, that he was "unable to state that the non-violent effort will make India proof against Japanese or any other aggression"; that the "whole of India not being non-violent in the sense required," it would be honest to say that the policy of free India would be a mixture of non-violence and "militarism of a modified character". The existence of so many martial races in India would incline our people towards the latter development. This reasoning showed that Gandhiji was not the impatient idealist that he is represented to be. It also showed the mental worry and struggle that he was working under, the effort that he was making to make his proposal "fool-proof".

But there remained one objection that appeared to baffle the intellect. "To whom are they to entrust the administration?"—asked the representative of the *Daily Chronicle* (London)

The fear of
anarchy &
Gandhiji's
prescription

on May 14, 1942. The reply was: "Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance to anarchy, and this anarchy may lead to internecine warfare for a time or to unrestrained dacoities. From these a true India will rise in place of

the false one we see." When the same enquirer pointed out that "already there were signs of civil insecurity", that life would be more insecure if the present administration were suddenly to withdraw, Gandhiji replied that the present insecurity has been "chronic", and, therefore, "not much felt". He said the same thing to the representatives of the Bombay Press: ".....we are living today in a state of ordered insecurity.....this ordered disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as a result, I would risk it....." The anxiety of Allied peoples with regard to this matter was not abated, however. It became manifest in the many interviews that were sought of Gandhiji in order to get enlightenment or in order to persuade him to reconsider the steps that he proposed. The columns of *Harijan* were full of questions and answers on this subject during the months of May, June, and July, 1942. A few of these we have already noticed in course of our interpretation and chronicle of the developments that had forced Gandhiji to propose the "orderly and timely withdrawal" of British Power from India.

It was quite natural for Britain to get furious with the demand made by him. We can also understand the cause of this fury. The demand required such a revolution in the thought and the conduct of the ruling classes of Britain, required such a sacrifice of conceit and arrogance born of it, that we were not surprised at the strength of this fury and the vigorous language in which it was expressed. We have long been habituated to the manners of the British public and its Press. But the reaction of a section of the Press of the United States to Gandhiji's proposal came as a surprise to many in the country. Not that many of us were much impressed with the window-dressing in the life of that country. We have discussed in previous volumes of the *Indian Annual Register*, specially those of 1940 and 1941, the many ties, mental and material, that bind the two peoples of Britain and United States, and traced the development of the many common material interests that have made the latter come forward for the defence of the former in two World Wars. We can, therefore understand why a section of the Press of the United States should be joining in the howl raised by their opposite number in Britain, should be slinging at India and her leaders threats and insults. A sample of this method of controversy was selected by *Reuter* from the *Herald-Tribune* of New York and wired for our benefit. We were told by this organ of a section of U. S. A. opinion that if India, as represented by Gandhiji, did expect that the "United Nations" other than Britain could be frightened into a demand upon the latter for a greater concession to nationalist "face" than Sir Stafford Cripps had made, then they were going to "learn that American public opinion which Mr. Gandhi rates so low, does not react that way to a stick-up."

This ill-mannered outburst came naturally from that section of U. S. A. feeling and opinion which has constituted itself as the protector and guardian of the various vast assets that Britain commands. Some such development was foreseen by public men and publicists long ago. A book on the Anglo-American relationship of economic competition

The anger of a section of the U. S. Press & public

Why they have accepted the British brief

has quoted a predecessor in office of Mr. Churchill, William Ewart Gladstone, as prepared to accept such a dispensation.

"It is she (the United States) alone who, at a coming time, can and probably will, wrest from us our commercial supremacy. We have no title, I have no inclination to murmur at this prospect. If she acquires it, she will make the requisition by the right of the strong and the best. We have no more title against her than Venice, Genoa, and Holland against us."

In Bertrand Russel's *Prospects of Industrial Civilization* we have the same reading of the future :

"It is, of course, obvious that the next Power to make a bid for world-empire will be America. She may not, as yet, consciously desire such a position, but no nation with such resources can long resist the attempt. And the resources of America are more adequate than those of any previous aspirant to universal hegemony."

Politicians and diplomats of the United States were not, however, as unconscious of the destiny that awaited their country as Bertrand Russel thought. We find Joseph Davis, ambassador to Britain during World War I. and to the Soviet Republic twenty years later, writing to President Wilson in 1917 :

"The future of the world belongs to us. The English are spending their capital.....Now, what are we going to do with the leadership of the world presently when it clearly falls into our hands? And how can we use the British for the highest uses of democracy."

In an article in the pages of the *Empire Review* of August, 1941, Lord Queensborough wrote :

The needs of the first World War, and the more dire necessities of the second World War, have forced Great Britain into a position of dependency upon American friendship and goodwillthe Lease & Land Act, and the ceding of certain power to America over our territorial bases in her hemisphere, have made formal this dependency, which confers dignity upon both parties to the common bond."

But it is not political ambitions alone that have driven the United States to assume this responsibility. Finance-capital which seeks outlets as naturally as rivers tend towards the sea has been creating conditions for the emergence of U. S. A. leadership of the Anglo-Saxon Bloc of world Powers. We have seen an estimate of the growing strength of U. S. capitalism. It showed that in 1913 investment by foreigners in America amounted to a little over 1,500 crores of rupees while the foreign investments of U. S. citizens were half of that amount only ; in 1933 foreign holdings of U. S. citizens has risen over 5,000 crores of rupees, and those of foreigners in the U. S. has risen to a little over 2,100 hundred crores of rupees only. This huge accumulation of capital in the hands of a single nation—the U. S. A.—has posed a problem for solution by the leaders of that country. It has presented to them a strict alternative—either their country's productive power be switched to all corners of the globe and American capital becomes instrumental in such "long distance transmission" or American superiority, the American standard of life, could not be maintained in the long run. This alternative has dictated the policy that has brought the U. S. A into Britain's wars and even into the internal concerns of her far-flung empire. Britain represents today, even after the loss of Malaya, Burma and Borneo, incalculable riches hidden in the purchasing power of 40 crores of Indians, of 6 or 7 crores of Africans, of another 7

or 8 crores of the "colourless" people of Great Britain, Eire, Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand. The challenge of the Axis Powers to British capitalist-imperialism has thrown it almost helpless into the arms of U. S. A. capitalism. And it would be more than human for the latter to refuse to exploit this grand opportunity for the use of her abounding powers. A U. S. A. publicist has speculated whether his country can more successfully make a stand against "the economic nationalism of the West" by under-writing the imperialism of Britain, by accepting the managing directorship of this firm, than by rendering assistance to "the struggle for economic and political independence in the East." We have a certain feeling that the dominant classes of the United States have made their choice.

The threats and warnings that appeared in the Press of that country during the time of the Cripps Mission to India and the months following have given the show of detachment away. And we in India need not take a too tragic view of the discrediting of the many slogans in the name of which Britain and the United States have been leading or misleading the "United Nations" today. For us the issues of the war in the Far East, at least, have been made vivid by what R. H. Parker, an I. C. S.-man, enjoying a pension from India, said in course of a paper read at a meeting of the East India Association (London).

"If our victory destroys Japan as a Power on the Western model we at the same time destroy the grounds upon which Indian claims rested,.....India in part claims equality because Japan has risen to equality."

The response or reaction of the Anglo-Saxon leaders of the "United Nations" to Gandhiji's challenge to the sincerity of their professions has not helped to ease feelings in our country. The conceit and arrogance that have been characteristic of their conduct has had wider repercussions. What the leaders of the Soviet Republic have been thinking and saying on the political deadlock in India we do not know, because censorship has thrown a smoke-screen around the matter. What China feels, thinks and says we know from the Generalissimo's parting message to us in the third week of February, 1942. China's Foreign Minister, T. V. Soong, brother of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, projected these on the wider screen of Asia. This he did in course of a speech delivered by him in the second week of June, 1942, returning thanks for conferring on him the honorary Doctorate of Laws by the Yale University: "Asia is tired of being regarded only in terms of markets and concessions, or as the source of rubber, tin and oil or as furnishing human chattel to work raw materials."

This sensitiveness of China and India with regard to their status in the comity of modern nations has been at the bottom of the many disasters that have overtaken the modern world. The tactics of British and U. S. A. politicians and publicists do not, however, appear to show that they appreciate the danger to world peace from an unreconciled India and China. Even in their anxious speculations on the shape of the world they would like to have in the near future when the smoke of war will have rolled away from over the

face of the earth, they develop a curious short-sightedness. A sample of this was presented to the world in the third week of April, 1942. It was prepared by a Committee headed by Raymond Leslie Buell, chief editor of the weekly, *Fortune* (New York), belonging to the same organisation that runs the two other weeklies *Time* and *Life*. The Committee was helped by the various editors of these weeklies, and obtained "over a period of several months unofficial advice and criticism from diplomats of the 'United Nations', from U. S. officials and many an expert on world affairs, internationalists and isolationists alike." The purpose of this round-table discussion was to explore the problems of post-war economic, political and social existence and arrive at thoughtful, "if still debatable", conclusions. A pamphlet entitled—*Relations with Britain*—started with three "frank assumptions" :

- (1) The "United Nations" will win the war ;
- (2) That in the post-war world the centre of gravity of all military and economic power will rest in the U. S. A.;
- (3) That a peaceful world cannot be attained without "profound collaboration between the U. S. A. and Britain.

We are told that the members of the Committee were "no imperialists," as the statement of their belief—political belief—went to show : "The time for an American or British

The conflict between "collectivism" & the "free enterprise system" Empire in the old sense of the word has passed, but the U.S. can and should work out with Britain and the Dominions a programme of leadership, outmoding past imperialism, while working toward eventual world unity." Those of us who can remember the slogans with which President Wilson enthralled the world during the latter part of World War I. of the 20th century, can remember how the European leaders of the victorious Powers sabotaged these, and can remember how "Mandates" were invented to do duty for naked imperialism—those of us who remember this betrayal of the world's hopes, will smile at the innocence of Editor Buell's political belief. This criticism apart, we detect in the economic programme drawn up by the Committee, in their economic "conviction", the hint of a conflict between two schools of economic thought and two systems of economic organisation which may well be the seed-plot of another world war. This "conviction" has been bifurcated thus :

- (1) That a free enterprise system must be made safe against any assault of collectivism ;
- (2) That a "free market area" must be established between the U. S. and the United Kingdom, aimed towards universal free trade as the ultimate goal of a peaceful world.

In Vol. 1. of 1941 of the *Indian Annual Register* we have indicated the various elements that go to make up the economic "conviction" of Editor Buell's Committee. In driving home the point of this argument we summarised the statistics to support it that had appeared in the book—*A Trade Policy for National Defence*—written by Percy Bidwell, Director of Studies, Council of Foreign Relations, and of Arthur Upgren, Associate Professor of Economics at the School of Business Administration in the University of Minnesota. We showed how the eager search by U. S. A.

leaders of industry and finance-capital for a "free market area", for the maintenance of "free economy" and of the "free enterprise system", has found its harbour of safety in the British Empire. The argument of this part of the present study is our excuse for referring again to this book, for quoting the following from it :

"The British Empire area furnishes the markets and supplies the materials which can keep the western Hemisphere a going concern. We are interested, therefore, in preserving the British Empire as a political entity so that its markets may remain open to our exporters, and so that its raw materials may remain accessible to our importers".

Here we get at the material basis of the concern felt by the leaders of the United States of America for the people of India and China. Japan had shown by her treatment of U. S. trade and finance-capital in Manchuria and the territories in China that she

India's instinct understands the meaning of this "collaboration"

dominates that she entertained no respect for "free economy", for the "free enterprise system." This attitude created all the bitterness between these two countries and has driven them to the present war.

Britain has been content to follow U. S. A. lead in matters concerning the countries of the Pacific area, and the U. S. A. has been found to be acting as the protector of her honour and interests therein. The cruel necessities of the present war, specially Japan's victories in Malaya, Burma and Borneo, have extended the area of this protection. This is the psychological back-ground of the excitement that has been prevailing in the United States over the controversy between India and Britain. Indian irritation and resentment can also be explained by the fear of a rising capitalist-imperialism that would step into British shoes. The evolution of the development which we have indicated above may not be known to many in our country. But their instinct has helped them to appreciate this danger. When Mr. Churchill repudiated the meaning and application of the "Atlantic Charter" to the British Empire, his co-signatory who is President of the United States kept silent over it. Since then we have had occasion to read reports of many a "fire-side talk" of Mr. Roosevelt holding forth on the many "freedoms" that the world would be enjoying as a consequence of the defeat of the Axis Powers. But of concrete steps in this behalf in any part of the "subject" countries under the rule of Mr. Roosevelt's co-signatory, we have had no sign. Considering this history U. S. concern for India is not above suspicion.

We have tried to trace above the many factors that have broadened and deepened the sense of frustration that has prevailed in

Failure of the Government & the helplessness of the people

India during the first six months of 1942. The handling of the problems of the military and civil defence of India, of the provision of food and clothing for the millions of this country, of the organisation of industries serving the needs of peace and war—the

handling of these by the bureaucracy in India has not helped to ease the situation. As the Japanese marched through north Burma to the borders of Assam, as their ships of war rode over the waves of the Bay of Bengal, panic seemed to paralyse all coherent activities in the country. The masses yielded to the sweep of the current, while

the politically-minded amongst the people—the majority of them—made futile attempts to harness the powers of the State in India to the slowly awakening resolve of the people to do something for the defence of their hearths and homes. Lord Linlithgow's Government did practically nothing to encourage and quicken this resolve. When in their bewilderment people began to think and talk of "Home Guards", the Government could only say that they had no instructors to train "Home Guards" for India, and no equipment to put into their hands. When it was pointed out that in Britain itself the instructors were old soldier-pensioners, that for weapons the civilian people there had only "pitch-forks, sharp-edged spades, old swords, shot-guns, pistols and revolvers of varying ages, knuckle-dusters and sand-bags—anything calculated to stop the enemy if caught unawares"—the reply of the Government was stolid silence, and some sort of a stony stare. The fear of "Fifth-Column" people utilizing the "Home Guards" for their own purposes may have been partly responsible for this official unresponsiveness. As the "martial races" theory of the Army Headquarters at Delhi-Simla has killed in the major part of the country all military traditions, we, therefore, find foreign correspondents in early May (1942) writing of "the uncertain, undependable Province of Bengal", and of "the doubt that the soft pliant masses of Southern India would be much of a help for the military defence of India." The British bureaucracy must have supplied this brief to these correspondents, little suspecting that it was a reflection on their own policy—a policy that could be responsible for the disgrace that only 20,00,000 persons out of India's 40,00,00,000 population have ever seen a rifle. As this military policy has affected even the "civil defence" organization of the country, it touched on the whole of the Indo-British disagreement and made "civil defence" even a problem of politics—a "contention" between the self-respect of India and the self-interest of Britain.

This political discontent born of helplessness found the country ill prepared to meet the onslaught of the attack on the roots of India's economic life, on the very fibre of its being. Published statistics showed the movement of mounting prices of the necessities of life during the 33 months of the war. We quote from a statement the following index numbers of whole-sale prices :

| | |
|--------------------------|------|
| August, 1939..... | 100. |
| Average of 1939—'40..... | 115. |
| Average of 1940—'41..... | 119. |
| Average of 1941—'42..... | 144. |
| April, 1942..... | 157. |
| May, 1942..... | 169. |
| June, 1942..... | 182. |

The Government in India has been looking helplessly on this crisis in the life of the millions of this country created by the war and intensified by their want of foresight. The needs of war appears to have monopolized all their thoughts and activities; they appear to have had no time to think of the many factors that upheld civilian morale—the most important of which is the provision of food and raiment for the people. Distribution of men and things through the

Breakdown of
supply arrange-
ments

normal channels of communication—railways, motor lorries, boats and steamers, bullock-carts—has broken down so far as the needs of the people are concerned. 200 locomotives and 12,000 wagons were reported to have been sent to the Middle East from India, explaining part of the difficulty in our transport system. This aspect of the matter was brought out very prominently in the debate initiated by Sri Kshitish Chandra Neogy on behalf of the Nationalist Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly during its March session at Delhi. He cited instances of the remissness of the railway administration in the matter of wagon supply even to factories that had been doing war work, one of which deserves record. The Indian Mining Federation of Calcutta authorized him to state that on a particular day "there were not less than 600 wagons standing idle between the East Indian Railway and the Bengal Nagpur Railway". The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Abdul Karim, Minister of Bengal, brought a graver charge in course of a discussion held on March 3, 1942, in the Bengal Council :

"The position at present was that it was not the price of coal (in the mines) that counted, but it was the price of wagon. Whoever succeeded in unrestricted competition to pay for the wagon secured the coal".

We have read of the self-complacency of the ruling classes of Britain ; in India it has been the theme of more than one Royal Commission report. The irony of the thing in the

Food front in
"total war"

present case is that this stringency in food supply occurred during the regime of a Governor-General whose name has long been associated with agricultural and bovine improvement, both in Great Britain and India. He pushed this country into a "total war" without, it appears, understanding its implications, without caring to organise the food front. Lloyd George who was organiser of victory on the British side during the last great war appeared to give more credit for foresight in this respect to Herr Hitler, Signor Mussolini, and M. Stalin than to the rulers of what has been called the "democratic front". In course of a House of Commons discussion on the food problem in Britain, he called the Governments they headed as "war governments" because they had regarded war as "inevitable", because they had prepared for it, and also because they had regarded "increased food production as about the most important part of their programme for a war". The British Government and their "subordinate branch"—the Government in India—have played with the idea of war for about six or seven years before the present war caught them unawares, since the days when Mr. Baldwin had talked of the frontier of Britain being on the Rhine. In India they have also played with the problem of food production even after three years of war.

Lord Linlithgow has been seven years in India ; half of his time has been peace years when he talked much of rural economy and of the cultivator being the corner-stone of India's economic life ; the other half has been war years when his Government has been found helpless in face of soaring prices, of profiteering, of scarcity of food grains that has reached famine conditions in different areas of the country. The absurdity of the situation became vivid as we compared the price of loaf in Britain with that in our country. The Ministry of Food.

Comparison between India and Britain

in the former announced in March (1942) that the price of a 2-pounds (one seer) loaf in the former was 5 pence (about 5 annas) while it cost us double that amount. The wheat from which the loaf was made in Britain came from a distance of more than 4,000 thousand miles of which 3,000 miles of the Atlantic Ocean were infested by submarines. And the wheat that came from the Punjab to Bengal, for instance, has to move on trains, motor lorries and bullock carts over a distance of 1,500 hundred miles only. Since the declaration of war any number of Price Control Conferences have been held in India, the fifth being held in the second week of April 1942. Conditions have grown worse with each of them. Price Control attempts have failed, increasing the confusion and distress of the people. Any benefit from them went to the bureaucracy—the big fish and the small fry. For they had not to stand in the queues before shops. A "Grow More Food" propaganda was started, the member in charge of Lands, Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, dilating on a planned attack on the problem, on the "ploughing up" campaign that was reported to have notably expanded the area under crops and increased their production in Britain, in America and in Russia. The book—*Science in War*—does not support the story of this achievement. They talked of "standard cloth", samples of which was displayed at the fifth Price Control Conference. None of these have appeared in the markets and eased conditions for the millions of this country. And cotton grows at our door-steps. The same futility attended the supply of sugar in a country which produced more of it than it could consume. The disappearance of small coins from the markets of India has pressed heavily on the life of the poorest in the land who could not sell their homely things and buy the homely needs of their existence. Trade that enabled the poor man and woman to live was thus restricted.

It is an arguable proposition that a certain amount of discomfort and suffering must be our lot in a war whose dimensions are world-wide. Technological improvement in the means of transport has made the earth smaller and brought distant countries nearer one another. And the picture of the cultivator driving his plough undisturbed by a battle being fought somewhere near is a pleasant imagineering today. "Black markets" flourish as vigorously in India as in other countries. Rationing of food threatens to become a habit with peoples in all parts of the globe. In Britain the egg ration was 3 a month; "most people have forgotten the taste of cheese or wished they could forget it." Restaurants have not served real butter for months, and the portions of margarine are "half the size of a postage stamp and nearly as thin." Cauliflowers are a shilling and six pence a head. The consequence has been that "most Britons are already thinner—as much as 10 lbs. per man." This discomfort may appear comfortable placed against the back-ground of conditions that prevail in the conquered countries in Europe, and in China where more than two crores of men, women and children are reported to have died owing to scarcity created by war. The self-satisfied bureaucracy in India may feel satisfaction that things are not as bad here as in other countries. But we are just at the beginning of hard time s.

No human Govern-
ment is found
equal to "total
war" conditions

The masses in India have habituated themselves to habits of life and comfort that are by modern standards abnormally low; and their acceptance of the decrees either of fate or of the *Sarkar Bahadur* has given the State in India a charter of indifference to what they felt or needed. In other countries the Governments have been more careful, if not very much more successful. A "Chinese economist" writing to an Indian weekly on "Japan's war-time Economy" has told us of the ineffectiveness of the many measures taken by the Government to control and regulate the soaring commodity prices. The ordinance in Britain that "limited" meals to "three courses" only and banned the sale of fish, game and poultry on "certain days" of the week, tells the same story of discomfort and suffering. Perhaps, no human Government can pass the test of a "total war."

But in our country owing to alien leadership of the State the people do not feel any exhilaration in the many sacrifices that people in other countries have been doing. The latter accept these as part of their duty to their nation; here in India they grudge these sacrifices, and sufferings. "Grow More Food" campaigns they watch with a certain air of unconcern, because it is led by people who do not know the country, do not appreciate its habits of work. Therefore this campaign has made so much noise and printed so much "literature" with so little to show. "Experts" imported from Britain wilt and wither under the Indian sun. But such is the conceit of our rulers that they have been importing ship-loads of them. The window-dressing of an Indian member presiding over the department has not been able to hide the poverty in the counter. The "experts" from Britain judge the requirements of this country by the standards of a foggy country, and they fail, as they have been failing since the beginning of British rule. To discuss this "Grow More Food" campaign. It does not require much imagination to realize that in the growing of food under war conditions the whole attention should be centred on getting the food in the quickest possible time. The cultivator is being called upon to plough more lands. For that he must be provided with the lands—with more lands; with more labourers to help him; with many more ploughs; with many more cattle; with more seed. We have not yet seen an organisation equal to such an effort. Land there is in plenty, even Government land. But it has remained in the state in which nature left it. Labourers there are plenty, but unorganized. Ploughs—the simple Indian plough—can be made by any village black-smith and carpenter. Cattle in India we have been told number more than there is necessity for. There is no assurance that there is enough seed to make a success of this campaign. The co-ordination of all these elements of the work that would produce more food has been absent. Otherwise, there would not have been the wide-spread scarcity that has created bitterness in the country. It has been estimated that our shortage in the principal food crops—rice and wheat—amount to about 19 crore maunds of rice and about 1 crore 25 lakh maunds of wheat; that about 6 crores of people in India go without sufficient food during 364 days of the year. The demands of "total war" have worsened conditions for them and many more crores of our people.

We do not know if the scarcity of food in India has been caused by the arrangement undertaken by the British Government to partly feed the people of Iran, Iraq and the countries near about; by the feeding of other peoples for strategic reasons. We know that Indian troops have been fighting in Egypt and the deserts around

her, that it is expected that India should not only finance a part of their upkeep but must arrange for their food carried across the Arabian Sea and the Red Sea. We know that India has also to think of feeding the 60 lakhs of the people of Ceylon included in which are 10 lakhs of Indian-born men, women and children, the majority of whom has made the island their home for generations. The Government of Ceylon who desire to see the last Indian leave their shores at the quickest possible moment appear to have found a new use for their Indians—as a lever for the larger importation of rice from India to the homes of their people. The nature of this pressure can be understood from the fact that the quantity of rice consumed by Indians in Ceylon before rationing was introduced was 20 per cent of the total imports; that the percentage allotted to them in April, (1942) is only 11 per cent of the imports. Indians in Ceylon who have made what she is economically and financially to-day are being required to be fed from India. But their share is getting less every month.

In the field of industrial development and organization, in the opportunities offered by the war for the starting of new industries in India and the expansion of the old, the differences between the British bureaucracy and the Indian people has remained as keen as ever. These are as old as the East India Company whose policies and practices killed Indian industries. Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Romesh Chunder Dutt and William Digby have done pioneer research in exposing the processes of this destructive work. No student of affairs, Indian or foreign, does question today the truth and validity of this indictment; no writer on India's life and institutions can pass by this fact without commenting on it. One of the latest, Dr. Bhimrao Ambedkar, a member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council taken into it at its last enlargement, can be quoted in this connection :

"Ever since the Industrial Revolution, British-Indian tariffs have shaped India as a raw material producer for British industry, a market for British finished goods,British-made goods drove India's handicrafts out of business, forced millions back to the over-populated soil."

The bad traditions of those days have been persisting even unto these days in the inner counsels of the British empire. The little modern industrialism that one finds in India has grown in opposition to these traditions, in spite of the frowns of the *Burma Sahebs* in the Delhi-Simla Secretariat and in face of the anger of their opposite numbers in merchant offices of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Karachi, Cawnpore, and the other industrial centres of India. Even during the present war when India is being proclaimed as the "arsenal" of the "United Nations" in the Indian and Pacific Oceans areas, this bias has been halting India's industrial efforts on their behalf, and has been a point of contention

India's food &
other countries'
need

Indian industries
and British policy

British monopoly
of war-work in
India

between the Government and the leading Indian industrialists. The latter view with suspicion and apprehension the enthronement of British commercial and industrial leaders in the seats of the mighty in the various departments called into being in India to serve the multitudinous needs of a "total war". In the Legislative Assembly at Delhi a member made a grievance of the fact that the appointment of purchasers of various war materials had gone invariably to British industrialists; that there is only one Indian name amongst these. The list of names is interesting. Mr. Owen Roberts is purchaser of wheat and cereals; Mr. Inskip of hide and leather goods; the wool adviser is Mr. Watts; the adviser on jute fabrics is Mr. Walker; the supplier of *ghee* is Mr. Alopī Pershad. The criticism of this British monopoly is another proof that British capitalists and industrialists who have passed the best years of their life in India, making their pile here, have not been able to make themselves into Indians, to be accepted as Indians. The ways in which the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy tried to give effect to the recommendations of the American Technical Mission, popularly known as the Grady Mission after the name of its Chairman, Dr. Henry Grady, brought out this spirit of monopoly. In the absence of a full report of the Mission submitted to the President of the United States, it is not possible to make constructive criticism on it. The summary published by the Government of Lord Linlithgow has been challenged by American correspondents as inaccurate. Sir Homy Mody as Supply Member was spokesman of the Government in this matter. His comments giving a summary of the Grady recommendations left the impression of a tepid interest in the matter; he appeared to dismiss these with faint praise. The Mission had suggested some sort of a "War Cabinet." Lord Linlithgow gave it shape in a "War Resources Committee of the Council" (his Executive Council), a re-shuffle of the old Economic Sub-Committee of the Governor-General's Executive Council. This War Resources Committee consisted of His Excellency the Governor-General as its President, His Excellency the Defence Member (the Commander-in-chief), the Supply Member (Vice-President), the Commerce Member, the Finance Member and the Communications Member. Four of the members are non-Indians; the Secretary of the Committee also belongs to this category. Power and influence in non-Indian hands is thus preserved. Resentment with this state of affairs found expression through the words of Sir M. Visveswaraya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, and a leader of Indian industrialists: "just as the Indian element is entirely absent from the higher ranks of the army, navy and air force services, so heavy industries have been excluded from the orders placed with Indian industrialists or firms.

There is another factor in this criticism—the presence during war-time of business leaders in Government Directorates raises the question of private interests influencing or being in a position to influence State policy and practice towards their own profit.

A question of political ethics
 Their being honorary workers offering their experience to the State during a crisis in its life makes the problem delicate and difficult. During the last great war the Munitions Board scandal in India pointed to this danger; during the present war there have been instances of it in Britain herself; there is a record

that "in at least one case an important 'Trade' official has been, simultaneously with performing his duties in the Ministry, engaged as a Trade Representative in negotiating with the Ministry as regards the operating margins to be allowed to his own trade." Bipin Chandra Pal in his book—*The New Economic Menace to India*—based on the experiences of the last war, devoted more than one chapter to this source of evil. The experiences of the present war have not re-assured the world that the evil has been scotched either here or outside.

Here we must conclude our interpretation of the many happenings during the first six months of 1942. The attempt to understand and explain their significance has not been an easy one. The minds of crores of people have been disturbed as never before, except once in 1857, during the last one hundred and eighty-six years. The throb of the war drum in Europe

had left the vast majority of them indifferent for about two years. But Japan's vaunting ambition and her successes in Malaya and Burma, in the Bay of Bengal, have changed all that. She has entrenched herself in her new strong-holds, aiming her thunders at India, leaving the rulers and the ruled guessing where the blow would fall. She had expected that under this threat and under her blockade India would "soften and crumble". The intervention of the monsoon has postponed the realization of this expectation. And India has remained the enigma that she has been to history. The British Government has elected to carry on without the support of the "unbribed intellect" of India. The leaders of organized public opinion in India have remained unreconciled to the ways of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Unprepared and kept untrained by the State policy followed in India to face the danger such as Japan has projected, the reaction to it on the part of our people has been resentment against the managers of this policy, as Prof. Coupland has indicated. This reaction has coloured all the thoughts and activities of our people during the whole period. At the end of which they appear to have resigned themselves to whatever the future might bring, trying to find solace and strength in the traditions of their country built up by thousands of years of various experiences. Whether this poise will be maintained when real danger approached their homes is more than one could say. This note of interrogation lengthened over India described her at the end of June, 1942.—*Specially contributed by Sri Suresh Chandra Deb.*

Proceedings of

The Central Legislative Assembly

The Council of State

PROVINCIAL BUDGETS FOR 1942-43

AND

The Indian National Congress

The All India Muslim League

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Generalissimo Chiang's Visit

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission

AND

Provincial Political Conferences

JANUARY—JUNE 1942

The Government of Bengal

Financial Statement for 1942—43

A provision of Rs. one crore and twenty-five lakhs for civil defence measures and a lump provision of one lakh for promotion of communal harmony are the outstanding features of the Bengal Government's budget for 1942-43, which was presented by the Finance Minister, the hon. *Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee* before the Bengal Legislative Assembly on the opening day of its budget session at Calcutta on the 16th. February 1942.

This is the first budget for the new Ministry which was constituted two months ago under the leadership of the hon. *Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq*.

The budget discloses a deficit in revenue account of Rs. one crore and five lakhs. The year starts with an opening balance of one crore and fifteen lakhs which is the anticipated closing balance for the current year. Revenue receipts are placed at fifteen crores seventy lakhs, or forty-one lakhs higher than the revised estimates for the current year. The estimate of expenditure on revenue account stands at sixteen crores seventy-five lakhs, which is forty-four lakhs greater than the anticipated expenditure in the current year. On the basis of these estimates, the deficit on revenue account amounts to one crore and five lakhs. Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a net surplus of sixty-nine lakhs. The joint effect of the revenue deficit of one crore five lakhs and the surplus of 69 lakhs in the capital and debt deposit section of the budget is to reduce the opening balance by thirty-six lakhs. The year is accordingly expected to end with a closing balance of seventy-nine lakhs.

Pointing out that, in a limited sense his budget was in the nature of a "war budget," dealing as it did with the schemes of civil defence of considerable magnitude, *Dr. Mookherjee* explained that in the estimates that he was placing before the House, "nation-saving" took the place of "nation-building". After referring to the international situation which had brought the war to the very doors of India, the Finance Minister observed: "All parties in the House will agree that, so long as the present emergency continues, there can be no diversion of the resources of the Province to purposes that can wait. This must be the guiding principle of our budgetary plans for the coming year. We must bid adieu for a time—short or long as Providence may ordain, to the normal standards of peace-time budgeting."

FOUR CRORES FOR CIVIL DEFENCE

Out of total estimated expenditure of four crores provided in the next year's budget for civil defence measures, two crores will be required for the payment to the personnel of various A.R.P. services, thirty-five lakhs for construction of shelters, fifteen lakhs for the relief of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, forty-nine lakhs for supply of stirrup pumps, respirators, helmets and eye-shields, nine lakhs for the civil nursing scheme, five lakhs for expansion of the Fire Brigade, fifteen lakhs for organisation of street fire-fighting services, eight lakhs for rescue service, thirty-one lakhs for hospital accommodation for air raid casualties in vulnerable areas, two lakhs for mass inoculation against cholera and small-pox and six lakhs for the establishment of infectious diseases hospitals.

The revised civil defence expenditure estimates in the current year including fifteen lakhs for temporary housing and feeding of persons rendered homeless by air attacks, sixteen lakhs for an alternative water supply in Calcutta by means of tube-well, nine lakhs for expansion of the Calcutta Fire Brigade, five lakhs for fire-fighting services in industrial areas outside Calcutta, nine lakhs for protection of essential Government buildings and emergency hospitals by means of baffle-walls and ten lakhs for provision of emergency hospitals and motor ambulances for the treatment of persons injured in air raids.

ONE LAKH FOR PROMOTION OF COMMUNAL HARMONY

As regards the lump provision of one lakh under the head, General Administration, for the promotion of communal harmony, the Finance Minister emphasised that it would be one of the foremost endeavours of the present Ministry to restore amity and understanding between the two communities that have a common interest in the prosperity of the Province. In explaining the reasons for increase in expenditure in the current year, *Dr. Mookherjee* had stated in the earlier part of his speech that a heavy drain on the provincial exchequer

was caused by the protracted communal disturbances in the town and the district of Dacca.

After pointing out that the Ministry had barely three weeks' time to formulate its budget proposals, Dr. Mookerjee said that a Ministry taking office at the fag-end of the year did not take over a clean slate, but a running concern with all its commitments, good and bad, "Some of these commitments", he said, "may well call for reconsideration and revision in the wider interest of the Province. I can assure the House that, if on further scrutiny, we are of opinion that it will be in the best interests of the Province, to revise any such commitments, that revision will be undertaken."

In conclusion, Dr. Mookerjee made a fervent appeal for help and co-operation from all sections of the people to enable the Ministry to serve the needs of the Province.

Government of the Punjab

Financial Statement for 1942-43

"The coming year's budget makes a provision of over Rs. one crore to meet the situation created by the war, and I make bold to affirm that, when we consider our total resources and the exiguity of provincial finance, this will compare favourably with any province in India," observed Sir *Manohar Lal*, Finance Minister, presenting the budget estimates for 1942-43 in the Punjab Assembly at Lahore on the 27th. February 1942.

The salient features of the Budget, which discloses a deficit of Rs 10 lakhs, are the provision of Rs. 61½ lakhs for air raid precautions, an additional Rs. 25 lakhs for Police, Rs. 14 lakhs for grain compensation allowance on account of the heavy rise in prices, Rs. 2 lakhs for war publicity and Rs. one lakh for the promotion of communal harmony.

The revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 13.53 lakhs and the revenue expenditure at Rs. 13.63 lakhs, resulting in a small deficit of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Sir *Manohar Lal* said: The deficit is due to the fact that a large provision of Rs. 61½ lakhs had to be made for air raid precautions. If this exceptional expenditure had not been incurred, there would be a normal surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs; or what would be a more correct way of describing the position—this Rs. 50 lakhs more would have been available for Government's other activities, mainly in the beneficent departments.

Reviewing the accounts for 1940-41, the Finance Minister said: "When revised estimates were available at this time last year, a surplus of Rs. 24 lakhs was in sight. Actually the year has ended with a surplus of Rs. 69 lakhs."

INCREASED SURPLUS IN 1941-42

Coming to 1941-42, the Finance Minister said that when the estimates were presented last year a surplus of Rs. 4½ lakhs was expected. About two months ago a position of substantial surplus definitely emerged in sight and it was realised that the surplus would certainly be not less than Rs. 50 lakhs. The final revised estimates would have shown a surplus of over Rs. 85 lakhs but for the decision of the Government to add a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs to the Special Development Fund and create a new fund called the Peasants' Welfare Fund with a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs. Even after making this provision of Rs. 60 lakhs and after allowing for exceptional expenditure under air raid precautions of nearly Rs. 16 lakhs, the year is expected to end with a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs. The total revenue receipts are now estimated to be Rs. 14.19 lakhs as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.60 lakhs i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.59 lakhs. On the side of expenditure the revised estimates disclose a figure of nearly Rs. 14 crores as against the budget estimate of Rs. 12.56 lakhs, i.e., an increase of Rs. 1.33 lakhs, leaving a surplus of over Rs. 25 lakhs.

ESTIMATES FOR 1942-43

As regards the year 1942-43, Sir *Manohar Lal* said, the ordinary revenue receipts of Rs. 1,353 laks marked an advance of Rs. 65 lakhs on the accounts

of the year 1940-41. These include Rs. 33.63 lakhs under the head "Taxes on income other than corporation tax," received from the Government of India, Rs. 22.80 lakhs under other taxes and duties and Rs. 9.38 lakhs under provincial excise. The main fall is under irrigation where the direct receipts show a decline of Rs. 10 lakhs and working expenses an increase of Rs. 7 lakhs. The receipts under the Motor Vehicles Act also show a drop of Rs 3 lakhs, which is a direct result of petrol rationing.

Revenue expenditure proposed for 1942-43 stands at Rs. 13,63,50,000. This marks a drop of Rs. 31 lakhs on the revised estimate for the current year, but almost the whole of it is explicable in terms of smaller expenditure on strategical roads that were a special feature of the current year, financed from increased transfer from the Central Road Fund.

INCREASED PROVISION FOR INDUSTRIES

Dealing with the beneficent departments, the Finance Minister said: "Though there is an advance of Rs. 21 lakhs on the accounts of 1940-41, and of Rs. 13 lakhs on the revised estimate of 1941-42, the expansion has not taken place on the scale we all should have desired because of the heavy call of famine and now of war. The Industries Department has an additional grant of nearly Rs. 4½ lakhs. The problems of the production and industrial utilisation of Punjab coals are to be studied, cottage and small-scale woollen industries are to be developed, subsidies under the Punjab State Aid to Industries Act, 1935, to the extent of Rs. 75,000, are to be given and a huge glue factory at a cost of Rs. 1½ lakhs is to be established."

Dealing with irrigation, the Finance Minister said that during the current year a sum of Rs. 32 lakhs had been provided for the Thal project and in the next the provision stood at Rs. 55 lakhs.

Government of Sind

Financial Statement for 1942-43

A revenue deficit of Rs. 15.27 lakhs is revealed in the budget estimates for the year 1942-43 which were presented before the Sind Legislative Assembly at Karachi on the 4th. March 1942.

The total revenue is estimated at Rs. 4,80,74,000 and the expenditure charged to revenue at Rs. 4,96,01,000. This deficit is proposed to be met from the free balance which at present amounts to Rs. 1,27,29,000. No fresh taxation is proposed.

Major heads of expenditure include Rs. 13 lakhs on irrigation schemes and A.R.P. and civil defence for the province get an appropriation of Rs. 10 lakhs.

The province has benefited from the large expansion of war industries in the country and the large expenditure on supplies not merely on behalf of the Government of India but also on behalf of His Majesty's Government and the Allied Governments and Sind's share of income-tax revenue has risen considerably. The estimated revenue under this head is Rs. 17,10,000 against Rs. 14,54,000 in 1941-42 and has become, next to the land revenue and the provincial excise, the most important source of revenue for the province.

The estimates under civil defence include Rs. 2,25,000 for air-raid precautions, Rs. 29,000 for civic guards, out of which Rs. 10,000 is recoverable from the Government of India, and Rs. 7,65,000 on civil defence works. A sum of Rs. 2 lakhs is earmarked for construction of air-raid shelters for the civil population at Karachi, Rs. 1,25,000 on A.R.P. for public utility services in Karachi, Rs. 3 lakhs for fire-fighting in Karachi, Rs. 40,000 for A.R.P. measures in Sukkur and Rs. 1 lakh for A.R.P. in connection with electrical undertakings.

The rationing of petrol supply has affected the provincial revenues in the coming year to the extent of nearly Rs. 1½ lakhs under the Motor Vehicles Act and the Sind Sales of Motor Spirit Taxation Act, due to the fall in the number of motor vehicles anticipated and the difficulty in importing motor cars because of the international situation.

A special provision for a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 has been made in the budget this year for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

LLOYD BARRAGE DEBT

The Lloyd Barrage debt position is very satisfactory. The current year marks the end of the interim period. Before the introduction of regular funding of the Lloyd Barrage debt up to March 31, 1942, the repayment of debt is entirely dependent on receipt from the system. From the next year, however, the debt is to be refunded by the payment of fixed blocks of capital beginning with Rs. 75 lakhs and decreasing gradually together with interest at a fixed rate of 4½ per cent on all debt outstanding in each year. In 1940-41 Sind was able to repay more than Rs. 75 lakhs and again in the current year it hopes to re-pay considerably more than Rs. 75 lakhs, thanks largely to increased realisation of instalments of Malkano. From 1942-43 onwards, if the barrage yields more than is required to meet the funding arrangements, the surplus goes to the benefit of provincial revenues. If, however, there is a short fall, the deficit must be made good from provincial revenues.

So far as the next year's budget estimates are concerned, it is expected that the revenue receipts of the Lloyd Barrage system will be sufficient to repay the interest plus Rs. 75 lakhs and yield a small balance of Rs. 3 lakhs. From the latest review of the prospects of the system, it is expected that for the next five years receipts will produce sufficient revenue to cover the debt charges.

NO FRESH TAXATION

Though no fresh taxation is proposed, the Government expect that if the Bill before the Assembly to amend the Local Boards Act is passed in this session it would add Rs. 2,25,000 towards their revenue, by way of Government's share of the local fund cess for improvement and maintenance of the local board roads.

Sind has now completed almost six years as a separate province and nearly five years of autonomy. During this period, Sind has not merely been able to pay its way but has been able to build up a reassuring balance. It has met all its obligations and can continue to do so.

A word of caution is, however, sounded in the budget note. "The war situation is liable at any moment to give rise to expenditure on a very considerable scale on measures of defence which brook no postponement. There is also the ever present fear of inflation which has already begun to lift its ugly head. It should also be remembered that the province was separated when India as a whole was beginning to recover from a deep depression and the past six years cover an upward curve of the trade cycle. The future years may not reveal such satisfactory financial results as have been achieved in the last five or six years. Nevertheless there is reason to suppose that the province will be able to keep an even keel and ride successfully the inevitable ups and downs of the financial sea."

Government of Bombay

Financial Statement for 1942-43

A provision of Rs. 50 lakhs for any intensified A.R.P. measures that may become necessary and of a further amount of Rs. 20 lakhs for other expenditure indirectly arising from the war is made in the Bombay Government Budget estimates for 1942-43. The estimates provide for a revenue surplus of Rs. 98,000, the revenue receipts being Rs. 1,518,16 lakhs and expenditures being Rs. 1,517,18 lakhs.

It has been decided that all existing forms of provincial taxation should continue during the Budget year.

In regard to the Urban Immovable Property Tax, the rates of which were reduced at the commencement of the current year from 10 to 8 per cent and from 5 to 4 per cent, account has been taken of a further slight reduction in rates, viz., from 8 to 7½ per cent and from 4 to 3½ per cent, with effect from April 1, 1942. The reduction corresponds to an increase of Rs. 4 lakhs in the extra revenue anticipated to accrue to the Government on account of the relaxation of Prohibition measures. This extra revenue was placed at Rs. 24 lakhs for 1941-42 and is expected to be Rs. 28 lakhs for 1942-43. In pursuance of the stated policy of the Govern-

ment the benefit of the extra revenue so accruing is to be passed on this body of taxpayers.

GOVERNOR EXPLAINS BUDGET DETAILS

His Excellency Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay explained the Budget proposals to a press conference in the Secretariat on the 27th. March 1942. His Excellency said that the year 1941-42 had from the financial point of view been very satisfactory. The revised estimates of Revenue and Expenditure based on the results of eight months showed a surplus of Rs. 13,779 lakhs as against a surplus of Rs. 65,000 anticipated at the time of the Budget. The most important sources of increased revenue were Income-tax, Provincial Excise, Land Revenue, Stamps and Forests. On account of increase in the total amount of income-tax to be distributed by the Central Government to the Provinces, Bombay's share of income-tax receipts was Rs. 56.20 lakhs more than was anticipated at the time of the Budget.

Provincial excise had given Rs. 42.03 lakhs more, due largely to increased consumption both of country and foreign liquor. His Excellency explained that of this amount only Rs. 4 lakhs could be attributed to the changes made in the Prohibition policy during the year 1940-41. Land revenue collections showed an increase of Rs. 28.93 lakhs over the Budget figure. The war did not seem to have affected the volume of business transactions as much as was anticipated, and there was an addition of Rs. 20.90 lakhs under 'Stamps.' The sale of trees uprooted by a cyclone and supplies of timber to the army and railway had caused an increase of Rs. 21.27 lakhs in the receipts under 'Forests.'

Provision is made in the new Budget for transfer of Rs. 100 lakhs to the Special Development Fund, Rs. 94,000 for the establishment of a pre-cadet school at Poona for giving preliminary training to candidates for emergency commissions, who are not up to the standard required for the army. Rs. 12 lakhs estimated increase for the grant of a dearness allowance to Government servants drawing below Rs. 50 a month in Bombay and Rs. 35 a month in the mofussil, and an increase of Rs. 19 lakhs towards social services. In this Budget provision has also been made for setting apart Rs. 22½ lakhs to form the nucleus of a Post-War Reconstruction Fund.

His Excellency added it was not proposed to borrow and a reserve had been kept in hand of Rs. 161 lakhs in cash and Rs. 75 lakhs in securities. Other allocations made in the Budget include Rs. 208 lakhs for education, which includes Rs. 85,000 as additional grants to local authorities for compulsory education; Rs. 46,000 as direct grants to primary schools under the mass literacy scheme; Rs. 55½ lakhs for Medical Relief; Rs. 56 lakhs towards Public Health, which includes Rs. 15 lakhs for village water supply; Rs. 114.25 lakhs as grant for roads next year, including repairs to original works, and Rs. 10.5 lakhs grant for the Industries Department. It is proposed to spend Rs. 14 lakhs towards minor irrigation works.

AIR RAID PRECAUTIONS

His Excellency said that the sum of Rs. 50 lakhs allotted to A.R.P. work in the Budget includes Rs. 3 lakhs to deal with casualties in case of raids, Rs. 6½ lakhs for the purchase of trainer pumps and tenders to deal with fires, an appreciable amount for the construction of 48 static tanks in the City and for the reopening of most of the 1,600 wells and sinking of tube-wells, Rs. 13 lakhs for the purchase of materials for A.R.P., including ten million sand bags, and Rs. 8 lakhs for protecting municipal water mains and sewage installations.

Public Health schemes which the Government have undertaken for the current financial year include a scheme for serum manufacture at the Haffkine Institute, the appointment of a staff for dealing with epidemics, malarial survey and the establishment of a permanent malarial organisation.

Government of Behar

Financial Statement for 1942-43

An apparent surplus of Rs. 62,83,000 is envisaged in the Budget Estimates of the Bihar Government for the year 1942-43 published from Patna on the 24th. March 1942. The total estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 6,43,25,000 against an expenditure of Rs. 5,80,42,000.

The estimated revenue for 1942-43 is Rs. 6,43,25,000 as against Rs. 6,50,99,000 for 1941-42. There is a drop of Rs. 12 lakhs under industries mainly due to a decrease of Rs. 9½ lakhs in receipts from cess on sugar-cane and of Rs. 3½ lakhs in the provincial share of the life export duty. Forests have gone down by Rs. 1½ lakhs and Police by 1½ lakhs. Bihar's share of the income-tax revenue is, however, expected to be Rs. 13 lakhs better than the revised figure of 1941-42.

A large part of the surplus is due to the very appreciable increase in the share of income-tax receipts and this, in turn, has mostly resulted from war conditions.

On the debit side, very heavy expenditure is anticipated on civil defence measures including expenditure on air raid precautions.

According to the revised estimates for 1940-41 there was to have been a surplus on revenue account to the extent of Rs. 6,48,000. Actually there has been a revenue surplus of Rs. 3,02,400 due to a slight improvement of revenue (1½ lakhs) under different heads and to a decrease in expenditure of Rs. 22 lakhs.

The year 1941-42 will close with a total balance of Rs. 3,40,50,000 including Rs. 2,00,00,000 in the cash balance investment account of which Rs. 1,31,40,000 is ordinary balance and Rs. 1,59,10,000 other balance for specified purposes or in deposit accounts. There is an estimated increase of Rs. 46,46,000 in the former and of Rs. 43,98,000 in the latter.

Government of The Central Provinces

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The budget of the C. P. and Berar Government for 1942-43 published from Nagpur on the 24th. March 1942 discloses a surplus of Rs. 3.24 lakhs. The revenue is estimated at Rs. 526.62 lakhs and expenditure on Revenue Account at Rs. 523.38 lakhs.

The accounts for the year 1940-41 closed with a Revenue surplus of Rs. 29.93 lakhs. The revised estimates for 1941-42 show a revenue surplus of Rs. 4.52 lakhs, an improvement of Rs. 2.54 lakhs over the Budget estimates.

In the Budget for 1942-43, a lump provision is made for the present of four lakhs for air raid precautions and for providing hospital accommodation to air raid casualties. There has been a considerable improvement in the Ways and Means position.

The year 1942-43 is expected to commence with an opening balance of Rs. 89.03 lakhs and to close with a balance of Rs. 108.55 lakhs.

Government of The United Provinces

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The United Provinces' fourth budget since the outbreak of the war estimates a surplus of over four lakhs. The Budget was published from Lucknow on the 19th. March 1942.

The budget has an opening balance of Rs. 1,26,01,000. The revenue receipts total Rs. 17,12,32,000 and charges amount to Rs. 17,08,30,000 leaving a surplus of Rs. 4.02 lakhs.

The year 1940-41 finished more favourably than was anticipated and at the close there was a balance of Rs. 2.49 lakhs or Rs. 1.19 lakhs better than the budget estimates. In 1941-42 when the Government first considered the revised estimates of receipts and expenditure, a revenue surplus of Rs. 92 lakhs was anticipated, nearly half of which was a direct result of the war. The Government then thought it prudent to set aside the major portion of the anticipated surplus in such a way that it might be available in future for emergency purposes. With this end in view

they created a Revenue Reserved Fund, the primary object of which would be to finance expenditure on Civil Defence.

Revenue receipts for 1942-43 have been taken at Rs. 17.12 lakhs, an increase of Rs. 63 lakhs on the revised estimates of the current year. There will be no fresh taxation. Capital expenditure is being restricted as much as possible and has been taken at Rs. 33 lakhs. The result of all transaction will be an improvement of Rs. 89 lakhs, leaving a closing balance of Rs. 215 lakhs. In the current and coming years this province will receive Rs. 1.07 lakhs more as its share from Income-tax. The first charge on this unexpected windfall will be the expenditure on Civil Defence and other purposes connected with the war. The Governor has decided that sixty lakhs from the surplus of the current year and another forty lakhs should be placed in the Revenue Reserve Fund on this account, and it is hoped that the Government will be able to meet all expenditure on civil defence in the present and coming years, which is at present estimated at Rs. 75 lakhs but may be considerably more, without having recourse to any contribution from the Government of India.

Estimate for receipts from forests for the coming year is Rs. 90 lakhs and the large increase is due to the orders for timber from the Supply and Defence Departments.

INCREASE IN POLICE FORCE

Of the provincial departments, the one most affected by the war was the Police Department the expenditure on which rose from Rs. 175 lakhs in 1939-40 to Rs. 181 lakhs in 1940-41. The budget estimate for the current year is Rs. 189 lakhs and the estimate for the coming year is Rs. 211 lakhs. The most important recent development was the formation of special armed constabulary, which alone accounted for twelve lakhs of rupees, besides the money spent on the expansion of the regular police force. Expenditure on jail was unusually heavy owing to the abnormal number of prisoners and the high prices of grain.

The Government proposes to spend Rs. 71 lakhs during the coming year over maintenance and repair of communications. The Department of Industries will have at its disposal during the coming year a sum of Rs. 94 lakhs, which is fourteen lakhs more than the current year's estimates. The explanation is the large orders for blankets, locks and camouflage nets and other smaller orders received from the Government of India. The activities of the Department are to be further expanded with the object of developing small scale industries to meet war demands.

Total liabilities at the end of the current year are estimated at Rs. 37.08 lakhs and at the end of the budget year at Rs. 37.46 lakhs. The increase is entirely due to the expectation of a large issue of bonds under the Encumbered Estates Act. The ways and means position has been exceptionally easy throughout the current year and is likely to remain so next year. The U. P. Government now hold about one and a half crores worth of defence loans.

Government of Madras

Financial Statement for 1942-43

The Madras Presidency's Budget for 1942-43, published from Madras on the 16th. March 1942 estimates the revenue at Rs. 18,97,87 lakhs and the expenditure at Rs. 16,94,28 lakhs, leaving a small surplus of Rs. 3,59 lakhs.

Explaining the reasons why no reduction in taxation is proposed, the Government state :

"The Government have considered very carefully whether the favourable revenue situation in which they find themselves justifies any reduction of taxation or the suspension of any of the commercial taxes. They have come to the conclusion that the course of events during the coming year is so uncertain that there is a possibility that revenues may be seriously affected, that expenditure on Air Raid Precautions or on relief of distress may far exceed what has been provided, and for this reason they have reluctantly come to the conclusion that any such proposal must be abandoned and that all resources must be conserved for employment in any emergency which may develop."

The budget estimates provide for the grant of usual land revenue concessions and for the continuance of all the existing taxes at their present rates. Owing

to the uncertainty of the political situation no provision has been made for a Ministry or for the pay or travelling allowances of the Members of the Legislature or for elections to the Provincial Legislative Assembly. Provision has, however, been made for the revision of electoral rolls and for the triennial elections to the Legislative Council.

An increase of Rs. 19.20 lakhs is anticipated in the Income-tax revenue, while the revenue from Provincial Excise is expected to fall by Rs. 29.03 lakhs. The Revenue from the Motor Vehicles and Petrol Taxes shows a decrease on account of petrol rationing. On the expenditure side, provision has been made for payment to local bodies of an additional toll compensation amounting to Rs. 22.57 lakhs for payment of an additional contribution of Rs. 9.75 lakhs to the Sinking Fund, for a block grant of Rs. 5.76 lakhs, inclusive of the half grant expected from the Government of India, for the relief of groundnut cultivators, and for an expenditure of Rs. 15.00 lakhs for the relief of distress among handloom weavers. A sum of Rs. 60.10 lakhs has been provided for expenditure on Civil Defence measures, while additions to the Police Force are also to be made to bring it up to the strength considered necessary to deal with any emergency.

Provision has been made for schemes of new expenditure involving a net liability of Rs. 41.24 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 22.23 lakhs recurring and an expenditure in 1942-1943 of Rs. 28.85 lakhs non-recurring and Rs. 17.67 lakhs recurring.

Provision has been made for the multiplication of good cotton seeds and their distribution to ryots who grow cotton, for the creation of five new posts to touring Veterinary Assistant Surgeons and for the opening of four new veterinary dispensaries and also for the establishment of village shearing and grading centres in the tracts of the Province where woolly sheep are bred and for the opening of a buffalo-breeding station at Pratpur in Guntur district. Nearly Rs. 10 lakhs have been provided for new educational schemes, which include grants to the Annamalai and Andhra Universities, provision for opening of a B.Sc. Course in "Home Science" in Queen Mary's College, Madras, grants for the opening of new schools, hostels and farms, teaching, building and equipment grants to local bodies for public libraries and for acquisition of play-grounds. A sum of Rs. 2.19 lakhs is provided for further extension of the facilities for education and the provision of midday meals for school children among the communities eligible for help by the labour Department, for the construction of more wells and for the acquisition of house-sites for them.

Government of Orissa

Financial Statement for 1942-43

A revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 was revealed by the budget proposals of the Government of Orissa for the year 1942-43 which were placed in the Provincial Legislative Assembly at Cuttack on the 5th. March 1942 by the hon. *Pandit Godavaris Misra*, Finance Minister. The total revenue for the year is estimated at Rs. 1,97,07,000 while the total expenditure on revenue account amounts to Rs. 1,96,95,000.

Outside the revenue account, the budget anticipates a receipt of Rs. 4,29.00 lakhs and expenditure of Rs. 3,91.81 lakhs, leaving a surplus of Rs. 37.19 lakhs. The combined effect of the revenue surplus of Rs. 12,000 and the surplus of Rs. 37.19 lakhs in the capital-debt-deposit section is that the opening balance of Rs. 12.2 lakhs at the beginning of the year will be raised to Rs. 49.59 lakhs at the end of the year which will be the closing balance of the year's budget.

On the revenue side, a drop of about Rs. 4.87 lakhs is expected under "land", mainly on account of arrear payment to local bodies in South Orissa for land and cesses collected on their behalf amounting to about Rs. four lakhs. Forest revenue is likely to fall by Rs. 0.91 lakhs, the primary reason being that extra sales of timber for supply to the War Board may not be on such a large scale as in the current year.

On the expenditure side, one of the noticeable features is the provision of

Rs. 3.36 lakhs for civil defence. Provisions under Education, Agriculture, industries and Medical have been increased by Rs. 0.49 lakh, Rs. 0.58 lakh, Rs. 0.54 lakh and Rs. 0.55 lakh respectively. Expenditure under "Police" is expected to be Rs. 0.59 lakhs more than in the current year.

After explaining the budgetary position of the province, the Minister referred to the various schemes which the Government proposed to give effect to for the improvement of education in the province. The schemes included opening of a pre-medical course of study in biology at the Ravenshaw College, introduction of vocational and industrial education in the middle English and middle schools managed by local bodies and conversion of the Board Higher Elementary Schools at Koranur into a Middle English School.

Pandit Misra said that the expenditure under "Education" had increased. But the problem still lay where it had lain when the province was created six years ago. "Little in the field of education can be done without solving the most important question of inaugurating a University of our own. There is a widespread feeling that a University should be started immediately. I am trying to expendite preliminaries and to come before the House within a few months' time, with a University Bill drafted on the lines suggested in the report of the University Committee and also with a supplementary demand for the necessary money."

Referring to public health, Pandit Misra informed the House that a provision had been made in the Budget for the appointment of Committee for establishing a link between the Public Health Department and the public. Pandit Misra also referred to the various schemes proposed to be undertaken by the Government during the ensuing year for the improvement of agriculture and industries in the Province.

CIVIL DEFENCE

Dealing with civil defence measures, Pandit Misra said that theirs was now a full-fledged province which must be able to carry on its civil defence as worthily as possible. So far as military defence was concerned, necessary preparations were being made. "The Government are conscious of their responsibility at the present crisis. Therefore, necessary funds are being provided even at the sacrifice of nation-building developments; because nation saving is more important than nation building. I assure the honourable members that everything possible within our means will be done to ward off danger."

Concluding, Pandit Misra observed: "We have long and probably too long relied on external protection. That has unfortunately proved now to be the weakest spot in our national character, a fact which is being realised by our rulers in Britain. However, we must prove that in spite of our want of equipment, the defence of our province is our first concern."

The Council of State

LIST OF MEMBERS

President :—THE HON. SIR MANECKJI
BYRAMJI DADABHOY

Nominated—including the President—(26)

(a) Officials—(12)

H. E. GENERAL SIR ARCHIBALD
PERCIVAL WAVELL
THE HON. MALIK SIR FIROZ KHAN NOON
" MR. E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO
" GENERAL SIR ALAN FLEMING
HARTLEY

THE HON. SIR ALAN LLOYD
" MR. E. CONRAN-SMITH
" " A. DEC. WILLIAMS
" " C. E. JONES
" " G. C. BOZMAN
" " JOHN D. TYSON
" " C. M. TRIVEDI
" " SHAVAN A. LAL

(b) Non-Officials—(14)

THE HON. SIR DAVID DEVADOSS
" DIWAN BAHADUR SIR K.
RAMUNNI MENON
" SIR A. P. PATTRO
" " RAHIMTOOLA CHINYO
" " JOSNA GHOSAL
" RAI BAHADUR SATYENDRA
KUMAR DAS
THE HON. RAI BAHADUR SIR SATYA
CHARAN MUKHERJEE
THE HON. SIR MOHAMMAD YAKUB
" SIRDAR NIHAL SINGH
" RAJA CHARANJIT SINGH
" MR. KHURSHID ALI KHAN
" SIR MANECKJI BYRAMJI DADABHOY
" LIEUTENANT-COLONEL SIR S.
HISSAM-UD-DIN BAHADUR
THE HON. SARDAR BDR. SOPHA SINGH
Elected—Non-Officials—(52)
THE HON. RAO BDR. K. GOVINDACHARI

THE HON. MR. M. CT. M. CHIDAMBARAM
CHETTYAR
THE HON. MR. NARANDAS GORDHARDAS
" V. RAMADAS PANTULU
" SAIYAD MOHAMED PADSHAH
" SAHIB BAHADUR
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" CHAUDHRI NIAMATULLAH
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KAMESHWAR SINGH
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MAHTHA
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" " HOSSAIN IMAM
" " V. V. KALIKAR
" " BRIJLAL NANDLAL BIYANI
" MAULAVI ALI ASGAR KHAN

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(10) Ajmer-Merwara—1

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THE HONOURABLE DEWAN BAHADUR
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AHMAD KHAN

The Council of State

Budget Session—New Delhi—18th. February to 2nd. April 1942

C-IN-C.'S TRIBUTE TO INDIAN ARMY

The Council of State held the first meeting of the Budget Session at New Delhi on the 18th. February 1942. The *President* welcomed the Commander-in-Chief who took his seat to-day and added he had no doubt that he would follow in the footsteps of his two immediate predecessors. The following is the statement of His Excellency General Sir *Alan Hartley*, the Commander-in-Chief:

"Sir, as one who has served in the Indian Army for nearly forty years, and whose proud privilege it is to conclude that service as Commander-in-Chief, it is, as hon'ble members must appreciate, a source of great pride and satisfaction to have seen that the army acquit itself with outstanding distinction in this greatest war of all time. Unlike my two distinguished predecessors, I have not, so far, had the opportunity of seeing or commanding formations of British and Indian troops from this country in the actual fields of operation against the Axis. But, many of the units whose skill and determination were, in a large part, responsible for some of the most outstanding victories achieved by the British Commonwealth in the Middle East, previously served with me on our North-West Frontier. I know them, and I know the stuff of which they are made, and I never doubted that their performance would fail to equal that of any of their comrades in the field.

"Events have moved fast and far since my predecessor, General Wavell, in last November, gave an account, to this house, of the achievements of Indian troops in the various theatres of war. A few days after he spoke to you last November, General Auchinleck struck at the German and Italian armoured strength arrayed on the borders of Cyrenaica. It was the first offensive in the shape of an armoured and aerial blitz, which the Commonwealth has been in a position to launch since the war began. Scarcely three weeks later Japan, while talking peace, dealt those heavy and treacherous blows which spread the flames of war to the Far East. On both the fronts, which as you know we have always alluded to as the bastions of India's defence, and which, as long as they are securely held, prevent active warfare reaching the shores of India, Indian and British formations from this country were immediately involved.

But while to the West, our troops repeated the triumphs of Sidi Barrani, East Africa, Syria, Iraq and Iran, those in the East were exposed to the concentrated might of a great and long prepared military and naval Power.

INDIAN TROOPS' HEROISM IN MALAYA

"The self-sacrifice and the heroism of those from India who fought step by step as they withdrew, in the face of overwhelming odds, on the Malayan Peninsula, merit no less recognition than the great part played by the 4th Indian Division in North Africa.

The hon'ble members will not expect me to describe in detail the actions in which the 4th Indian Division so distinguished itself in the battle with General Rommel. Suffice it to say that the Division never failed to achieve the successive objectives for which it was made responsible. The reduction of Sidi Omar and Libyan Omar, the battle of Bir el Gubi, and the final full-dress action in the vicinity of Gazala represented the four main stages, from the Division's point of view, of the giant operation, which broke the hold which the Axis then had in Cyrenaica.

"It is fitting too, I conceive, that due recognition should be given on the floor of this House to the magnificent fighting spirit and achievements in this particular operation of the British Battalions and British Gunners with the 4th Indian Division. The Royal Sussex Regiment at Sidi Omar, the Camerons at El Gubi, and the stand of the Buffs at Gazala, were outstanding contributors to the success and to the high tradition of the 4th Indian Division. Nor must we forget the artillery. In many respects, the battle in Cyrenaica turned out to be a gunners' battle, and to them goes no small share of the credit for the destruction of a high proportion of the German and Italian armoured formations.

"As hon'ble members must have seen in the newspapers, the 4th Indian Division was actively engaged in maintaining contact with the enemy on the Egyptian border throughout the pause between June of last year and the middle of November. There were a series of small actions arising from patrols seeking to find out as much as possible about the enemy's dispositions. When our assault in November began, the 4th Indian Division first deprived the German raiding column of a tank-proof sanctuary provided by the fortified positions round Sidi Omar. Following further successes, at Libyan Omar, the division drove on as the leaders of the infantry advanced behind the British Armoured forces, and finally became involved in the pursuit of the defeated Axis armies from Gazala onwards. Taking the coastal route by Derna and Giovanni Berta, units of the division beat down in quick succession every delaying position the enemy tried to hold and lost little time in reaching Cirene, Barce and Benghazi.

SYRIAN OPERATIONS

"Formations from the Fourth Indian Division, particularly the Fifth Indian Infantry Brigade, which was involved in the Syrian operations have been almost continuously in the action since late in 1940. And never once have their exemplary discipline and fighting spirit flagged.

"Reference must also be made here to certain units of the Fifth Indian Division which accomplished a striking thrust, from Siwa, in the south of the Egyptian desert and captured the Italian garrison of the useful but lonely oasis of Jalo far in the interior of Cyrenaica. That little operation was carried out with a dash and determination which achieved a well deserved and conspicuously inexpensive success.

"By this time General Rommel had withdrawn south of Jedabya where a combination of terrible weather and communications which were stretched to many hundreds of miles prevented General Auchinleck from following him up in force. The hon. members will recall that, at the beginning of our Western Desert Offensive in November last, rain in Cyrenaica seriously handicapped the German Air arms giving support to their ground forces. Unprecedented storms and rain swept over Cyrenaica in January where this time it was our forces who had to suffer all the impediment of bogged communications, and unserviceable aerodromes. As a result, General Rommel was able to reform his battered units and with the help of reinforcements, which had got through at some cost across the Mediterranean, to launch a counter-offensive against the forward units of the Eighth Army. This counter-offensive began in early January. The Fourth Division for which there had been some prospect of well-earned rest and respite at Benghazi, naturally became again immediately involved and fighting took place.

"The Seventh Indian Infantry Brigade was south of Benghazi and was cut off

TRIBUTE TO THE INDIAN ARMY

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by columns of German tanks which cut the road north of the town. Efforts by the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division to break through to the rescue of the beleaguered party were unavailing and it appeared that the whole of the Seventh Brigade and also a part of the Fifth Brigade would be lost. For two days there was silence, and the worst was feared. Then the Seventh Brigade suddenly appeared back in our lines west of Tobruk. It is one of the most thrilling stories of the war. The brigade was led out of the trap, not to the north and east as the Germans expected, but to the south-west. Right through the German lines they went, and then turning east, made their way back. On the way they frequently passed enemy columns; but by a combination of bluff and boldness managed to deceive the Germans and so got through safely. Full details are not yet available; but it is believed that most of this personnel of the Fourth Indian Division was carrying lost a certain amount of vehicles and equipment.

"In the meantime, the remainder of the Fourth Indian Division was carrying out a fighting retreat to the north of the hills. Closely followed by the enemy, who constantly attempted to encircle them or break through the rear guards, the Fifth and Eleventh Indian Infantry Brigades safely rejoined the main body of the Eighth Army near Gazala. This retreat was excellently carried out. I can now say that the military education of this great division is complete; for now they have had their first experience of what a retreat means.

TRIBUTE TO THE 4TH. INDIAN DIVISION

"I should like to tell the hon. Members what a highly placed British service officer on a visit from the Middle East to Delhi said to me the other day about the Fourth Indian Division. He said that it was the finest fighting formation at present in the Empire. It is pleasant to hear that from a completely unprejudiced observer. And in a message received from the Middle East a week ago, I was delighted to read that, in spite of their present setbacks, the morale of this famous Division is just as high as ever.

"I must now turn to the grim picture on our Eastern flank. Here our Indian soldiers have been engaged in a number of retreats and desperate defence, and I fear our losses have been heavy. The first serious reverse, in which Indian troops shared with British and Canadians a heavy sacrifice, was in Hong Kong. There the Fifth Battalion, the Fourteenth Punjab Regiment, the Hong Kong-Singapore Royal Artillery and medical personnel, were involved in the capitulation after a short, but determined, struggle. They had to hold great frontages with little force—four miles to a battalion. They had been faced by odds of about four to one without any air support at all. A contributory cause of the surrender was the destruction of the water-supply. The garrison had done its best. It is an honourable defeat. A British Army officer who managed to escape has spoken enthusiastically of the great fight put up by our Indian soldiers.

"To turn to another theatre of war. In North Malaya, Gurkha and British Battalions, including Indian States Forces Battalions, met the initial Japanese onslaught. Without any declaration of war, the Japanese launched large forces, amounting to four divisions, from Southern Siam and drove bald-headed for Northern Malaya. Admirably equipped for the purpose and with large numbers which enabled them to hold strong bodies on the coast in the rear of our positions, their direct assault could not possibly be stemmed for any length of time with the forces at our disposal. As hon. members are well aware, the enemy had, in addition, superiority at sea and in the air. The fall of Singapore is a great though not crushing defeat. I have few details of the actual events in which our men took part, and how it is unlikely that we shall know the full story until later.

AT SINGAPORE AND BURMA

"You will have seen in the papers to-day the list of units present in Singapore. I must not give any further details; as to do so would merely give the Japanese information with which to check their captures. It is not likely that any whole units have escaped but small parties may have been able to get away. I cannot however, hold out much hope. The loss of these brave men, as well as of their valuable equipment, is, of course, most serious. There is just one thing I should like to mention. Fantastic stories have been put about by the enemy of desertions by Indian troops. All I can say is this. Far from deserting in the heartbreaking conditions in which they found themselves, large bodies which were from time to time cut off by Japanese landings in the rear, or by infiltration, refused to surrender and forced their way back by jungle tracks after immense exertions. And this

happened, I would have you note, time and time again, when it would have been so easy to surrender and have done with it all."

In Burma also, as you know, the Indian troops have been fighting against a strong attack, and have been slowly pushed back. The stoutness of their defence has given time for some reinforcements to reach that country. In the north, Chinese troops have come into Burma and taken over a section of the front in the protection of their life line, the Burma Road. The unity and common interest of India and China is shown by the visit of Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Our troops and his are now fighting alongside each other.

"In spite of our present situation, there is no cause to lose heart. Admittedly our losses are grievous and the situation is serious, but in other wars, as well as in this, we have pulled through from even greater situations."

"But I must warn you. We must be prepared for more bad news before the tide turns. We must be prepared for attacks on our shipping on the seas; and we must be prepared for attacks on this land of India from the air and by bombardment from the sea, and we may even have to face the possibility of a landing. One thing I feel quite certain, and that is that the enemy will lose no opportunity for spreading panic and undermining the morale of the people."

"We must face these threats in a spirit of calmness. To brave men danger is an incentive to additional effort. I am able to give you that military preparations to meet the new situation are well in hand. But we must have equipment to replace our losses; and I urge all men in the factories, in the mills and in the workshops to work as they have never worked before. I will repeat the Prime Minister's famous message: 'Give us the tools and we will finish the job.' We, in this case, means the soldiers, sailors and airmen of India. And I say that on the workmen of India lies the responsibility for providing the sinews of war to keep the horrors of conflict away from our fields and from our cities."

After the Commander-in-Chief's statement, the House adjourned till the 23rd.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

23rd. FEBRUARY:—Within thirty minutes this morning, the Council passed, without discussion or amendment, seven bills recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. Four of them were sponsored by the Commerce Secretary, Sir Alan Lloyd. They were Bills to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Indian Merchant Shipping Act and the Indus Vessels Act and a Bill to continue the provision made under an Ordinance for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The Bills to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province were sponsored by Mr. Tyson, Secretary, Education Department. Lastly, Sir Feroz Khan Noon had a Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act.

AID TO BURMA EVACUEES

Earlier in the morning, on a motion to elect four non-official members to serve on the Standing Emigration Committee, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru referred to Indians in Burma and Malaya. He said that owing to war conditions in Burma, Indians were compelled to return to India and about 40,000 had already reached this country, mostly by sea. The sea route, however, had become unsafe on account of the Japanese submarine menace, and he urged that the Government should make every endeavour to develop land routes to Burma without the least possible delay. The Pandit next referred to reception arrangements for the evacuees in India and suggested that timely information should be given to the reception committees at the ports to cope with the rush. He also suggested that the staff of the Protector of Immigrants should be strengthened and greater latitude should be given to him in the matter of incurring expenditure. Lastly, the Pandit urged that the Government should take steps to afford facilities to evacuees, most of whom might be starting life afresh.

Messrs. P. N. Sapru, Padshah and Hossain Imam participated in the discussion.

Mr. G. S. Bozman, Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, replying to the discussion, said that so far 65,000 Indians had left Burma, but exact figures of the evacuees from Malaya were still unobtainable. Mr. Bozman said that there were two land routes to Burma from India, both of which were freely used without any restrictions. The Government were also making arrangements to provide shelter, food and medical aid all along the route. As for shipping information, Mr. Bozman said that the difficulty was that none knew when a ship

would arrive. They could only know when a ship left a port. Mr. Bozman also assured the Council that all steps were being taken to strengthen the organisation of the Protector of Immigrants, and the problem of finding employment for the evacuees had not escaped the notice of the Government. He added that the Government of Burma were taking all possible steps to protect the lives and property of the Indians still in Burma.

Referring to the allegations of racial discrimination, Mr. Bozman said that the Council and the public would be wise to defer passing judgment till conditions settled down. The information which came out to India in regard to these allegations was generally tinted information. In conclusion, Mr. Bozman assured the House that the Government would do all in their power to ease the lot of Indian evacuees and make them feel that they were returning to their homes.

DISCUSSION ON RAILWAY BUDGET

24th. FEBRUARY :—The Council held the general discussion on the Railway Budget to-day. Sir A. P. Patro, who opened the debate, regretted that the Budget gave no relief to the people of India, who had decidedly contributed to the huge surplus. He asked what the Railway Board had done to increase amenities and facilities for the travelling public and to help the ryot in the transport of his raw produce direct to the Central market eliminating middlemen. Sir A. P. Patro considered that it was not possible for the small cultivator to indent a whole wagon and the proposed levy of two annas in the rupee on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grain was bound to act as a great hardship on him. The speaker complained that no initiative had been taken for effective co-ordination of transport facilities and the railway authorities had not given up their attitude of systematic apathy towards indigenous industries.

Sir Shantidas Askuran hoped that the Communications Member would take immediate steps to consult non-official and business interests with a view to solving the increasingly difficult transport problem. He hoped that in the light of non-official criticism of the proposal to increase freight rates and fares, which was expected to yield only one crore of rupees, the Communications Member would give up the proposal.

Mr. Dalal deplored the Government's obstinacy in refusing to encourage locomotive production in India. He hoped that in future the Central Railway Advisory Council would be consulted before any railway lines were lifted.

Mr. Hussein Imam suggested that instead of increasing freights on smaller consignments of foodstuffs and grains and fares of passengers, the railway authorities should effect economies by doing away with saloons, and free passes. He expressed the opinion that His Majesty's Government should bear a good proportion of the cost of the dismantled railway lines which were made over to them for war purposes.

Mr. Kalikar characterised the Government's refusal to encourage Indian industries as a short-sighted policy intended to placate vested interests. He complained of acute shortage of wagons in the countryside, aggravating the hardships of the poor cultivator.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru charged the Government with under-estimating their revenues and wanted to know why the net cost of the dismantled lines had been debited to the Depreciation Account when the money had to be recovered from the British Government. Referring to the curtailment of services, Pandit Kunzru said that it would not be a wise policy to further dismantle the railway lines when the war was threatening to come to the shores of India. In this connection, he characterised the railway policy as "halting and shortsighted", in not preparing to meet emergencies in peace time, particularly in the matter of construction of locomotives and machine tools. He said : "Had the Government thought less of vested interests and more of the future of the country itself, India would have been in a position to make a much larger contribution to war effort. The Government's decision to take over the B. N. W. and R. K. Railways was due to the efforts of the members of the expanded Council and he urged that the Government should take advantage of the present situation and take over the remaining three company-managed railways forthwith. As for the Depreciation Fund, Pandit Kunzru urged the appointment of a committee of the Central Legislature to enquire both into the size of the Fund and the Separation Convention.

Mr. P. N. Saprú referred to the recent railway accident on the E. I. Railway and wanted the fullest details and a message of sympathy to be sent to the victims of the accident. Referring to the Budget Mr. Saprú criticised the curtailment of

transport facilities at a time when other means of transport had already been contracted to the lowest limit. He felt that it was entirely unjustifiable to enhance rates and fares when the means of transport in general had shrunk and prices had gone up. He regarded this an indirect taxation which he characterised as the worst form of taxation. In this connection, Mr. Sapru referred to the use of saloons and of free passes to railwaymen and said that the railways were reducing the facilities for transport for the public, but not for their own men. Mr. Sapru also enquired if the policy of dismantling railways was being followed by the Dominions and the Colonies.

Sir Andrew Clow, Communications Member, replying to the debate, referred to Sir A. P. Patro's observation that the phenomenal surplus was not due to the careful management but due to the war. He was the last to claim, said the Railway Member, that the efficiency of the railways should be measured by a deficit or a surplus, although some members of the House applied that test when the dark days of depression were with us. Management, nevertheless, played a great part in the earning of revenue: surplus did represent additional work done by an immense army of men.

Replying to criticisms made by Mr. R. H. Parker and others as regards the Depreciation Fund, the Railway Member declared that so far from the fund having too much in it, it had, on the whole, too little in it, and there was little ground for complacency until it stood at a higher figure than it did at present.

After explaining the changes proposed in the rates for food grains, he said that the increase proposal was intended not to raise half a crore, but to secure better use of wagons which, members would agree, was a laudable object.

In giving an increase in wages, railways were, in many cases, following private employers. It was true that an increase of purchasing power at a time when the supply of goods had not increased had its dangers, and it was well to be reminded of that fact. As regards the suggestion in favour of some form of deferred expenditure the railways were following it to some extent by extending the provident fund; but to give a benefit which was going to accrue after the war, meant that the man who had accustomed himself to a certain standard of living on his present wages had to tighten his belt. That was a hard thing to ask a man to do on a very low scale of pay. Speaking of the extensions given to officers, the Railway Member asked for the sympathy of the House in the acute paucity of experienced officers which railways were experiencing as a result of a large number of men going overseas. He explained that these officers, sent abroad, received their railway salary or the salary of their military rank, whichever was higher, and in most cases, the railway salary was found to be higher. In the ranks of General Managers, suitable officers did not flourish in large numbers, and the posts of General Managers were such that it was not desirable to have a rapid change of officers. The Council at this stage adjourned till the 26th.

TRANSFER OF DEFENCE TO AN INDIAN

26th. FEBRUARY :—Pt. H. N. Kunzru's resolution urging the transfer of the Defence portfolio to a non-official Indian, which was passed to-day by 11 votes to 5, official members remaining neutral, evoked a keen debate. The Pandit said that there was nothing new in his proposal, as the Federation Scheme envisaged that the Commander-in-Chief would cease to be a member of the Governor-General's Council. He maintained that it was entirely within the competence of the Secretary of State for India to effect the change asked for without an amendment of the Act. Pandit Kunzru felt that political and military considerations demanded that the Commander-in-Chief should be relieved of his political duties and left free to devote his whole time to pressing military duties. He averred that the present arrangement had not roused popular enthusiasm for war and maintained that the proposed change would go a long way to mobilise public support for war effort. He, therefore, appealed to Britain to act before the situation became still graver.

Sir Shantidas Askaran supported the resolution from the conviction that the defence of India was the primary responsibility of Indians themselves and an Indian Defence Member would be in a better position to strengthen the people's morale and inspire them with confidence necessary to face the future with courage and fortitude.

Sir A. P. Patro thought that Indians should be increasingly associated with the defence of the country and therefore considered that no patriotic Indian would differ from the general principle underlying the proposal contained in the

resolution. He declared that patchwork arrangements would not satisfy Indian aspirations, and advocated a radical change in the structure of Indian administration. In his opinion, there was no justification whatsoever for the Government withholding responsibility for the defence of the country from Indians.

Sir *Mohamed Yakub* said that the situation was so serious that they could not pass any judgment on an important point like the one under discussion without thoroughly going into it. He maintained that the time was past for preparing the country as desired by the mover of the resolution and the gravity of the situation demanded all-out action. He pointed out that the defence policy was not framed in India and asked what would be the position of an Indian Defence Member if there was a clash of interests between Britain and India and between the Indian Defence Member and the Commander-in-Chief. These were complicated questions not capable of yielding easy solutions at the present juncture.

Mr. *P. N. Saprú* maintained that all except die-hards should accept the proposal. He deplored the wide cleavage between the Government and the people in the country and urged that the question should be approached not purely from the military point of view but from the psychological point of view also. He asked what particular experience of war strategy Sir *James Grigg* had to merit his elevation to the post of Secretary of State for War. Given equal opportunities and proper environment, Indians could do much better than Britishers.

Sir *Ramunni Menon* felt that the present was an inopportune time to make the change advocated in the resolution. They should not make drastic changes in the constitution during war. He also doubted whether the appointment of an Indian as Defence Member would bring about the necessary war enthusiasm in the country.

Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh supported the resolution on the ground that there were capable Indians to take charge of the portfolio.

Messrs Padshah and Mohammed Hussain, members of the Muslim League Party, opposed the resolution. They were not opposed to Indianisation of the Governor-General's Executive Council. On the contrary, they supported it, but they felt that no useful purpose would be served by appointing another Indian on the Council, unless he had the backing of the peoples of India.

Messrs. Dalal, Kalikar and Nikunja Behari Das supported the resolution. *Messrs. Dalal and Kalikar* emphasising the urgent necessity of making Indians responsible for the defence of India.

Pandit Kunzru, in his reply to the debate, asserted that even now, an Indian Defence Member would strengthen India's position, and that nothing short of complete Indianisation of the Central Executive would satisfy the demands of the country. He referred to the British attitude towards the defence of the Pacific and the consequent protest of Australia which was responsible for a partial meeting of the Australian demand. An Indian Defence member could make similar demands on behalf of India, which would be met more expeditiously than at present. The resolution was carried by 11 votes against 5, the Government remaining neutral.

COMPANIES ACT AMENDING BILL

The Council allowed Mr. *Parker* to introduce a Bill to amend the Companies Act. The Bill, *inter alia*, seeks to delete Section 54 of the Companies Act to bring the Indian law into line with the British Act. It also provides that an 'arrangement' under Section 153 included a re-organisation of share capital by consolidation or sub-division of shares.

The Council then adjourned till the 28th. February when the General Budget was presented and thereafter adjourned till March 5.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

5th. MARCH :—Opening the general discussion on the Budget to-day, Sir *A. P. Patro* welcomed the Government's decision to meet 35 crores of the deficit by resorting to loans instead of imposing still further taxation on an already overtaxed people. He considered the lowering of incomes liable for assessment as practically a compulsory national savings scheme, and he looked at the repatriation of Sterling loans as a real blessing as the drain on India's resources would be minimized.

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru earnestly pleaded for the early establishment of a National Government at the Centre and said that the country did not grudge the vast sums of money which were being spent on the defence of India. He, however, inquired to what extent this expenditure was being utilized to build up the national morale.

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Mr. R. H. Parker regretted the lack of co-ordination of control of expenditure to ensure the maximum benefit in connexion with A.R.P. and urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked to bear in mind that their surpluses should be spent on immediate requirements of an essential nature and that it would be beneficial to reserve what could be set aside for expenditure at a late date.

Mr. P. N. Saprú emphasized that the expenditure should be directed towards the production and organization of national resources. "We want a total war effort," he said. He laid special emphasis on the urgent need for efficient organization for internal security and wanted the creation of a "Home Security" Department forthwith. Sir Shantidas Askuran said that the people would most willingly bear even larger financial burdens if they were convinced that the expenditure was most economically incurred for building up efficient defence services for the country and that the fruits of this expenditure would be available in the form of active defence of this country when necessary. Stating that whatever confidence the people had in the security of life and property had been rudely shaken by the events of the last few months, Sir Shantidas observed that such confidence could be inspired only if trusted leaders of the people were put in power. He appealed to the Government to put the country's gold reserves he suggested that India's sterling resources might be converted to gold and kept in the United States. He thought that the Government's frequent sale of silver at low rates was ruinous both to Government finance and also to the poor man whose silver stocks depreciated in value.

Replying to the debate, Sir Jeremy Raisman, Finance Member, said he was glad that the general tone of comment on the Budget had been restrained and members recognized the difficulties of the situation and realized that it was a problem for both the public as well as the Government. The Finance Member said he did not want to enter into arguments on the political issues raised by Mr. Saprú, but he felt it rather difficult to accept the argument that whereas a National Government might call for heavier sacrifices the present Government was not wise in imposing tax on incomes less than Rs. 1,200 per year. He maintained that in times of crisis every section of the people must share the sacrifices. Sir Jeremy entirely agreed with the suggestion that relief should be found in greater production of food-stuffs and clothes, and assured the House that the question was receiving the active consideration of the Government and the Member for Lands and Health was formulating active steps to stimulate more production of foodstuffs with a view to attaining regional self-importance to this problem and everything possible would be done in the matter in co-operation with the provincial Governments who were fully alive to the necessity of increasing food supplies.

HOME GUARD FOR INDIAN DEFENCE

6th. MARCH :—The Council to-day rejected, without a division, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's resolution asking for immediate steps to be taken to form a Home Guard for the defence of India. Pandit Kunzru, moving the resolution, drew the attention of the Council to the war situation in the Pacific and in Burma, and referred to the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief, indicating how and where Japan could attack India. Pandit Kunzru said : "The situation is very serious indeed ; and yet there is no reason why we should sit with folded arms. Our danger is a test of our manhood." The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Alan Hartley, explained that the home guards in England were under the War Office and were a military organization. In pre-war days, both in England and India, they had a Territorial Army, which had been incorporated in the Regular Forces after the outbreak of the war. In India to-day they were extremely short of equipment and instructors, and however they might wish, they could not spare them for any other purpose for the present. He said that the expanding Army of India should be regarded as home guards for this country.

SUPPLY OF HINDI & URDU WORKS TO LIBRARIES

The House, however, adopted Mr. P. N. Saprú's resolution which sought the modification of the law so as to secure that "a copy of every work printed in the country in Hindi is supplied to the library of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and of every printed work in Urdu to the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu" in the same way as it was done in Great Britain.

INDIAN COMPANIES ACT AMEND. BILL

The Council also passed Mr. R. H. Parker's Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and then adjourned till March 10.

OFFICIAL MOTIONS PASSED

10th. MARCH :—The Council held a brief sitting in the course of which it agreed to five official motions seeking to elect non-official members to the Central Advisory Council for Railways, the Standing Committee to advise on the subjects other than "Roads" dealt with in the Department of Communications, the Standing Committee to advise on subjects with which the Department of Supply is concerned and the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce as well as three members to serve on the Standing Committee for Roads which will be constituted to advise the Governor-General-in-Council in the administration of the Central Road Fund during the financial year 1942-43.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

The Council also agreed to take into consideration and pass four Bills namely, the Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, the Bill further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act 1925, the Bill to provide for the extension of the time limited by or under the Indian Patents and Designs Act, 1911, for doing of acts thereunder, and the Bill to extend the date upto which certain duties characterised as protective in the First Schedule to the Indian Tariff Act, 1934, shall have effect as passed by the Legislative Assembly.

WHEAT STORAGE IN NORTH INDIA

When the last Bill was taken into consideration, Mr. Hussein Imam asked the Government what measures they were taking to ease the situation created by the acute shortage of wheat. He expressed the opinion that the whole difficulty was due to the Government exporting wheat out of the country for military purposes without ensuring adequate supply of the commodity for consumption by the internal civil population and also on account of the holding of large stock of wheat in the Punjab, a number of holders not agreeing to release their stocks in view of the maximum price fixed by the Government. He urged the Government to take all measures to have these difficulties removed.

Sir Alan Lloyd assured the House that the Government was fully conscious of the extremely difficult position in the various wheat-eating centres in Northern India in the last few weeks and was doing its best to keep the position in hand till the new crops move in a few weeks time, and see that there was a fair distribution of available wheat to the civil population. The Government was also making enquiries as to the extent it would be necessary to have substitute food grains, say, barley, secured. The Government was devoting unremitting attention to this problem and would continue to give its earnest attention with a view to seeing that all possible measures were taken to put an end to the very unfortunate state of affairs. As regards export of wheat for Army purposes Sir Alan said he was not in a position to give figures of army purchases exported but he informed the House that the exports were mainly for consumption by Indian soldiers abroad, and it was reasonable that Indian forces overseas must look to India for their food supplies. Replying to Mr. Hussein Imam's point that there was large holding of wheat in the Punjab, Sir Alan stated that in the nature of things, no sure knowledge of visible wheat was feasible as only the supply entered the visible quantity. He declared that it was the determination of the Government to ensure fair distribution and movement of next year's crop and if it was as good as the Government hoped, by judicious management the Government hoped to ensure the above object. The Council then adjourned till March 18.

SUBSIDIES TO CIVIL FLYING CLUBS

18th. MARCH :—The Council transacted non-official business to-day. Lala Ramsaran Das moved a resolution recommending to the Government not to discontinue the subsidies to civil flying clubs in the country except in provinces where a proclamation of emergency was in force. Lala Ramsaran Das contended that the flying clubs were performing useful work by providing initial training for candidates selected by the Government for the air force and by making India air-minded, and submitted that the stoppage of the present small subsidies to these Clubs was false economy. Mr. S. N. Roy, Communications Secretary, said that if the air force felt that more concentrated training was required at a central organisation under the immediate control of the Defence Department with a view to obtaining more co-ordinated and quicker results, the Flying Clubs must give way. The subsidy to the clubs depended on the number of training aircraft they operated ; and, as most of the training aircraft which the Government had provided

these Clubs with had been withdrawn from them, the subsidy scheme had to be given up, at least during the war period. If, however, after satisfying air force requirements the Government considered it possible to enable some Clubs to discharge their present functions, the Government would be glad to continue to help them. *Lala Ramsaran Das* withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's assurance.

CIVIL DEFENCE

The Council next adopted Mr. *P. N. Saprú's* resolution recommending to the Government to constitute a Standing Committee of both Houses of the Indian Legislature for advising the Department of Civil Defence, after Dr. *E. Raghavendra Rao* had assured the House that the Government would welcome non-official co-operation in all civil defence measures, and that it proposed to constitute a Standing Committee to advise the Civil Defence Department.

INDIA & EASTERN GROUP COUNCIL

Mr. *M. N. Dalal* moved a resolution recommending to the Government that, immediate steps be taken to require the representation of the Government of India on the Eastern Group Supply Council to submit a detailed report of his activities on the Council with special reference to the establishment, expansion, or development of any new or existing industries in this country at an early date, and to place the same before the next session of the Central Legislature. Mr. Dalal asked what assurance this country had that, when there were alternative sources of supply within the Eastern Group countries, India would get a square deal; nor was India assured in any way that, when it was a question of new industries being established or existing ones being expanded, India's claim would not be ignored. Mr. *A. de C. Williams* replied that the Eastern Group Council could not be regarded as an appendage to the Government of India. The expenditure for the maintenance of the Council was borne by His Majesty's Government, who also paid half the cost of the general administration of the Council, the other half being borne by the member-countries. The cost of the expert-advising staff was entirely borne by the United Kingdom. The Government of India was, therefore, not in a position to direct the Council's activities. Mr. *A. de C. Williams* further pointed out how there had been an enormous increase in industrial production in the country since the Council started functioning. If Mr. Dalal was not satisfied with his reply he must approach the Supply Department and the Commerce Department of the Government of India. Mr. *Dalal* withdrew the resolution in view of the Government's sympathetic reply.

INDIANS IN ARTILLERY CORPS

Pandit Kunzru moved a resolution recommending to the Government that immediate steps be taken to provide that Indians were freely appointed as officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, the Indian Artillery and the Mechanised Cavalry. *Pandit Kunzru* said that the present proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers in the Indian Artillery, the Indian Corps of Engineers and the Mechanised Cavalry which was one to seven, two to seven and one to four, respectively, was highly unsatisfactory. He pleaded for a radical improvement in the position. *Pandit Kunzru* also referred to the absence of any information as to the exact proportion of Indian commissioned officers to British commissioned officers undergoing training in the Fighting Vehicles School at Ahmednagar. *Pandit Kunzru* dismissed the plea put forward on behalf of the Government that sufficient number of Indian cadets of the requisite standard was not forthcoming, as lacking conviction. He declared that if Indians were to consider this war as their own, all the galling restrictions on Indians in these services should be forthwith removed. *Lala Ramsaran Das* and Mr. *Saprú* supported the resolution. Mr. *Williams* reserved his reply for the next non-official day.

INDIAN EVACUEES FROM BURMA

The Council next discussed Mr. *Mohamed Hussein's* adjournment motion on the plight of Indian evacuees from Burma. Mr. Hussein invited the Government's attention to the reports he had received from reliable quarters of ill-treatment on the part of Mr. *R. H. Hutchings* (Agent of the Government of India in Burma), who was alleged to have used force on some of the evacuees when they wanted to leave Rangoon by steamer. He asked Government why they had not made necessary preparations in time to evacuate as many Indians as possible from

Rangoon before the city was handed over to the military and it was exposed to looting and arson. Mr. G. S. Bozman said that he was pained to hear of the charge of highhandedness levelled at Mr. Hutchings by the mover of the motion. He demanded from Mr. Hussein a full statement of all evidence with regard to the incident so that he could go into them. After drawing the attention of the House to an account of his experiences at Akyab last Friday which he had related in the Assembly yesterday, Mr. Bozman said he was not at present in a position to say anything definitely as regards the report about the reservation of a land route for the European and Anglo-Indian communities, but he assured the House that the Government would do its utmost to remove all reservations, adding that wherever reservations were required for military purposes this would be done without distinction of race, caste or creed. Mr. Hussein withdrew the motion as he felt that its purpose had been secured. The Council then adjourned till March 20.

THE FINANCE BILL DEBATE

20th. to 24th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill as passed by the Assembly was placed on the table of the Council which met for the purpose on the 20th. The debate on the Bill commenced on Monday, the 23rd. March, when a general desire to cry a political truce during the negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps, was expressed. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, on behalf of the Progressive Party, announced that, although they had been opposing the Finance Bill in the past, as a gesture of goodwill to Sir Stafford Cripps they had decided to remain neutral on the Bill this session. Similar sentiments were expressed by several other members. Mr. V. V. Kalikar criticized the Army policy of the Government under which, he said, Britons, Australians and Anglo-Indians were given preference to Indians in the commissioned ranks. This policy, he said, was responsible for the paucity of suitable recruits for the emergency commission ranks of the Army. Pandit Kunzru protested against "the discriminatory treatment meted out to Indian evacuees from Burma, Malaya and Far Eastern countries." He urged that some members of the Standing Emigration Committee, should be deputed to visit Assam, the Assam-Burma route and other port towns to see for themselves what arrangements had been made for the comfort of those evacuees. Pandit Kunzru reiterated his demand for revision of the Income-tax law as far as it related to undivided Hindu families. Referring to shortage of wheat and other grains, he wanted the Government to outline their policy of ensuring adequate supplies for internal consumption during the year. The Council adjourned till the next day, the 24th. March, when it passed, without amendment, the Finance Bill as also the *Bill to amend the Agricultural Produce (Grading and Marking) Act* and the *Bill to amend the Indian Tools (Army) Act*.

During the second reading of the Finance Bill, questions relating to internal security and evacuees from Burma and other Far Eastern countries were prominently discussed. Non-official members belonging to the League and the progressive parties extended welcome to Sir Stafford Cripps and wished success to his mission. The *Chair*, associating with these sentiments, pulled up some members for indulging in communal recriminations. Mr. Das wanted an assurance from the Government that all necessary steps had been effectively taken to protect the lives and property of the people from internal disorders, if and when they broke out in the country. Mr. P. N. Saprú made an unequivocal declaration that, given freedom to India, they would fight to the last to destroy the Axis powers. He said that the main grievance against the Government had been that there had been little democracy in this country. He had a four-point criticism against the present rulers of India. This related to questions of man-power and statesmanship, production, both industrial and agricultural, strategy and psychology. Mr. Saprú urged the development of heavy and medium size cottage industries and wanted a whole-time officer for production. He also wanted a machinery to be set up at the Centre to co-ordinate the effort of labour, employers and the Government.

The Home Secretary, Mr. Conran Smith explained what action the Government were taking to protect the country against the apprehended outbreaks of internal disorders. He said that the Provincial Governments had been requested to increase the police force and 30,000 additional men had already been added to the force. The Government were also examining the question of supplying larger number of arms to the police. He did not agree with the proposal to distribute arms to the public or to the private organisations, because, in the view of the Government, such arms usually found their way to the hooligans against whom protection was sought. The Government were also opposed to private armies. Finally, the

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Viceroy's National War Front had been created to build up national morale, which in itself was an effective weapon to check internal disorders.

General Sir Alan Hartley, explaining why it was necessary to send out Indian troops abroad, said that it was in the best interests of India that the enemy was kept out of the country. He repudiated the allegations that there was any racial discrimination in the recruitment or treatment of Indians in the Indian Army. He, however, pointed out that the quality of Indian recruits for the commissioned ranks had lately deteriorated.

Pandit Kunzru : What about the British and Anglo-Indians ?

General Hartley : Their quality has also deteriorated.

Sir Alan also announced that, as soon as the situation regarding equipment improved the Government would give their best consideration to the proposal to establish a Home Guard for India. It would be in the form of a Territorial Army. As for the misbehaviour of soldiers, *General Hartley* assured the Council that no one regretted such incidents more than the Army Headquarters. They were taking all possible steps to prevent their recurrence and had recently organised a military police for the purpose.

Mr. Hussain Imam welcomed the realisation by the British rulers that immediate changes were necessary to secure effective co-operation in the effort. He felt that departmental difficulties to assess the large number of persons under the lowering of the income-tax limit were largely responsible for the Government's acceptance of an amendment in the Assembly. He severely criticised the purchasing policy followed by the Supply Department and said that it was largely responsible for the rise in prices. He also blamed the Government for its unpreparedness in Army matters and said that the responsibility for the present state of affairs lay with the Government and not with the non-officials. The speaker also dealt at some length with the question of evacuees and protested against the treatment meted out to Indian evacuees. Referring to the constitutional issue, he wanted those who urged surrender of power by the British to concede the right of self-determination to the Mussalman.

Sir Alan Lloyd assured the Council that the Government were giving their best consideration to the question of wheat. As for the American Technical Mission, he gave a similar assurance that there were no sinister motives behind the Mission's visit. The Mission was coming to India to help India to get the maximum of production from her own sources and to see what help could be rendered by the U. S. A. to make India self-sufficient in the matter of armament production.

Mr. Bozman explained the position of evacuees from Ceylon and said that the Government of India had asked its Agent in Ceylon to make proper arrangements for evacuees. As for Burma, its Agent in Ceylon had been arranged for women camps had been organised for Indians. Convoys had been arranged for women and children. In India also, camps had been organised all along the route. Fifteen hundred Indians were coming daily now but this number is expected to be doubled shortly. Brigadier Wood was, at present, in Delhi and would discuss the situation with *Mr. Aney* shortly. One hundred and fifty policemen had been sent to Burma and special officers knowing Indian languages had been sent also.

Lala Ramsaran Das warmly welcomed *Sir Stafford Cripps* and said we should extend all the co-operation we could to him. He criticised the demand for Pakistan and the theory that a Hindu, when he became a Muslim, suddenly belonged to another nation.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member, referred to the charges of racial discrimination in evacuation facilities brought prominently to the notice of the public and said he would be the last to deny that these incidents had taken place. Nothing had pained him more than that such things should take place at a time when the need for harmony and concord among different people was so great. Under the conditions, when the Governments of countries where incidents of a racial character had taken place no longer existed, it was difficult, he said, to do anything beyond recording a protest with the proper authority. This had been done and when an investigation into incidents such as those in Penang became possible he had no doubt, the investigation would be held. As regards similar complaints made against a Government of India official overseas, he asked for specific details and promised full consideration of them. Referring to the complaint that a certain land route had been reserved for Europeans, *Mr. Aney* said that a part of the Manipur route was under construction. The route itself was required for essential military traffic and the construction had to be carried out as speedily as possible. For this purpose, the route should be sparingly used. A diversion had now been found and something

like 1,500 people were being allowed to use it every day. He informed the House that an officer of the Indians Overseas Department had visited the ports to supervise the arrangements for the reception of evacuees. Either himself or the Secretary of the Department would undertake a tour shortly with such co-operation of non-official members as might be obtained.

Mr. C. E. Jones, Finance Secretary, replying to the financial points raised during the debate, reiterated the contention of the Finance Member in the Assembly that the procedure followed in the accounting of the lease-lend supplies had in no way affected the Government of India's main budgetary policy. Referring to the increases in money order commission and in the fee for insurance of postal articles, Mr. Jones explained that these charges were increased along with the other increases specified in the budget speech, although they were not specifically mentioned in the speech. The suspicion that this was a sudden decision made in view of the amendments made to the Finance Bill was entirely unfounded and unwarranted. Mr. Jones mentioned the arrangements by which Indians who had post office deposits in Malaya could draw on those deposits in India, of course, on production of pass books and establishment of identity. He said he had no doubt that similar arrangements would be made in respect of Burma, but the Government had not had the time to take up these questions and come to any definite arrangements. Speaking on the amendment raising the lower income-tax limit from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500, he said that the original proposal of taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was made not with a desire to tax people but to provide an incentive to people to save not only in their own interests but in the interests of the community. He suggested that there was no sense of proportion in trying to make out that it was a hardship to require a person earning Rs. 1,000 a year to pay a tax of Rs. 7-13 a year, which he could escape by making a deposit of Rs. 10 a year and earn interest on that deposit. The Government, nevertheless, accepted the amendment purely in order to carry with them members of the Central Legislature and get their co-operation by compromise, in the hope that as people became accustomed to the principle and as the necessity became more apparent, it would be possible to extend the principles later. The Council at this stage adjourned.

CANTONMENT ACT AMEND. BILL

25th. MARCH :—The Council passed without any amendment to-day the Bill to amend the Cantonment Act, as passed by the Legislative Assembly. It also discussed non-official resolutions.

INDIANISATION OF MILITARY UNITS

The Council adopted a resolution, recommending the adoption of immediate steps to provide that "Indians are freely appointed as Officers in the Indian Corps of Engineers, Indian Artillery and Mechanised Cavalry." *Pandit Hridaynath-Kunzru* sponsored the resolution, which was supported by Mr. Hossain Imam and *Rai Bahadur Srinarain Mahtha*. General Sir Alan Hartley and Sir Gurunath Bewoor, speaking on behalf of the Government, quoted figures to show the progress of Indianisation in these Units and assured the Council that the Government desired to recruit every Indian of suitable qualification. It was also explained that Indian Officers have specially been deputed to tour University Centres to draw recruits from young students.

ADMINISTRATION OF LAW OF CONTEMPT

The Council also adopted *Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's* resolution asking for immediate examination of the administration of law of contempt in India. The resolution was supported by Mr. Sapru and Mr. Padshah. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, Government of India, explained that the law of contempt was as old as law itself and no country had been able to successfully define "contempt". Three attempts—two of which were made by the Government of India—to define contempt had failed, because their futility was shown by eminent Indian lawyers, like the late *Pandit Motilal Nehru*. He declared that the Government were not in a position to undertake the task of reducing the law of contempt to rigid statutory provisions, defining "contempt" and specifying the circumstances and the manner in which the power to punish it might be exercised.

RIGHTS OF LANDOWNERS IN CANTONMENTS

Mr. P. N. Sapru next moved a resolution asking the Government to institute without delay an enquiry into the proprietary rights of land-owners in Cantonments and to take early steps to place Cantonment tenures on a statutory and satisfactory

basis. Sri Gurunath Bewoor, Defence Secretary, replying, said that it had already been established by decisions of courts that the Crown was the owner of lands in Cantonment areas and the occupancy rights of holders of lands in these areas were governed by rules and regulations framed from time to time. The Government, therefore, was not prepared to accept the resolution. Sir Gurunath added that Cantonment areas were intended for military purposes and the various safeguards were provided in connection with tenure and transference of lands in Cantonment area with a view to preserving the main purpose in view. The motion was rejected. The Council then adjourned till the 31st.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

31st. MARCH :—The Council to-day passed two official Bills as passed by the Legislative Assembly—the Bill to provide for weekly holidays to persons employed in shops, restaurants and theatres and the Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries.

INDIA'S OUTSTANDING WAR EFFORTS

The House rejected without division Mr. Kalikar's resolution recommending immediate steps to convene a conference of industrial and labour leaders to expand and expedite the manufacture of war materials in India. Sir Homi Mody, Supply Member, expressed his inability to accept the suggestion made in the resolution. He declared that the magnitude of India's war effort during the last two years had been something outstanding and he was confident that their effort was in no way behind that of the other Dominions. He pointed to the results achieved in armaments production and said that in the matter of civil production the progress was even more striking. Sir Homi explained that these results had been achieved largely because of the co-operation of Indian industrialists with the Government. He mentioned the instance of cotton textiles and said that the industry had agreed to supply this year 700 million yarns, as against 7,000 to 8,000 two years ago. He did not think any useful purpose would be served by the mere establishment of a committee or by convening a conference. The House then adjourned till the 2nd. April.

MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

2nd. APRIL :—The Council sat for 22 minutes this morning. Mr. C. M. Trivedi, Secretary, Communications Department, moved for consideration of the Motor Vehicles Act Amendment Bill as passed by the Legislative Assembly. The Bill was passed without any discussion.

The President said he had received a notice of motion for adjournment of the House, signed by Mr. Sapru and Mr. Hussain Imam, drawing attention to the unsatisfactory nature of the answer given this morning by General Hartley to Mr. Kunzru's question regarding persons belonging to the British Dominions and Colonies holding commissions in the British Army. The President disallowed the motion on the ground that adequate notice was not given. The House then adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Budget Session—New Delhi—11th. Feb. to 1st. April '42

OFFICIAL BILLS INTRODUCED

The Budget session of the Central Legislative Assembly commenced at New Delhi on the 11th. February 1942 with Sir *Abdur Rahim*, the President, in the chair. Among Bills introduced in the House were, Sir *A. Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to further amend the Indus Vessels Act, the Bill to amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping, and the Bill to continue the provision made under Ordinance 13 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means, Sir *Sultan Ahmed's* Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code, Mr. *Tyson's* Bill further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act and the Bill to provide for incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with objects not confined to one province. Mr. *H. C. Prior*, Labour Secretary, introduced a Bill, providing for weekly holidays to employees in shops, commercial establishments, restaurants and theatres.

DETENTION OF S_r. SARAT BOSE

12th. FEBRUARY.—The House took up adjournment motions to-day. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, objected to Mr. *A. C. Dutta's* motion on the detention of Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and contended that the detention order was passed in the ordinary administration of law and was covered by previous rulings from the Chair disallowing discussion of such orders. The Chair held that this was not a case covered by the doctrine relating to ordinary administration of the law. The question raised by the motion was analogous to cases which had been dealt with by the House on adjournment motions and in which persons arrested under Regulation 3 of 1818 were concerned. Ordinary administration came in where persons were arrested and detained by a process of law by magistrates or authorities like that. What was complained of in this case was an act of the Government of India itself. No doubt, the Government of India were acting under a certain law. All acts of the Government of India were under the law and under the Government of India Act. The Government derived their power from that Act. But that was no answer to a motion like this. Mr. *Datta* expressed his gratitude to the Chair for the ruling but said that as he learned that the question was engaging the Government's attention, he did not want to move the motion.

BAN ON HINDU MAHASABHA

Mr. *Datta's* next motion to discuss the ban on the holding of the Hindu Mahasabha session at Bhagalpur was held over pending reply to the mover's application for the Governor-General's sanction.

OTHER ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS

Sardar Sant Singh's motion on the disturbances connected with Guru Teg Bahadur's anniversary in November last year was ruled out by the Chair in view of a resolution on the subject which had been balloted for discussion on February 19. The same member's motion on the Government's "failure" to obtain the Assembly's approval before India declared war on Japan was disallowed by the Governor-General.

GRIEVANCES AGAINST INCOME TAX DEPT.

Grievances against the Income-tax Department (were narrated and remedies demanded in the course of the debate on Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's* resolution asking for reforms in the administration of the Department, particularly the abolition of the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay and the placing of the appellate assistant commissioners and the appellate tribunal under the control of the Law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court instead of under the Finance Department as at present. Sir *A. H. Ghuznavi* alleged that the Income-tax Department had been guilty of racial discrimination, as it had refused to accept accounts audited by Indian firms and had entrusted to the Central Department, Calcutta, 400 cases, all of which were of Indian firms. The Central

Department, he stated, had been functioning in violation of Sir James Griggs' undertaking. Mr. *Chapman Mortimer* opposed the resolution, while Mr. A. C. *Datta*, Prof. *Banerjea*, Mr. *Bajoria*, Mr. *Maitra*, Sir. *Cowasji Jehangir*, Mr. *Azhar Ali* and Mr. *Hussainbhai Lalji* spoke in support of it.

PLEA FOR AID TO COTTON GROWERS

Discussion on the resolution had not concluded when Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* adjournment motion was taken up.

After 80 minutes' debate, the House by 31 votes to 17, rejected the motion, which was to discuss "the failure of Government to make adequate arrangements for transportation of agricultural produce, particularly short staple cotton, by rail to the market centres in the country, which has resulted in the economic ruin of its growers". Mr. *Deshmukh* appreciated the efforts made by the Commerce and Supply Members in securing the larger use in India of short staple cotton but declared that much of that benefit had been nullified by lack of transport facilities. Sir *Andrew Clow*, Communications Member, contended that the difficulty that faced the cultivator of short staple cotton was not transport but that the market for it was not there. He claimed, however, that in spite of the strain imposed on the railways by wartime defence needs, they had not diminished the provision made for the carriage of agricultural produce. He gave figures in support of his statement. The House then adjourned till the 14th.

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

14th. FEBRUARY :—Twelve adjournment motions were either ruled out by the Chair or disallowed by the Governor-General in the Assembly to-day. Mr. *Govind Deshmukh's* motion regarding the cost of the training of Australian officers for appointment in the Indian Army was held out of order by the Chair, who observed that the motion was based on a misconception. Sir *Gurunath Bewoor*, Additional Defence Secretary, reiterated the statement he had made in the earlier session of the Assembly that no expenditure had been incurred by India on the training of Australian officers. No Australian, he said, had been, or was being, trained at present in any of the Officers' Training institutions in India.

Bhai Paramanand attempted to raise the question of the Kazaks regarding reports that they had looted Indian traders. Mr. O. K. *Caroe*, Secretary for External Affairs, pointed out that suggestion made in the motion that the Kazaks made an inroad into Almora was incorrect. The Kazaks never entered British India. The motion was disallowed. *Sardar Sant Singh* had a motion to discuss "the misuse" of the Defence of India Act in the Punjab in arresting traders who were observing hartal. The Chair held that the arrests were made in the ordinary course of law and could not form the subject of an adjournment motion.

NON-OFFICIAL BILLS

In a brief sitting devoted to non-official business to-day, the House referred three Bills to select committees, agreed to the circulation of two and to the introduction of three new Bills. Among those measures referred to select committees was Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai's* Bill seeking to end the present practice of allowing unqualified people to appear as pleaders in criminal cases with the Court's permission. Mr. *Navalrai* held that this practice suited a time when qualified pleaders were few in number but was now derogatory to the dignity of the bar and unnecessary in view of the number of qualified men available. Sir *Sultan Ahmed*, Law Member, made it clear that the Government were opposed to the Bill as it stood but were prepared to allow its reference to a select committee in the hope that necessary amendments would be made.

Mr. M. A. *Kazmi's* Bill to amend the Moslem Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act was also referred to a select committee.

Speaking on Dr. *Banerjee's* Bill to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court, Sir *Sultan Ahmed* said that the Government themselves intended to promote a Bill with reference to the provision sought to be made in the present Bill that "on a certificate to that effect being given by the Advocate-General for a province that provinces shall be deemed to be a necessary party to the suit". The other provisions of the Bill required modification, which he hoped would be made in the select committee. The Bill was sent to a select committee.

Mr. *Kazmi's* two other Bills, one to amend the Indian Penal Code and the other to amend the Criminal Procedure Code, were circulated for eliciting public opinion. The same member introduced three other Bills, one to amend the Shariat Application Act, the other to limit rates of interest and the third to amend the

Code of Criminal Procedure so as to abolish sessions trial with the aid of assessors. The House then adjourned till Monday, the 16th. February.

INDIAN MEDICAL COUNCIL ACT

16th. FEBRUARY :—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker moved a Bill to-day further to amend the Indian Medical Council Act, 1933, inserting a new section providing for appointment of such number of visitors as the Indian Medical Council might deem requisite to attend at any or all of the examinations held by medical institutions in British India for the purpose of granting recognised medical qualifications. The Bill was passed.

PENAL CODE AMENDING BILL

Sir Sultan Ahmed next moved a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code omitting Section 216 B of the Indian Penal Code and inserting the following new section : "52 A, the word 'harbour' includes the supplying a person with shelter, food, drink, money, clothes, arms, ammunition, or means of conveyance; or the assisting a person by any means, whether of the same kind as those enumerated in this section or not, to evade apprehension." Mr. K. C. Neogy moved for circulation of the Bill to elicit public opinion. He contended that the Act of 1894 for good reasons had distinguished between two categories of offences, first covered by Sections 130, 136 and 157 and the second covered by Sections 212, 216 and 216 A and 216 B, as regards definition of the word "harbour." Whereas earlier sections talked of harbouring in cases dealing with deserters, prisoners of war and prisoners of State, the later sections dealt with harbouring felons or criminals. He favoured arming Government with certain extraordinary powers in extraordinary circumstances, but he would not permit a permanent extension of the scope of the later sections to guilt under earlier sections. Mr. Lakshmikanta Maitra, supporting Mr. Neogy's motion, expressed the opinion that the very fact that different High Courts had differed in the interpretation of the word "harbour" should set Government thinking and added that the matter was not so simple as to be dealt with lightly. Mr. Maitra added that the Defence of India Act was so comprehensive and elastic that it could effectively deal with the exigencies arising out of the war. After Messrs. Lalchand Navarai and Kazmi had spoken in support of Mr. Neogy's motion for circulation, closure was asked. The Opposition demanded a division and the closure motion was carried by 33 votes to 19. The House then gave leave to Sir Sultan Ahmed to move the Bill by 39 votes to 16. Discussion of the Bill clause by clause was proceeding when the House adjourned till the next day, when discussion was held over at the instance of the Law Member, Sir Sultan Ahmed, to enable the Government to table an Amendment.

BOILERS ACT AMEND. BILL

17th. FEBRUARY :—The House passed to-day without discussion the Bill to amend the Indian Boilers Act. After some discussion, the Bill to provide for the incorporation, regulation and winding up of co-operative societies with activities not confined to one province, was passed.

BILL TO HELP COFFEE INDUSTRY

The House then passed Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bill providing for continuance of the provision made under Ordinance 13 of 1940 for assistance to the coffee industry by regulating the export of coffee from and the sale of coffee in British India and by other means. The measure will cease to be in force at the end of twelve months commencing on the first day of July subsequent to the termination of the present hostilities.

TRIBUTES TO CHIANG-KAI-SHEK

With acclamation the Assembly to-day adopted an official motion moved by the Leader of the House, Mr. M. S. Aney, recording high appreciation of the honour done to India by the visit of Marshal and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek and expressing admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a Power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied. Mr. Aney described Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek as one of the saviours of civilization and democracy. The Generalissimo's movement, he said, was one of the most inspiring chapters of the human race and showed how a whole nation and not merely a mercenary army can fight for its liberty and what political leadership a nation can achieve. Mr. Ghulamhik Nairang associated the Moslem League Party with the sentiments of the Leader of the House. Mr. A. C. Dutta, speaking for the Congress Nationalists, was about

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to introduce controversial topics but stopped short and concluded his observations by supporting the resolution. Sir Henry Richardson referred to the virtue of recognizing the true greatness in men and women of another race and declared that the visit of the brave Marshal and his equally brave wife "has served to inspire us with fresh courage and to make us resolve that however dark may be the days ahead we will persevere, whatever the cost, until victory is accomplished."

RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1942-43

18th, FEBRUARY :—Railway estimates presented by Sir Andrew Clow in the Assembly to-day forecast for 1941-42 a surplus of 26.20 crores against a surplus of 11.83 crores originally estimated, and for 1942-43 a surplus of 27.95 crores. Revised estimate of surplus on railways for 1941-42 is 7.74 crores more than the actual surplus of last year. Total traffic receipts of State-owned lines are expected to reach 127 crores, about 15 crores more than last year and 18½ crores more than the original estimate. Total working expenses, including 12½ crores for depreciation, are a little over 73 crores, or about 7½ crores more than last year. Of the expected surplus of 26.20 crores, 19.12 crores will go to general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund of railways in repayment of the loans taken from it in past years of deficit. The balance in the depreciation fund will stand at about 51½ crores and that in the railway reserve fund about 6½ crores. Budget estimate for 1942-43 assumes traffic receipts of 125½ crores, 1½ crores less than in the current year. Total working expenses will amount to 70½ crores, about 2½ crores less than the current year. Total working receipts of 125½ crores, 1½ crores, of which 20.13 crores will be transferred to general revenues and 7.82 crores to the depreciation fund in repayment of the loans mentioned above. Balance of depreciation fund at the end of the year will be about 64½ crores. Balance of

The gross total works programme is slightly over 34½ crores, including 20 crores for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western and Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railways and two small branch lines. As a result of their purchase, and the purchase during this year of the Assam Bengal and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways, the entire railway system of Northern India will, with the exception of unimportant light railways and some lines owned by Indian States, come under State management. The mileage under State management will increase from 17,000 miles to 24,000 miles and the number of railway employees in the service of the State will increase from 390,000 to over five lakhs. The rest of the provision is, as usual, for track renewals, bridges and other structural works, rolling stock and an increase in the stores balance.

At the outset, Sir Andrew Clow pointed out how on the one hand railways had to meet increasing demands on account of unprecedented increase in military traffic, production of the supplies at an ever-increasing speed and the contraction of alternative means of transport and how, on the other, they had, besides facing difficulties in renewing their assets, to give up rolling stock and rails to meet defence requirements, which were difficult to replace, and to spare experienced personnel in growing numbers for military or ancillary services. Besides supplying rails from stock and rails set free by relaying, over 500 miles of railway line would be dismantled this year. He added that with the rising intensity of the war effort, there was little prospect of the railways meeting more than a proportion of the demands made upon them.

In discussing the revenue position of the current year, he stated that the system adopted last year for the allocation of the surplus was found on further examination to be based in part on a mistaken impression, as no surplus accrued till the arrears of debt had been paid off. The system had, however, yielded a result which was equitable considering the present needs of general revenues, and it was, therefore, proposed to leave the original allocation undisturbed and to utilise the same method for dividing any surplus that might accrue next year. The sums so assigned to general revenues would, after meeting the 1 per cent. contribution for each year, go towards liquidating the arrears of contribution for past years, and the balance left for the railways would be devoted towards repaying the debt to the depreciation fund. Accordingly, 19.12 crores would go to the general revenues and 7.08 crores to the depreciation fund. In justifying the repayment to the depreciation fund Sir Andrew Clow stated that, after due consideration, Government had reached the conclusion that the balance in the fund would, even after repayment of the loan, not be excessive. In this connection he acknowledged the valuable work of the late Sir Raghavendra Rao, who had made railway depreciation fund his special study.

Before giving the actual estimates for next year, I propose to deal with certain charges which are contemplated in fares and freight. In the present situation there are strong arguments for a substantial increase in passenger fares. The demand for passenger traffic has already reached a level which we have been unable to meet and so far from being able to increase our capacity here, we may have to make a substantial diminution almost at once. This is likely to be rendered necessary by the paramount importance of providing further capacity for goods and of meeting the military and supply demands. We have, with the co-operation of the press, issued an appeal to the public to avoid unnecessary travel, but the effect of this is likely to be small compared with the effect that would be produced by an enhancement of the fares. Such an enhancement, moreover, would recompense us for the traffic which is lost and it would also tend to counterbalance the increased costs which road transport is having to face. Finally, the bulk of the increased revenue would go under present arrangements to the tax-payers and thus permit them to be relieved in other directions.

We have weighed these arguments with the attention they deserve but have come to the conclusion that we should stay our hands in the matter of imposing a general increase. The need for this may become more apparent as time goes on, but we are anxious to avoid any undue increase of cost to the railway users. If railways followed the practice of many industrial and commercial firms they could at the present moment secure very large increases in revenue and at the same time ease their own difficulties considerably by imposing increases which would effectively curtail the demand. But we are satisfied that this would not be in the public interest, and I hope that if in the future railways may again have to face financial stringency, the moderation that has been shown will not be forgotten. All that we propose to do for the present is to make certain enhancements on two railways, the East Indian and the North-Western. Passenger fares on these railways are substantially below the level prevailing on the other State-managed lines, and there is no sufficient ground for continuing to give passengers on those railways particularly cheap rates. A schedule of the enhancements is being distributed with the papers which will be placed in your hands but I may say that on the East Indian Railway, except for an increase of $\frac{1}{4}$ pie per mile or 5 per cent in the Intermediate class, there will be no enhancement at all on a journey up to 50 miles and the enhancement in the fares for the two lower classes on the N. W. and E. I. for a journey of any distance will not exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ pie per mile. Even after these enhancements the general scales will still remain somewhat below those prevailing on other important lines. These enhancements will not be brought into force until the 1st of May and the total estimated accession of revenue is in the neighbourhood of half a crore.

In respect of freights, we propose to make two changes, both of which are dictated largely by traffic considerations. In the first place, we propose to increase the rate for parcels. If this is not done, there will be an increasing tendency to send goods as parcels and thus to increase the strain on our passenger trains which are already having to be curtailed. The present rate for parcels is to annas per rupee above the pre-war rate, and it will be increased by another two annas. A similar enhancement will apply to excess luggage, but there will be no enhancement on articles which were exempted from the former increase, such as newspapers. The extra revenue from the change next year is estimated at half a crore.

In respect of food-grains we have made no change since the war began. We have followed this policy mainly in order to avoid as far as possible contributing to the extra cost of living; but it is clear now that even if we had imposed an increase its effect would have been insignificant compared to the enhancement of prices which others have secured. Wheat, for example, has been selling in important markets at 100 per cent over the pre-war price. In spite of this we do not propose to bring food-grains into line with other commodities, but intend merely to impose an extra charge of two annas in the rupee on consignments of less than a wagon-load. Full wagons would continue to be charged at the existing rates. This is being done in order to ensure a better use of wagon supplies at a time when they are badly wanted. The revenue effect is likely to be small. We also propose to withdraw the rebate on wheat exported west of Aden, as there are no grounds at present for encouraging the export of wheat. The payments this year are likely to be of the order of 3 lakhs. None of these changes will be operative till the 1st of May.

The estimated surplus of 27.95 crores which, as Sir Andrew Clow stated, was highly speculative and was more likely to prove too high an estimate than too low,

would be disposed of on the same system as before, and to enable this to be done, a resolution extending the present moratorium for one year would be placed before the House shortly. The share of general revenues would be 20.13 crores and this would not only wipe out the arrears of contribution but involve an additional payment of over a crore. He went on to say that if the present conditions continued after 1942-43, a new situation would be created. For the tax-payer would still have a claim in equity to substantial relief from railway revenues, but there would be no debt against which any payment outside the convention would be set. Government would, therefore, place before the House, in the light of the position reached by the autumn, their proposals either for a revision of the existing convention or for further interim arrangements to meet the war situation only.

Referring to the extension of State management of railways, Sir Andrew Clow stressed the necessity for a large devolution of responsibility, expressed confidence in those holding responsible posts on railways, and acknowledged "specially the inspiring lead given by Sir Leonard Wilson and his officers here in a more exacting time than the railways have ever had to face."

In conclusion, he acknowledged the forbearance shown by most sections of the public who have suffered serious inconvenience and in some cases real hardship, and appealed for the fullest measure of co-operation in any trials that might lie ahead.

INCOME-TAX ADMINISTRATION

19th. FEBRUARY :—The day's proceedings began with the adjourned debate on Sir Abdul Halim Ghuznavi's resolution expressing discontent against the Income-tax Administration. Sir Jeremy Raisman gave a clear exposition of the Government's administration and read out the recent circulars issued to income-tax officials. In rejecting the resolution by 41 votes to 19, the House agreed with the Finance Member that the serious charges had been disproved and that only the total abolition of the Income-tax Department would satisfy some of its critics.

SIKH CELEBRATION AND POLICE ACTION

Sardar Sant Singh moved a resolution demanding a public inquiry into the police action against the annual Sikh celebration in Delhi on the birth-day of Gurm Tegbahadur. The Sardar indulged in vehement denunciation of the "diehard" administration of Delhi. Sir Reginald Maxwell, giving "unvarnished fact", maintained that riots had been narrowly averted every year. The local authority had used minimum force and threw tear-smoke shells from a long range. Sardar Sant Singh did not challenge a division.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Mr. A. C. Dutta moved a resolution recommending to the Governor General-in-Council to take steps for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenus. Mr. Dutta characterised the indefinite detention of prisoners as most improper especially at the present moment when Government wanted to create mass enthusiasm in war efforts. Mr. N. M. Joshi, supporting the motion, said that there could not be one set of justice for Pandit Jawharlal Nehru and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and other satyagrahi prisoners who had been released and another set of justice for others who were detained. There was no justification for such discrimination. As a result of release of satyagrahi prisoners, Congress had reconsidered its position and withdrawn satyagraha. Some beneficial results were bound to follow the release of these political prisoners, most of whom had changed their views with regard to war and were burning with a desire to help in the successful prosecution of war. Maulana Zafaralikhan urged Government to alleviate the sympathies of any section of the country at the present moment when they must be all out to enlist the goodwill of the whole country in the great task of facing a common enemy. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta considered that the continued detention of these prisoners had caused immense discontent in the country. He was confident that the release of these prisoners would result as beneficially as the release of satyagraha prisoners had resulted with Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar figuring as a great crusader and Mr. Bhulabhai Desai following him though somewhat cautiously. The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, intervening on behalf of the Government, pointed to the wording of the resolution, which demanded the release of all political prisoners, irrespective of the fact that they were guilty or not. He asked the House whether political prisoners, who had committed murders, or religious fanatics who in their frenzy broke law, were also to be set free. The Home

Member explained that the Government had given the widest possible construction to their decision and had released satyagraha prisoners guilty of "symbolic civil disobedience." The Government, since the House last discussed a similar resolution, had released 6,475 prisoners in addition to 589 security prisoners. There were now four hundred and odd prisoners who were still in custody, their offence being not symbolic but definite, impeding the war effort. As foreshadowed by him in the last session, machinery was being set up to examine cases of detenus and others. He asserted that the Government had no desire to keep anybody in jail, who desired to help in war effort. It was for the detenus and other prisoners to indicate that they had changed their attitude and were anxious to help the war effort and the tribunals, which were being set up, would recommend their release. But any attempt to hinder war effort would not be tolerated by the Government. Sir Reginald made an earnest appeal to the House to consider whether the present was opportune moment to release these prisoners, whose activities were detrimental to national safety. While on the one hand demands were being made to strengthen the Defences of India against foreign aggression and internal disorders, the sponsors of the resolution urged the release of persons whose attitude had been prejudicial to national safety. The Assembly then adjourned till the 23rd. before the resolution could be disposed of.

DEBATE ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET

23rd. FEBRUARY :—The Assembly held the general debate on the railway budget to-day. Mr. A. C. Datta, Deputy President, opening the debate, acknowledged that the surplus shown was phenomenal but declared it was not real. It could be real only if it was independent of war. As it was mainly due to war traffic, most of the surplus was in reality a matter of book adjustment between one department and another, and the contribution to the general revenues, a matter of putting money from one pocket into another. He strongly criticised the increase of fares, which he declared was unjustified in view of surplus.

Sir Henry Gidney, Leader of the Independent Party, looked upon the surplus not so much as an indication of profit as evidence of the extent to which the railways had responded to the military needs of the country. He declared it was unfortunate that an increase should be made in fares now when facilities should exist for evacuation of women and children in order that the men might help better in resisting aggression.

Sir Ziauddin spoke of his personal experience and said he could not get wagons required for the use of the Aligarh University recently. He described the railway's contribution to the general revenues as payment of a loan and not a gift, because the surplus itself represented so much money taken from the general taxpayer.

Mr. K. C. Neogy congratulated the Railway member on the prevalence of the war (laughter) and described as a merry-go-round the process by which surpluses were made from the pocket of the general taxpayer and were then passed on to him in the form of contribution to the general revenues. If it was a prosperity budget, why, he asked, were the already high rates of fares being increased? The Railway member, he declared, had apparently agreed to become the Tax Collector for the Finance Member.

Professor P. N. Banerji said that the railways were enjoying prosperity in the midst of the adversity caused by high cost of living, etc. Speaking on how to utilise the surplus, he said in normal circumstances he would have urged its use for a reduction in fares and freights but the situation was abnormal and, therefore, accepted the railway member's view that the surplus should go to the general revenues. He hoped, however, that the Finance Member would not come forward, with further taxation. Railway rates and fares were themselves a form of taxation.

Sir Andrew Clow, replying to the debate, expressed the hope that those who attributed the surplus to the fortuitous circumstances and the artificial stimulus of war would when lean times came attribute the losses also to prevailing conditions and not blame the administration. Replying to criticisms of high freights and fares the Railway Member said if the choice was between having fares high in times of prosperity and having them high in times of adversity, he would point out that if freights and fares in good times were not at a level which would leave a balance, he had no doubt that freights and fares would have to be put up when times were bad. As regards discourtesy of the type complained by Mr. Deshmukh, the Railway Member pointed out it was not confined to this country. There seemed to be something about railway travel which attracted selfishness. The Railway

Member said that papers in connection with the matter raised by Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi about corruption during the time of the exodus from Calcutta had been given to the police and an enquiry was in progress. The House then adjourned.

OFFICIAL BILLS PASSED

24th FEBRUARY :—In a brief sitting of about an hour the Assembly this morning passed two Bills of the Commerce Member and a motion of the Finance Member for the election of members of the Standing Finance Committee for 1942-43. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's Bills were, one further to amend the Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Act and the other to provide for the extension of the time limited by, or under, the Indian Patents and Designs Act 1911.

Before the Finance Member's motion was accepted a debate on the functions of the Standing Finance Committee was initiated by Dr. P. N. Bannerji, who pleaded for an extension of the functions so as to give the Committee power to deal not only with expenditure as at present but with revenue as well. Sir Jeremy Raisman, opposing the motion, pointed out that even in the most advanced democratic constitutions, it was not possible to associate the legislature beyond a certain stage with the formulation of certain features of financial policy. He also stressed the point that in war times particularly, it was undesirable to complicate, expand or elaborate the stages which had to be gone through before practical action could be taken. The Assembly then adjourned.

VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMANDS

25th. FEBRUARY :—Railway rates and fares came to-day under intensive scrutiny in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta to reduce the demand under Railway Board by Rs. 100. The motion was eventually pressed to a division and lost by 36 votes to 28. Mr. Mehta argued that although freights and fares might not appear to be high in terms of annas and pies, they were certainly high looked at from the point of view of what proportion of the average daily income in India is paid by the traveller for each mile travelled. Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mr. Navalrai, Mr. Abdul Ghani, Mr. Umar Ali Shah supported Mr. Mehta. Mr. Neogy commended the example of the Nizam's State Railways, which he said were faced with reduced earnings during the year ending October 1939 and met the situation by reducing their rates. Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Member, Railway Board, rebutting Mr. Mehta's charge of high rates compared them with those in China, where he suggested conditions were somewhat similar. The cost per passenger mile in China was 2.49 cents compared to 0.451 in India, although the average passenger travelled in China was 57 miles as against 35 miles in India. Mentioning some of the factors which entered into the present level of rates in India, Mr. Raper referred to the hundreds of thousands of passengers detected travelling without tickets in India. He also referred to the fact that much of our equipment was obtained from foreign countries with higher wage levels which were reflected in the cost of the goods. Mr. Raper, replying to the reference to the Nizam's State Railways, pointed out that the rates there were generally higher than on some other railways and some reduction was therefore necessary. He gave figures to show that between 1936-37 and 1940-41 there had been a reduction on Indian Railways in rates on coal, grains and oilseeds and some increase in other commodities, but on goods as a whole there had been a reduction from 6.17 pies per ton to 6.1 per ton. Third class passenger fares since 1935-36, however, had increased from 3 pies to 3.5 pies per mile but that could not amount to Rs. 10 crores as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta suggested. The House also rejected without a division Mr. Neogy's cut motion to discuss shortage of wagons for carriage of coal for public consumption and then adjourned.

26th. FEBRUARY :—A revision of the convention separating Railway finance from general finance was asked for in the course of the debate on a cut motion moved by Sir Frederick James to-day. Sir Frederick contended that the convention had in some respects broken down and he pleaded for an investigation into the proper basis for a fresh convention to take its place. Such an investigation, he said, should not be left till after the war. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. Hussain Bhai Lalji, Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. Nauman supported the motion. Sir Andrew Clow pointed out that they could not at this moment reach any conclusion that the convention must be revised. An interim arrangement would have to be made for the period of the war. Somewhat later in the year the question of the revision of the convention might be considered and he would then examine most sympathetically.

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VOTING ON RAILWAY DEMANDS

tically the suggestions made in the course of the debate. The mover withdrew his motion.

Improvement of alternative forms of transport was urged on a cut motion moved by Mr. Ramsay Scott. Mr. Scott wanted to know if more plants could be put down for the production of power alcohol from molasses, whether more distilleries could be built for producing rectified spirit and whether orders had been given to forest officers to get on with the production of charcoal for gas driven buses. He wanted to know more about the functions and powers of the central transport organisation. Sir Andrew Clow pointed out that he had given some study to guideways. Sir Guthrie Russel, said Sir Andrew, while anxious to see the experiment made in Kashmir did not hold the same view of guideways as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta did. Sir Andrew made it clear that to attempt to get steel for the purpose of building guideways would be a waste now. Nor could guideways act as a substitute for the shortage of railway transport. The time had come, however, when the control of transport priorities should be systematised and he said that in the initial stage this work would be in the charge of the Communications Secretary who would be relieved of the bulk of his present work by the immediate appointment of an additional secretary. The Communications Secretary would work in the closest co-operation with the provincial boards. The general organisation would be developed with all possible expedition. The motion was withdrawn.

Cheap return tickets for Haj pilgrims was demanded by Khan Bahadur Piracha by a cut motion which was supported by Maulvi Abdul Ghani and Syed Murtaza Sahab. Sir Andrew Clow undertook to examine the demand sympathetically as soon as the war pressure was over. The motion was withdrawn.

Overcrowding in trains, particularly in Inter and Third Class compartments, was complained in the course of speeches on Mr. Nauman's cut motion, which was next taken up. Mr. Nauman referred to the conditions caused by the exodus from Calcutta and said he had heard a report that some deaths occurred on the platform as a result of overcrowding. Mr. J. H. F. Raper, Transportation Member, Railway Board, assured the House that the question of overcrowding was fully appreciated by the Railway Board and the position was giving the Railway Board as well as General Managers of railways a great deal of anxiety. They however had not been able to find a remedy and he was afraid that the position was likely to get worse. But they would do all they could to help the situation. Maulvi Abdul Ghani by a cut motion drew attention to the number of accidents on railways which he declared were increasing year by year and could not therefore be explained by the inexperience of the men who were replacing the older personnel sent overseas. Sir Andrew Clow referred to the increasing strain on the staff and pointed out that regrettable as the accidents were, they could not be altogether excluded from rapid forms of transport. The cut motion was rejected without a division.

Ecclesiastical expenditure charged to railway revenues was denounced by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta who moved another cut motion. The seriousness of the issue would be realised when one considered what would be the position if all religions the county laid a claim on railway revenues. Sir Andrew Clow pleaded ignorance of the expenditure but said it had increased during the last two or three years. The arrangements by which ecclesiastical expenditure was reduced every five years were likely to get worse. But they would do all they could to help the situation. The expenditure, he added, was a survival of earlier days and had been settled by statute. The motion was rejected without a division.

The other demands were passed and the House adjourned till the next session. When after questions the Assembly held the first secret session in its history.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1942—43

28th. FEBRUARY :— Introducing the Budget for 1942-43 to-day, the Finance Member Sir Jeremy Raisman disclosed a revenue deficit of Rs. 17 crores for the current year and a prospective deficit, on the present basis of taxation, of Rs. 33 crores next year.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The revised estimate of Defence expenditure of 1941-42 is placed at Rs. 133 crores. This expenditure for 1942-43 is estimated at Rs. 133 crores. The Member stated that this was only a fraction of the total sum being spent on the war. He announced that the amount of expenditure on Defence Supplies that the Government of India expected to recover from His

Government, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, would exceed Rs. 400 crores in 1942-43.

SHARE OF INCOME TAX

The share of the provinces in the Income-tax will be Rs. 7,39 lakhs this year and Rs. 8,37 lakhs next. The Finance Member observed in this connection that "this is considerably more than the total sum which at the time of the Niemeyer Award the provinces were expected to receive at the end of the ten-year devolution period or than ever appeared to be possible before the outbreak of the war".

Finally, explaining the advantages of the Sterling debt repatriation scheme, the Finance Member stated that "the real gain to the country lies in the liquidation of external obligations which might prove an embarrassment in future and their replacement by internal debt".

NEW TAXATION PROPOSALS

The Finance Member announced the following new taxation proposals :—

Incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 to be taxed at six pies in the rupee over the Rs. 750 of total income.

The surcharge of Income-tax and Super-tax to be increased from 33½ per cent. to roughly 50 per cent. An all-round customs surcharge of 20 per cent. to be levied on existing import tariff except raw cotton, petrol and salt.

Petrol tax to be increased by 25 per cent. Posts and telegraphs rates to be increased.

Letter postage rate will be increased from 1½ to 1½ annas. The minimum rate for telegram is raised from 10 annas to 12 annas.

The Finance Member announced certain concessions to Income-tax and Excess Profits Tax assessments to encourage saving and prevent inflation now and provide a reserve for re-equipment after the war.

Sir *Jeremy* estimated the total additional revenue from fresh taxation at Rs. 12 cores leaving a deficit of Rs. 35 crores, to be covered by the borrowing programme.

Following the Budget speech, the Finance Member introduced the Finance Bill embodying the new taxation proposals.

BUDGET AT A GLANCE

| | | | | In Lakhs of Rupees | | —Deficit |
|---------|------------------|-----|-----|--------------------|-------------|-----------|
| | | | | Income | Expenditure | + Surplus |
| 1940-41 | Revised Estimate | ... | ... | 103,71 | 112,13 | — 8,42 |
| 1940-41 | Actuals | ... | ... | 107,65 | 114,18 | — 6,53 |
| 1941-42 | Budget Estimate | ... | ... | 113,00 | 126,85 | —13,85 |
| 1941-42 | Revised Estimate | ... | ... | 129,62 | 146,89 | —17,27 |
| 1942-43 | Budget Estimate | ... | ... | 152,00 | 187,07 | —35,07 |

INDIA'S DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

In 1940-41, the Defence Expenditure was estimated at Rs. 72,02 lakhs but it actually exceeded by a further Rs. 205 lakhs.

The following are the figures for 1941-42 and 1942-43.

| | 1941-42 Estimate | 1941-42 Revised | 1942-43 Budget |
|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Basic Normal Budget | 36,77 | 36,77 | 36,77 |
| Effect of Rice in Prices | 3,55 | 4,24 | 6,52 |
| India's War Measures | 35,40 | 53,03 | 81,30 |
| Non-Effective Charges | 8,41 | 8,41 | 8,41 |

(Total in Lakh of rupees)

84,13 102,45 133,00

Announcing the new taxation proposals Sir *Jeremy Raisman* said that he proposed to make incomes from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 liable to tax at six pies in the rupee over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability will, however, be completely discharged if the assessee deposits one and a quarter times the amount of tax liable in a Defence Saving Bank Account from which sums cannot be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which 2½ per cent interest will be paid.

INCOME TAX SURCHARGE

The present 33½ per cent Central Surcharge on Income Tax is to be raised to a scale which runs from six pies in the rupee on incomes between Rs. 1,500 and Rs.

5,000, to nine pies in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000, one anna two pies on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pies on the balance over Rs. 15,000. The last is equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. For incomes not exceeding Rs. 6,000 an amount of the tax equal to half per cent of the assessee's income will be funded for repayment to him after the end of the war.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

The rate of Excess Profits Tax is to be retained at 66½ per cent. But as an incentive to economy in business administration Government will contribute an amount up to one-tenth of the Excess Profits Tax paid to a reserve for the re-equipment of industry after the war, provided the assessee deposits double this amount. The assessee's contribution to the reserve will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war and till then will earn two per cent simple interest.

The main proposal of indirect taxation is the levy of an emergency surcharge of one-fifth on all customs import duties. The only exceptions will be petrol, the tax on which is being increased separately from twelve annas to fifteen annas a gallon, raw cotton on which the duty has just been doubled and certain imports from Burma which are excluded by the operation of the Trade Agreement. The duty on imported salt will continue at the same rate as at present and the excise duty on kerosene will be raised to the enhanced import duty.

POSTAL RATES INCREASED

The final proposal is an increase in posts and telegraphs rates to yield one crore. The ordinary letter rate is to be increased from one and quarter annas to one and half annas, the post-card remaining unchanged; the minimum rate for ordinary telegrams is to go up from ten annas to twelve annas and for express telegrams from Rs. 1/4 to Rs. 1/8 and the surcharge on trunk calls fees is to be raised from ten to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from fresh taxation is estimated at Rs. 12 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 35 crores to be covered by the borrowing programme.

The Finance Member said that though in normal times this would be a formidable addition to the public debt, viewed against the background of India's war effort, the intensive development of her resources and the conversion of her external to internal debt, the general picture gave grounds for great comfort and encouragement in the future.

The Finance Member said: I now address myself to my final task, which is to lay before the House the proposals of the Government for the treatment of the deficit of Rs. 47.07 lakhs, which, on the estimates we have made, is anticipated in the forthcoming financial year.

SCHEMES OF SAVINGS

I will deal in the first place with the provisions relating to incomes of from Rs. 1,000 Rs. 2,000. These are in the first instance made liable to tax at six pies in the Rupee on the excess over the first Rs. 750 of total income. This liability can, however, be completely discharged and no tax will be leviable if the assessee exercises the option of depositing a prescribed sum in a Savings Bank account. The prescribed amount is Re. 1 for every Rs. 25 by which his total income exceeds Rs. 750 and is therefore approximately one and a quarter times the amount of tax to which he would otherwise be liable. Thus on an income of Rs. 1,250, the tax would be Rs. 15/10 and the optional savings bank deposit would be Rs. 20; the corresponding figure for an income of Rs. 1,750 are tax Rs. 31/4, optional savings bank deposit Rs. 40. It is intended that these amounts should be deposited on the Post Office Defence Savings Bank from which sums cannot ordinarily be withdrawn till one year after the end of the war and on which interest is payable at the rate of two and a half per cent per annum. It will be seen that this is in its essence a scheme of saving rather than of taxation, and it appears to us the most suitable way in which the problem which I outlined above can be tackled in the case of those persons whose incomes fall below the minimum, which has hitherto been liable to income-tax.

SURCHARGE ON INCOMES

The next feature of our proposals relate to the central surcharge on incomes exceeding Rs. 2,000. We have hitherto proceeded by the application of a flat percentage surcharge on the basic rate of income tax and super tax throughout the whole range of income. The limitations of the procedure will be apparent when it

is remembered that the basic tax progresses from three-quarters of an anna in the rupee at one end to nine and a half annas in the rupee at the other. The scope for feasible enhancement of the latter rate of tax in a time of national emergency is clearly much more restricted in terms of a flat percentage than the increases which are feasible in the lower reaches of the scale. The basic scales of tax in India have since 1939 been highly progressive and the rate of progression has been further steepened by the application of the percentage surcharge. The incometax surcharge which has been proposed in the Finance Bill runs from six pies in the rupee in the slab of taxable income between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 5,000 to nine pies in the rupee on the net Rs. 5,000, one anna and two pies in the rupee on the next Rs. 5,000 and one anna three pies in the rupee on the balance of total income. The last named surcharge is of course, equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge. Similarly the surcharge on the rates of supertax are equivalent to a fifty per cent surcharge and at the same time Corporation Tax is raised to one and a half annas in the rupee. While for the reasons I have explained the rate of surcharge on the first slab of taxable income are somewhat higher than fifty per cent there is a provision which mitigates Rs. 6000. By this provision a portion of the tax equal to a half per cent of the assessee's total income will be funded for his benefit and repaid to him after the end of the war. In order that the House may more easily understand the incidence of the taxes that will now be levied on incomes throughout the scale, I have included in the explanatory memorandum on the budget a table showing the percentage of his total income which the assessee will be required to contribute. It will be seen that that incidence proceeds in a fairly even progression from less than two per cent at one end of the scale to eighty-five per cent at the other end of the scale on an income of thirty lakhs a year.

EXCESS PROFIT TAX

As regards the excess profits tax, it is proposed to retain the existing rate of 66½ per cent to be levied on the profits of a further period of one year. Here also, however, we have introduced a new feature. We have been impressed with the growing evidence of the extent to which this tax militates at certain stages against the incentive to the most economical and efficient administration of the business affected. We also feel that there is great force in the argument for the supreme importance of building up a reserve for the rehabilitation and re-equipment of national industries after the war. Finally, there is here also a strong case for immobilising during the period of the war as much as possible of the excess profits earned and preventing postponable private expenditure from exerting an undesirable influence on the price level. To assist in securing these objects we are prepared to contribute an amount up to but not exceeding one-tenth of the net excess profits tax ultimately paid at the rate of 66½ per cent provided that the assessee deposits a sum equal to double this amount. The contribution thus placed in reserve by the assessee will be repayable within twelve months of the end of the war, and will in the meantime earn simple interest at the rate of two per cent per annum. The portion contributed by the Government will also be paid out after the war at such time and subject to such condition as may hereafter be determined. Advice on the formulation of these conditions will be sought from the Post-war Reconstruction Committee. The Government contribution will, together with the interest on the assessee's deposit, be a taxable receipt of the year in which it is repaid.

This completes our proposals for direct taxation. The net addition to revenue, excluding repayable deposits and refundable elements which are to be treated as borrowings is estimated at Rs. 530 lakhs.

INDIRECT TAXATION

I turn now to the sphere of indirect taxation. Here our main proposal is to levy during the forthcoming financial year an emergency surcharge over the whole field of Customs import duties equal to one-fifth of those duties. The only exceptions will be the duty on raw cotton, which has just been enhanced for a special purpose and the duty on motor spirit. The excise on which will be increased by three annas a gallon with a resultant automatic increase of a like amount in the import duty. There are also a few unimportant imports from Burma on which, by the operation of the Trade Agreement concluded with that country last year, no increase is permissible.

We propose finally to make certain increases in our posts and telegraphs rate, which are estimated to yield an addition of approximately Rs. one crore. The main charges are an increase in the ordinary letter rate from one and a quarter annas to

one and half annas, the Post-card rate remaining unchanged; and an increase in the minimum rate for an ordinary telegram, which is ten annas including the surcharge to twelve annas. The minimum rate for express telegrams will be similarly increased from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 1-8. There will also be increases in telephone rentals and the surcharge on trunk call fees will be raised from ten per cent to twenty per cent.

The total additional revenue from all these proposals is estimated at Rs. 12 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 35.07 lakhs to be covered by our borrowing programme.

Against an expected deficit of Rs. 842 lakhs, the year 1940-41 ended with a deficit of only Rs. 6.53 lakhs. Though expenditure, mainly on account of Defence, increased by Rs. 2.05 lakhs, revenue improved by Rs. 3.94 lakhs.

REVISED ESTIMATES, 1941-42—REVENUE

Revised estimates for the current year show a net improvement of Rs. 16.62 lakhs in revenue and an increase of Rs. 20.04 lakhs in expenditure, the latter mainly on account of the Defence Services, the cost of which has risen from Rs. 84 crores to Rs. 102 crores. The deficit on the current year is thus expected to increase from roughly Rs. 14 crores to Rs. 17 crores.

Although since the entry of Japan into the war and the consequent dislocation of shipping in the Pacific Customs receipts have dropped sharply, the total Customs revenue for the year is expected to reach the budget figure with about a crore to spare. Central Excise Duties have also come up to expectations, increased collections of sugar excise duty more than making up for the loss on petrol; the revised estimate is therefore Rs. 20 lakhs above the budget figure.

Collections of Income-tax and Corporation tax have continued to increase and show a further rise of Rs. 3 crores as compared with the budget. But the actual receipts of Excess Profits Tax are put at no more than Rs. 8 crores out of an anticipated Rs. 11 crores. The divisible pool of Income-tax, however, has gone up from Rs. 18.35 lakhs to Rs. 22.17 lakhs. In consequence, the Provinces are expected to receive an additional Rs. 2 crores which, with the arrears of Rs. 81 lakhs due from last year, will bring the amount to be distributed to the Provinces this year up to the record figure of Rs. 7.39 lakhs.

The surplus profits of the Reserve Bank paid over to Government have amounted to Rs. 2.47 lakhs as compared with Rs. 1.36 lakhs estimated. The working of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, which shows increases under both gross revenue and expenditure is expected to show a surplus of Rs. 1.79 lakhs more than the estimate. The net contribution to be paid by the Railways of Rs. 19.12 lakhs is Rs. 9 crores more than was provided in the budget estimates.

EXPENDITURE—DEFENCE SERVICES

The details of the revised estimates of Defence expenditure for 1941-42 amounts to Rs 102.45 lakhs

The expansion of the Defence schemes previously undertaken and the putting into force of new measures to improve India's coastal air and land defences, involve a large increase in India's share of the war bill. India's total war commitments, therefore, estimated last year at Rs. 52 crores initial outlay and Rs. 19 crores annually recurring, have now risen to Rs. 100 crores initial and Rs. 40 crores recurring. During the current year, the Indian portion of the initial and recurring costs will amount to roughly Rs. 54 crores, which is Rs. 18½ crores in excess of the amount provided for Indian war measures in the budget.

The increase of Rs. 17.63 lakhs in the cost of India's war measures is made up of the increase of Rs. 18½ crores just mentioned less Rs. 85 lakhs on account of India's share of contributions for defence purposes received from the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. The gross expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies expected to be brought to account in India's books for the year 1941-42 amount in all to Rs. 300 crores. Out of this amount, after India's share as shown above has been deducted, the balance of Rs. 200 crores is borne by His Majesty's Government. This latter figure does not include the value of equipment supplied and other services rendered by His Majesty's Government without charge.

Considerable expansion has taken place during the current year in the several defence schemes. India's armies are now more than twice as large as they were at the corresponding stage of the war of 1914-18. There are in all over a million men under arms—twice as many as at this time last year. All the Indian cavalry regiments have been mechanised and additional units of the new types are steadily

being raised. Heavy and light armoured formations have been raised and others are forming. In order to provide concentrated training, the various schools and other training institutions of the Defence Services have been greatly increased.

By resourceful improvisation and use of equipment, it has been possible to push on fast with the schemes of expansion. The establishment of new factories and the expansion of existing factories in India for the production of ammunition, lethal weapons, explosives and other articles required for war purposes, as a result of the Roger Mission schemes, will ease the position in this respect as the new and expanded factories come into production.

The programme of expansion for the Royal Indian Navy is now materialising rapidly. Two new sloops of the latest type are fully commissioned and have already seen service. Others are under construction in the United Kingdom. A large programme of building in connection with local Naval Defence requirements has been undertaken in India and some vessels have already been completed and commissioned.

The development of the Air Forces had proceeded as far as the provision of equipment and skilled technical personnel permitted and much progress has been made during the year. Modern aircraft are now arriving in India and a substantial quantity of modern training equipment has been received. The scheme for the assemblage and manufacture of aeroplanes in India has made good progress. It is confidently hoped that the factory will complete its programme of fighter and bomber construction before the end of the present calendar year.

CIVIL EXPENDITURE, 1941-42—SUPPLY DEPARTMENT

Civil expenditure in the current year has increased by Rs. 1.72 lakhs, which is mainly due to the expansion of schemes and activities connected with the war. The Department of Supply has made steady progress. Something like 700 million yards of cotton textiles will be purchased during the year 1942-43. The clothing factories, multiplied ten-fold since the outbreak of war, are turning out more than 8 million garments a month. Production in other directions, some of them introduced in India for the first time, has also been rapidly stepped up. The Directorate-General of Munitions Production has launched satisfactorily a large number of new projects. Resulting from the suggestions of the Roger Mission, His Majesty's Government have approved 20 new projects involving a capital outlay of about Rs. 12 crores; these are now in various stages of execution. The whole of the capital outlay on the erection and establishment of these factories is being borne by His Majesty's Government. The load on trade and Railway workshops has been substantially increased. From the beginning of the war to the end of December 1941 the orders placed through the Department are valued at approximately Rs. 2.30 crores, not including the value of the manufactured goods produced in the Ordnance factories. The additional expenditure on account of these expanded activities is expected to amount to Rs. 64 lakhs in the current year.

India has now been admitted to the benefits of Lease-Lend facilities, given by America, on the same terms as the United Kingdom itself and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The indents placed for supplies on Lease-Lend terms up to the end of January 1942 amounted in value to roughly Rs. 47 crores.

The precise nature of the obligation that these Lease-Lend facilities will impose on the Governments making use of them has not yet been intimated. It is, therefore, considered prudent to budget and account for these stores in the same way as though they had been obtained by cash purchase until the manner in which the Lease-Lend liability will ultimately be liquidated becomes known. The great bulk of the amounts involved relate to stores supplied for the Defence Services in India; but the exact division of these amounts between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India cannot at this stage be determined.

There has also been an inevitable expansion in other spheres of Government administrations to deal with special war time problems. The amount to be paid this year in connection with the A. R. P. mainly in grants to the Provinces, is estimated at Rs. 1.07 lakhs.

The net increase in the Civil estimates would have reached a larger figure but for a welcome reduction of Rs. 3.09 lakhs in the interest charges.

FINANCIAL YEAR, 1942-43—REVENUE

The total revenue estimates for the next financial year amount to Rs. 140,00 lakhs as compared with Rs. 129,62 lakhs in the revised estimates of the current

year. The yield from Customs duties is taken at Rs. 30 crores as against Rs. 36 crores revised. This reduced estimate is due to the considerable drop in imports expected as a result of the extension of war to the Pacific. The estimate also includes the revenue of Rs. 2 crores which is expected to result from the doubling of the import duty on raw cotton.

The yield from Corporation Tax, Income-tax, together with the Corporation tax has been put at Rs. 20 crores as compared with Rs. 3 crores and the collection on the assumption that the yield from the Corporation tax will be Rs. 17 crores.

The yield from Corporation Tax, Income-tax, together with the Central surcharge is expected to increase by over Rs. 3 crores and the collections of the Excess Profits tax have been put at Rs. 20 crores as compared with Rs. 8 crores in the current year. On this basis the divisible pool of income-tax will increase to Rs. 25.75 lakhs. On the assumption that the sum to be retained by the Centre from the provincial moiety will be maintained at Rs. 4½ crores, the share of the Provinces next year is expected to reach the figure of Rs. 8.37 lakhs.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The Defence budget for 1942-43 amounted to Rs. 36 crores and for 1943-44 to Rs. 39 crores. The aggregate of the two years is Rs. 75 crores. Of the total amounts shown, roughly 60 per cent is for the Army, 20 per cent for the Navy and 20 per cent for the Air Force. The estimate also shows a considerable drop in imports of war to the Pacific. The estimate also shows a considerable drop in imports of war to the Pacific. The estimate also shows a considerable drop in imports of war to the Pacific.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

The Defence budget for 1942-43 amounts to Rs. 133,00 lakhs. Of the total amounts shown, roughly Rs. 47 crores represent initial expenditure and Rs. 36 crores annual recurring expenditure. An allowance has been made for an aggregate credit of Rs. 1½ crores for the year from the Viceroys War Purposes Fund. India's Defence expenditure is only a fraction—about one-fourth—of the gross Defence expenditure likely to be brought to account in India's books during 1942-43. In other words, the amount of expenditure on Defence Services and Supplies that the Government of India expect to recover from His Majesty's Government during that year, under the operation of the Financial Settlement, exceeds the enormous total of Rs. 400 crores.

Civil expenditure estimates compared with the current year's estimates show that the total for 1942-43 is Rs. 25.75 lakhs less than the current year's estimate of Rs. 8.37 lakhs. The share of the Provinces next year is to be Rs. 25.75 lakhs less than the current year's estimate of Rs. 8.37 lakhs.

DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

CIVIL ESTIMATES

CIVIL ESTIMATES

CIVIL ESTIMATES

Civil expenditure estimates show increases amounting to Rs. 9.63 lakhs as compared with the current year's revised estimates. Chief provisions, which mainly relate to essential measures connected with the war, are as follows :—

(1) Rs. 4 crores under expenditure on Civil Defence, which mainly for A. R. P. measures is, in the very nature of this estimate, its extent will depend on future war developments.

(2) The Technical training for 5,000 persons in munitions factories has been provided for.

(1) Rs. 4 crores under expenditure on Civil Defence. This estimate which is mainly for A. R. P. measures is, in the very nature of things, purely tentative as its extent will depend on future war developments.

(2) The Technical training Scheme for the Defence Services and Munitions factories has been expanded to provide for training of 15,000 originally contemplated) by the end of the current year. A further expansion costing about Rs. 10 lakhs is being considered for the next year.

(2) The Technical training Scheme for the Defence Services and Ordnance and Munitions factories has been expanded to provide for training 48,000 men (as against 15,000 originally contemplated) by the end of 1942-43. This is to cost Rs. 2 crores. A further expansion costing about Rs. 20 lakhs is also being undertaken to meet the needs of civil industry. Of these amounts Rs. 1,32 lakhs are expected to be spent next year.

(3) There is a special provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the construction programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 2 crores.

(4) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to meet the expenditure on the Peshawar and Delhi Broadcasting Stations and on the power transmitter for broadcasting to the North-West Frontier Province.

(5) The expenditure on Civil Defence, which mainly consists of measures in the very nature of things, purely tentative as to what will depend on future war developments.

(3) There is a special provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(4) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to complete the programme.

(5) The continued expansion of the programme requires a further provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(6) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to complete the programme.

(4) Rs. 17 lakhs are required to complete the programme of the Karachi, Peshawar and Delhi Broadcasting Houses and the construction of the new high power transmitter for foreign broadcasts.

(5) The continued expansion of the Supply Department's activities to require a further Rs. 48 lakhs over and above the amount allocated.

(6) There is an increase of Rs. 1.75 lakhs in the amount allocated to the Civil Aviation Department for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(7) The amount to be transferred to the Government of Sindh for the Rs. 24 lakhs and to the Government of Punjab for the Rs. 1.32 lakhs are expected to be spent on special provision of Rs. 26 lakhs for expediting the Civil Aviation programme in addition to the annual subvention of Rs. 35 lakhs.

(5) The continued expansion of the Supply Department's activities is expected to require a further Rs. 48 lakhs over and above the amount provided this year.

(6) There is an increase of Rs. 1.75 lakhs under interest charges.

(7) The amount to be transferred to the War Risks Insurance Fund Rs. 2.00 lakhs and to the Cotton Growers Fund Rs. 2.00 lakhs.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF PUNJAB AT THE END OF 1947-48

(7) The amount to be transferred to the War Risks Insurance Fund is Rs. 3,24 lakhs and to the Cotton Growers Fund Rs. 2,00 lakhs.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

The financial position for the coming year is as follows:

| | Rs. |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Civil Estimates | 1,00,00,000 |
| Defence Expenditure | 1,00,00,000 |
| War Risks Insurance Fund | 3,24,00,000 |
| Cotton Growers Fund | 2,00,00,000 |
| Total | 2,25,24,00,000 |

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

The financial position for the coming year as estimated by the War Risks Insurance Fund is Rs. 2,00 lakhs.

THE FINANCIAL POSITION

Financial position for the coming year can be summarised as follows :—

| | Lakhs of Rs. |
|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| Civil Estimates | ... |
| Defence Expenditure | ... |
| Total expenditure estimate | ... |
| Total revenue at the existing level | ... |
| of taxation | ... |
| Prospective deficit | ... |

Turning to the ways and means position, the Government have indicated that since they were first issued, the Government have issued 110.30 lakhs up to the end of 1957-58. The outstanding balance of the Government securities is Rs. 47.07 lakhs.

...
WAYS AND MEANS
means positive

| | |
|-----|--------|
| ... | 133.0 |
| ... | 187.0 |
| ... | 140.00 |
| ... | 47.07 |

WAYS AND MEANS

Turning to the ways and means position, the Finance Member stated that the Defence Loans since they were first issued in June, 1940, had produced a total of Rs. 110.30 lakhs up to the end of January, 1942. During the current year the outstanding balance of the 3 per cent. Bonds amounting to Rs. 10½ crores had been repaid. Apart from the undated Sterling loans, the only loan which Government

have the option of repaying next year is the 5 per cent. Loan, 1942-47, but of this the balance still outstanding is only Rs. 65 lakhs.

With the increased war demand for supplies from India Sterling has continued to accumulate in the Reserve Bank at a rate greatly in excess of the previous year's figures. Purchases by the Bank during the first ten months of the current year amounted to approximately £57 million. The net refunds by the Secretary of State for recoverable war expenditure and for purchases in India on behalf of His Majesty's Government and Allied Governments are expected to aggregate £53 million for the current year, after providing for the repayment of 2½ per cent and 3 per cent undated Sterling loans next month. For next year these are estimated at £164 million after allowing for the repayment of the remaining undated Sterling loans and for the payment of £13 million for the purchase of the Bengal and North Western Railway and the Rohilkhand and Kumaon Railway.

Under the compulsory Sterling debt repatriation scheme the total terminable Stock acquired last year amounted to Rs. 97 crores. The sum paid out to those holders who were entitled to payment in Sterling was £653 million, while of Rs. 14.56 crores dealt with under the Indian Vesting Order, Rs. 13.30 crores were acquired in exchange for counterparts, the small remainder being paid for in cash. Including the market purchases which preceded this first compulsory acquisition, the total Sterling debt has been reduced by £101 million and the annual interest payments in Sterling by over £4 million.

The second compulsory scheme of repatriation, which has now been inaugurated in respect of the non-terminable Sterling loans, will require about £70 million for the 2½ per cent and 3 per cent Stocks. Another £70 million will be required next year for payments in connection with the 3½ per cent Stock. The Reserve Bank will be able to make these amounts available to Government without any strain on its Sterling resources on account of its continued large-scale acquisition of Sterling.

As regards the first measure of repatriation, rupee finance was required for terminable Stock of the nominal value of Rs. 84 crores, besides direct payment to some holders in the form of counterparts. Of this amount about half was provided by the Reserve Bank by the purchase of counterparts and the remainder, which could not be paid directly out of Government's balance, was financed from *ad hoc* Treasury Bills or ways and means advances from the Bank. In the beginning of the slack season, Government took over from the Bank about Rs. 25 crores of counterparts against *ad hoc* Treasury Bills.

Of the counterparts held by the Reserve Bank or taken over by Government, some Rs. 47 crores of Stocks—which was considered in excess of the absorption capacity of the market—was later cancelled and a small portion converted into existing loans for which there was a fairly sustained demand from the market. The combined result of these operations was an increase of Rs. 92 crores in the rupee debt and of Rs. 3 crores in the rupee interest charges against a reduction in Sterling debt by Rs. 135 crores and Sterling interest by Rs. 5½ crores.

As opportunity occurred during the year, the *ad hoc* Treasury Bills taken up by the Reserve Bank were gradually cancelled against the transfer of Sterling from the Banking to the Issue Department. Meanwhile counterparts on Government account were sold to the public as they required them.

By the end of December last, out of some Rs. 139 crores of rupee counterparts created since repatriation was first undertaken, Rs. 51 crores were in the hands of the public, a little over Rs. 31 crores were held by the Reserve Bank and Rs. 93 crores were held on Government account. As Treasury Bill outstandings actually decreased by Rs. 14 crores from March 1, 1941, to January 31, 1942, it may be concluded that the cash payments on account of the counterparts which were cancelled have ultimately been financed almost entirely from Defence Loan proceeds.

In the light of the above successful operation of the rupee finance plan, no unusual difficulty is expected to be encountered in making satisfactory arrangements for the financing of the second instalment of repatriation due to be carried out in two stages—one in March 1942 and the other in January 1943.

The Finance Member took ninety minutes and was cheered at the conclusion of the speech. His new taxation proposals were received in attentive silence broken by derisive laughter from opposition benches as he explained the concessions to income tax and E.P.T. assesses who contributed to the national savings movement. When the motion for introduction of the Finance Bill was put, Congress nationalist benches opposed it with a loud cry of "No." The Bill was nevertheless allowed to be introduced, and the House adjourned till Wednesday the 4th March.

GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BUDGET

4th. MARCH :—The Assembly held the general discussion on the budget to-day. Mr. A. C. Dutta opening the debate said that the estimates were vague and one could not form a correct judgment from them. Mr. Dutta proceeding enquired why the building programme had been launched at Simla during war time. He felt that no attempt had been made for retrenchment and economy and the country was not getting its money's worth. He also disputed the claim of the Finance Member regarding industrial development of the country during the war. In this connection he referred to aircraft, automobile and shipbuilding industries and asserted that the Government had done everything to thwart their development and little to encourage it.

Sir Henry Richardson, leader of the European group, felt that the incidence of income-tax to some extent fell inequitably on a man with a family in India as compared to Great Britain. He urged that if there was any increase in income-tax in future, the authorities should bear in mind the allowances made in England in fixing the rates. Sir Henry next referred to the optional savings bank deposit system, and suggested that it would assist employees if their optional savings could be deposited monthly just the same as their tax would be deducted each month. He also wanted these deposit to be protected against being mortgaged or otherwise disposed of in advance of receipt. He suggested that his recommendation should also apply to the funding proposals for the benefit of assesses whose annual incomes did not exceed Rs. 6,000/-.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed congratulated the Finance Member on keeping the finances of the country in stable conditions but he suggested three measures which should be adopted in order to avoid panic and internal disturbance. The first measure was that the banks should always remain open and supply small coins and notes freely for civil requirements. Panic was bound to be caused if the banks remained closed even for one day, he declared. The second measure was that arrangements should be made for storage of foodstuffs and fodder in every district and subdivision. The third step was that the provinces should double the police force and not rely entirely upon civil guards.

Mr. Jannadas Mehta said : "I am entirely in favour of spending whatever is necessary to win the war but Indians should have directional interest in the expenditure, and Indians should not be discriminated against. We might commit more blunders than you have done but that is no reason why 163 crores out of the total income of 187 crores should be sent by you without my consent." Strongly denouncing the proposal to tax small incomes like those of Rs. 1,000 a year and also articles like kerosine, Mr. Mehta declared : "The Finance Member is living in a dream world in which he has persuaded himself that purchasing power is running waste in India. I dissociate myself entirely from the scheme of taxing the worker getting rupees one hundred a month. The railway worker has by way of dearness allowance got only some fifteen per cent increase in wages while the cost of living has in some places risen as high as 151 per cent. By taking these small incomes you are taxing the food of these people. I ask the Finance Member to tax the food of the richer people instead. Every year some thousands of dinners costing Rs. 10, 15 or 20 per head are eaten in hotels by rich men who do not require these dinners. Let him tax the dinners of these fashionable wasters. If instead of that you tax the food of the poor worker, you will drive him to borrow the money to pay the tax."

Maulana Zafarali did not agree with the Finance Member that the purchasing power of the masses had gone up and asked the Finance Member whether his own purchasing power had gone up. Maulana Zafarali, proceeding, said that the prices had gone up but the earning capacity of the masses had not kept pace with the rise in prices. The Government, for instance, could buy wheat at controlled prices, but not the poor consumer. And yet in spite of India's appalling poverty, he could say that thousands of crores of rupees would be forthcoming if they were convinced that India was for Indians. He wanted the Finance Member to give up additional taxes, which would raise only twelve crores, but borrow the entire amount, say, from the United States.

Dr. P. N. Bannerji said he would not grudge any amount of money, if it were spent on the defence of the country (official cheers.) He equally agreed with the principle of financing the war budget partly by taxation and partly by borrowing. In reply to the proposals, Dr. Bannerji said that additional tax on kerosine oil would be a hard blow to the poor man ; similarly the lowering of the incidence of income tax would affect a large number of people with fixed income.

Replying first to the points about economy and retrenchment, *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member pointed out the extent to which the civil side of the Government equally with the many defence services was at the present time part of the war machinery. It had been urged that even if the number of administrative posts could not be reduced, their pay could be reduced. Replying to this suggestion, the Finance Member pointed out that it amounted to this—that in addition to the taxation which he along with the non-official non-salaried person bore, the salaried official should also suffer a further reduction in his income. From the point of equity, the Finance Member was prepared to say from his observation of the effects of war on the economic position in India that of all individuals occupying a particular income class, say between Rs. 5,000 and Rs. 7,000 a year, the ones who were most likely at the present time to have suffered from the impact of war would be the salaried people. They were the individuals whose income had remained more stationary and less in excess of the pre-war figure than other occupants of that class of income. He was prepared to say that 95 per cent of businessmen whose income at this moment was between Rs. 5000 and Rs. 7,000 were enjoying an income of Rs. 2,000 or Rs. 3,000 before the war. At the present time the incomes of non-salaried persons were subject to wide fluctuations but the vast majority of those incomes were subject to very powerful upward fluctuations. Referring to the charge that he had been obsessed by a sort of complex about the question of purchasing power and price level, the Finance Member said he did not intend to be a “metaphysical economist” but the question could be stated in simple terms. Certain types of goods were more and more difficult to get, their supply was getting less and less. That in itself would tend to cause a rise in prices, because the volume of demand would remain and the supply would be less and would remain inadequate. That was why the index figures of the cost of living had risen. As regard the question as to what extent the defence industries which were being built up would survive in the postwar period, although he could not attempt to indicate a solution of the problems which would arise after the war, the Finance Member thought it was clear that if India was in a position now to produce certain types of goods then she should be in a better position after the war to switch over to production of goods to meet civilian demand than she would be if she had not undergone industrial expansion during the war.

PROTECTIVE DUTIES ON INDUSTRIES

5th. MARCH :—The Assembly to day agreed to refer to a select committee *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill to facilitate the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries, and passed his Bill to extend the date up to which certain duties characterized as protective shall have effect. The House passed a number of demands for supplementary grants in respect of railways and adjourned.

VOTING ON BUDGET DEMANDS

6th. MARCH :—Voting on Budget demands for grants commenced to-day. *Sir Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, offered to Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* to help him to a clear appreciation of the repatriation transactions by placing before him, subject to the ordinary confidential rules of Government, all the material he would like to have to arrive at an objective and dispassionate judgment. The offer was made in reply to criticisms made by Mr. Mehta in moving his cut motion. In view of the offer Mr. Mehta eventually withdrew his motion.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

“Insufficient utilisation of the country's resources” was criticised by *Pandit Nilkant Das* who moved the next cut motion. He commented on the lack of co-ordination between one department and another of Government. He suggested the establishment of a planning department of Government which could stand between the supply and defence departments and also between the producers and consumers. *Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar*, replying, explained that two important organisations, one in South India and the other in Bengal, were trying rapidly to establish the aluminium industry, and he hoped that very soon, within a few months, aluminium would be produced in the country. He had already given the assurance that the aluminium industry would be protected against unfair competition from abroad after the war. As regards caustic soda, besides Imperial Chemicals, who were now in production, Tatas were also expected to be in production this year. Sulphuric acid, the extraction of pure sulphur, the production of acetic acid and potassium chloride and coal tiez were also receiving attention and some of them would soon be produced. Several concerns had come forward with schemes for the

production of power alcohol and Government would give every possible help to them. He claimed that what had been done was substantial as an indication of Government's goodwill and earnestness. The motion was withdrawn.

DEARNESS ALLOWANCE

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* by the next cut motion asked for a clear enunciation of labour department's policy during the war, particularly on his demand that the basic minimum substratum of living standard of the working classes should not suffer. For this purpose he demanded that the working classes should get a dearness allowance corresponding to every rise in the cost of living, so that the standard of living might be kept up, even at its present low level. He taxed the Finance Member with utter lack of sympathy. Sir *Firoz Khan Noon*, Labour Member, said he had missed no opportunity of keeping in touch with two labour leaders in the India House, Mr. Mehta and Mr. Joshi, and others, consulting them on all matters connected with labour and his department was already taking up and constantly reviewing the progress of suggestions made by these labour leaders. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* withdrew the motion "in view of the general assurances given."

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The question of release of political prisoners was again raised through a cut motion. Mr. *Kazmi*, mover of the motion, characterised the Government's policy in this matter as harsh and vindictive and lacking in vision, imagination and grace. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, replying, said that he had already explained the policy of Government on this question. He informed the House that on January 15, 1189 persons were undergoing sentences for offences under Defences of India Rules and 171 persons were under detention under Rules 26 and 129. It was not, therefore, proper to contend that repression existed in the country when only two thousand and odd persons in a population of 400 million remained as prisoners. He believed that the word repression had been used somewhat loosely. He asserted that Government had not the slightest desire to exercise repression and maintained that Government kept in prison only those persons whom they considered it necessary to do so. Continuing, the Home Member said he had done his best to remove as far as possible difficulties but it must be admitted that Government had high responsibility to see that no great danger was let loose in addition to the external danger. He was particularly pleased to inform the House that provincial Governments had released certain prisoners without waiting for the decision of reviewing tribunals. The motion was rejected without a division.

GOVT. SERVANTS' PENSIONS

Mr. *Joshi* pleaded for greater facilities being given to inferior servants of the Government of India in the matter of pensions. He particularly drew the attention of the Government to the inferior servants in the postal and telegraph services. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* assured Mr. Joshi of his sympathies to the inferior servants of the Government but pointed out that he must pay due regard to the position of the taxpayer especially when they were faced with larger deficits than occurred at any time in the history of India. Mr. Joshi withdrew the cut motion in view of the Finance Member's sympathetic reply. The House then adjourned.

TRIBUTES TO RANGOON POSTAL WORKERS

7th. MARCH :—Compensatory and house rent allowances for all postmen and lower grade staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department were demanded by *Rao Saheb Sivaraj* on a cut motion to-day. The *Rao Saheb* referred to the "magnificent work" of the Indian postmen in Rangoon during the air raids and the postmen in India would, he was confident, give an equally good account of themselves in similar conditions. Sir *Andrew Clow* acknowledged the tribute to the efficiency of the department. Public satisfaction, he suggested, was due largely to the cheapness of the service and, if all the suggestions for larger allowances were adopted that advantage would very rapidly disappear. The motion was negatived. *Rao Saheb Sivaraj*, moving the next cut motion, asked for definite representation for the depressed classes in the Government of India services. He said that the depressed classes should be treated as separate class for these purposes and should be allotted as much a percentage in the services as was given to the Moslems, because numerically the depressed classes were more or less equal to the Muslims. Sir *Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, expressed sympathy with the object underlying the motion. The Government, he said, had never abandoned the principle that everyone recruited to the public services must have the minimum qualifications. He held that no

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useful purpose would be served by making reservation for the depressed classes unless an adequate number of qualified men were forthcoming from that community. Mr. Sivaraj withdrew the motion.

INADEQUACY OF POSTAL STAFF

Sir Henry Gidney, through another cut motion, raised the question of the inadequacy of staff in the Posts and Telegraphs Department to deal with the emergency work created by the war. Sir Andrew Clow admitted that there was some truth in the complaints made regarding the inadequacy of staff. He, however, reminded the House that only a few years ago they wanted the Government to economise and cut down all unnecessary staff. Government had recruited 2,000 men to the permanent staff and another 1,000 to the temporary staff to cope with the additional volume of work. The motion was withdrawn.

INADEQUACY OF MOSLEMS IN GOVT. DEPTS.

Maulvi Abdul Ghani next raised discussion on the inadequacy of the number of Mussalmans in the Posts and Telegraphs Department and complained that proper effect was not being given to the resolution of 1934, Sir Andrew Clow claimed that the Posts and Telegraphs was one of the departments which took scrupulous care to secure adequate representation of the minorities and particularly of the Mussalmans. The motion was rejected without a division.

Sir Raza Ali referred to the "hardships and discrimination to which Moslem officials are subjected by the administrative head of the Department of Archaeology." Pandit Lakshmi Kant Maitra defended the department by quoting figures to show that the Mussalmans were given a larger proportion of posts than they were entitled to. The debate had not concluded when the House adjourned till the 10th.

10th MARCH :—Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Member for Education, Health and Lands, replied on Sir Raza Ali's motion to-day. Mr. Sarker emphasised that the complaint was not about paucity of Muslims in the department. Indeed there could be no such complaint, for in all cadres there was adequate Muslim representation varying between 32 and 33 and one-third per cent. As regards individual cases cited by Sir Raza Ali, Mr. Sarker conceded that in 2 instances the Director-General had committed an error of judgment but declared that the Director-General's decisions were not influenced by any other consideration than the merits. Such errors did not proceed from communal bias. Mr. Sarker remarked that the mover and his supporters had served public interest in bringing these cases to the Government's notice but he hoped that they would now consider the chapter closed. Sir Raza Ali withdrew the cut motions.

The question of inadequate representation of Mussalmans in the Imperial Institute of veterinary research, specially in the Gazetted ranks, was raised by Haji Abdul Sattar Sait. Mr. Azhar Ali and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan supported him. Mr. N. R. Sarker explained that the resolution of 1934, relating to communal representation in the public services, did not apply to Veterinary Research Institute. Notwithstanding this, he showed by quoting figures that the Mussalmans had done very well in that department. He promised to look into particular complaints brought up during the discussion. The cut motion was withdrawn.

CORRUPTION IN THE SUPPLY DEPT.

Sir Ziauddin Ahmed discussed the system of purchases and inspection in the Supply Department. He believed that the present war would continue at least for 3 more years and in the future India would have to depend more and more on herself. Sir Ziauddin firstly dealt with the question of corruption in the Supply Department and after quoting some cases, alleged that merit or recommendations did not count in that department, it was only money. He next made an earnest plea for the great utilisation of cottage industries. Mr. E. M. Jenkins, Secretary, Supply Department, replying to the debate, said that Government did not neglect cottage industries and were able to purchase over two million blankets, coir mats and cutlery from that source. The department had also called a conference of provincial directors of industries to meet here on March 23 when plans for the fuller utilisation of cottage industries products would be discussed. Mr. Jenkins said that they had ceased to recruit army men into the Supply Department, but in order to safeguard the rights of certain individuals, they had to retain some army men in the Department. As for corruption, Mr. Jenkins said that it had been the gravest concern of all of them. He said that there was nothing new in what he had been told in the course of the debate. He admitted that corruption did exist in the department, but it was not possible to root it out completely during

the war conditions, particularly when the public did not co-operate with them. He wanted wholesome public opinion to assist in rooting out corruption. The motion was talked out.

DEPARTMENT OF PRODUCTION

The advisability of creating a Department of Production separate from Supply was urged by *Sir Frederick James*, who moved the next cut motion. The quantity and quality of equipment, he declared, was as determining a factor in war as the number of soldiers or the skill of generals. *Mr. Jenkins* replying made it clear that the Supply Department was handling production now and difficulties were inherent in the supply situation and not in the organisation of the department, which he believed was more or less on the right lines. The cut motion was withdrawn.

GOVT. POLICY RE. CIVIL DEFENCE

Mr. C. P. Lawson raised discussion on the Government's policy regarding civil defence. He said that the civil defence was a problem for all irrespective of politics. He enquired whether the functions of the Central Government were advisory or supervisory, adding that the Central Government had responsibility at any rate to protect its own property, such as railways. *Mr. Symon*, Joint Secretary, Civil Defence, after explaining what the Government had been doing to organise the department within such a short time stated that the Government of India did not see in any of the recent political speeches by Indian leaders any indication for setting up a parallel organisation to the Civil Defence Department. *Messrs. Dam* and *Mohammad Ahmed Kazmi* also supported the cut motion. As *Mr. Kazmi* could not conclude his observation by 5 o'clock the Chair applied the guillotine, after which all demands for grants were passed. The Assembly then adjourned till the next-day, when the Finance Bill came up for consideration.

DEBATE ON THE FINANCE BILL

11th. MARCH :—As the motion for the second reading of the Finance Bill to-day offered scope for unbridled oratory, *Sir Jeremy Raisman* asked non-official members to assist in the quick dispatch of business because Government members "have a most urgent task to perform in these days."

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai took one hour to expatiate on the need for Government making adequate arrangements for security. The cost of these measures should not, he suggested, be realized by extra taxation but should be met "by adjusting accounts in some way."

Sir V. Chandravarkar would not let the impression get about that India was not behind the Government, but he felt that in the present atmosphere when Government stood completely divorced from public opinion, no Englishman in India should exhibit racial arrogance. He confessed that the support of men like himself and *Sir Cowasji* did not carry weight and suggested that the recent speeches of *Pandit Nehru*, *Mr. Gandhi*, *Pandit Pant* and *Mr. Rajagopalachariar* had done more than anything else to steady public opinion, and that the vital need of the hour was a government in the hands of popular leaders.

Maulana Zafar Ali thought that Indian members did not count in the counsels of Government, that if real political power was granted Hindus and Moslems would come to terms, and that India alone so appeased could win the war.

12th. MARCH :—*Sirdar Sant Singh* speaking on the Finance Bill was cheered when he extended a welcome to *Sir Stafford Cripps* and commented appreciatively on the announcement that His Majesty's Government had reached definite conclusions. "One thing is certain", he went on, "and that is that there is going to be a further delay in really transferring power from the bureaucracy, if the decision contemplates any such transfer at all. But I may say that there is still time for adequate steps for that transfer of power." He however, recalled the experience of *Mr. Montagu's* visit and said that Indians had to be careful about the results of *Sir Stafford Cripps'* visit. The *Sardar* was glad that the necessity of increasing the morale of the civil population of India had been brought home to the British Government. He said, "we are not concerned with the motives of the British Government in their action with regard to India at this late hour. The peril to Indians is greater than the peril to a handful of Englishmen in India. The bureaucracy has been guilty of so many misdeeds resulting in India's present plight. It is high time the bureaucracy vacated the treasury benches and handed over the administration of the country to the representatives of the people."

Mr. *Husseinbhoj Lalji* asked the Finance Member what he proposed to do with the huge sterling balances lying idle in England. He expressed the opinion that all requirements of war must be financed by long term loans.

Sir *Yamin Khan* complained that Government was not exercising proper vigilance on defence expenditure and urged Government to put down with iron hand all corruption. He averred that it would be dishonest on the part of non-official members if they permitted their countrymen to be subjected to further taxation without ensuring that the huge defence expenditures were given the closest examination. Objecting to the extra taxation on silver, Sir *Yamin* drew the attention of the Finance Member to the phenomenal increase in the price of gold and silver in the course of the last three months and asked Government to take immediate action to stop this wild fluctuation in prices and hoarding of these metals. Finally, Sir *Yamin* said that the imposition of incometax on lower income was likely to cause greater hardships on the poorer sections of the population who were already groaning under increased cost of life.

Mr. *P. Griffiths* made a fervent appeal for unity and urged that Sir *Stafford Cripps* should be given a chance to succeed in his mission. The failure of *Stafford Cripps* in India would mean a disaster for all. Mr. *Griffiths* next referred to the Viceroy's appeal for a national war front and said that there was nothing sinister in that appeal. It only meant the creation and mobilisation of public opinion for an intensive war effort and to build up the morale of the people. It was intended to instil determination to face danger and reinforce our hearts.

Sir *Henry Richardson* said that unless the proposed rebate under E. F. T. was properly explained it looked like a gamble. He was grateful to Government for giving effect to two of his earlier suggestions in the form of amendments to the Finance Bill.

Rao Saheb Sivraj thought that the present Government of India was "ancient and worn-out" but he believed it might be reconstructed so as to make it capable of moving with the times and fight the enemy.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* said that the Finance Member's admonition to members of the House to make their speeches on the Bill short because Government members were busy with war work was not a happy one. That admonition, he thought, was not in consonance with the spirit displayed by Mr. *Churchill* who had claimed that the British nation was bound to win because they were a free nation with free institutions and had never stifled parliamentary criticism. He had not concluded when the House rose.

13th. MARCH:—An appeal to all parties in the country and in the Central Assembly to hush all controversy and concentrate on the war effort, was made by Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* in his speech on the Finance Bill to-day. In his view, there were four or five people in this country who could be trusted to give their best and bring the masses together. They were the Maharaja of Bikaner or the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Sir *Sikandar Hayat Khan* and Mr. M. N. Roy. Mr. *Fazlul Huq's* name also could be added to the list.

Sir *Frederik James* reciprocated on behalf of the European section Mr. *Jamnadas's* appeal for a truce and declared: "We are living in a revolutionary period. India is fast changing. Use the present occasion to root out any remaining evidence of racial or social exclusiveness. Any section believing in complete isolation is living in a fool's paradise." Sir *Frederick* implored his community "to throw in our lot with the people of the country. In common service we can lay the lasting foundation for harmonious relationship between the two countries."

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghuznavi* referred to the huge defence expenditure and asked Government what it had done for the defence of India. He said: "You have left us in the lurch. Goodness alone knows how we are going to defend the country." He asked if India was admitted to the benefit of Lease and Lend facilities, why Rs. 34 crores had been budgetted for cash payments to the United States of America on account of India's purchases from them.

Mr. *M. Nauman* considered that the incidence of taxation was bound to aggravate the hardships of the middle classes. He agreed that extra money had to be found to finance the war, but submitted that it should come from those who could afford to give it. Mr. *K. C. Neogy* was speaking and had not concluded when the Assembly adjourned till the 16th.

16th. MARCH:—A suggestion that non-official Indians should be associated with the proposed American Technical Mission to India, was made by Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, speaking to-day on the first reading of the Finance Bill. Such association of non-official advisers, said Mr. *Neogy*, was necessary in order to lay at rest

suspicious that the visit of the Mission might lead to the creation of vested interests in the industrial field. Indian public opinion was not going to tolerate these vested interests, he declared. Mr. Neogy also wanted that non-official Indian advisers should be taken fully into confidence both by the Government and by the U. S. Mission in all its activities. He insisted on an assurance on these lines because the complaint had been made that non-official advisers associated with the Eastern Group Conference were not taken into full confidence on all important questions and that their services were not fully utilized.

Mr. A. C. Dutta thought that the House of Commons announcement of the proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps was bringing to India to discuss, was of special importance because it invited our efforts with particular reference to the defence of India and not with reference to the war in all theatres. This he regarded as a revolutionary change in the attitude towards India and Indians. There were also other remarkable features of the announcement, he said. The initiative had been taken by Government and the formula that the people should make agreed proposals for a settlement had been given up. The announcement also contained the recognition that it was impossible to defend India without the co-operation of Indians. In the announcement, again, was the clear admission that India was one entire nation and that all ideas and proposals for partition had been knocked on the head once for all. These, said Mr. Dutta, were welcome features of the announcement, although he had no idea of the exact nature of the proposals which Sir Stafford was bringing.

Mr. N. V. H. Symons, Additional Secretary, Civil Defence Department, attempted to dispel the impression that the Department was manned by bureaucrats unwilling to trust the people. Explaining the functions of the Civil Defence Department, Mr. Symons said these were much the same as those of the medical profession, partly prophylactic and partly curative, to ensure that falling bombs did as little damage as possible and that the damage done was repaired as quickly as possible. If force was to be used either to deal with an internal disturbance or an attack from the air, that was the function of the civic guards or the Defence Department. The objective of his department, he went on, was to have a warden for every 150 people or 25 houses, which the warden was to visit regularly. So far, however, only about 50 per cent of the defence staff required had been obtained. The number of wardens required had not yet been obtained. Mr. Symons, dealing with the question of evacuation, said that the policy which the Government of India had asked provincial Governments to follow, was that first and foremost all those who had essential work to do in cities should at all costs stay and never leave, while as regards non-essential people, nothing should be done to prevent them from leaving if they wished to. The railways had made elaborate plans to move such people.

Sir Gurunath Bewoor alluded to non-official criticisms of the behaviour of certain military men in Poona and Bombay, and said that no one regretted more than the Government such occurrences. He informed the House that every incident involving injury or alarm to the public was promptly reported to General Headquarters and necessary measures were taken to avoid repetition of these incidents. Sir Gurunath also stated that the Government had decided to establish a special military corps of military police in principal military stations to investigate all such cases and mete out severe punishment to all military men found guilty of gross misbehaviour to members of the public. The Government had also taken other measures, such as tightening of control on selling of liquor to military men and putting restrictions on entry of troops in certain areas with a view to preventing the possibility of unhappy incidents occurring. He also mentioned that the Government had provided a considerable sum of money for compensating the aggrieved parties. Sir Gurunath was still speaking when the House adjourned.

17th. MARCH :—Mr. G. S. Bozman, Secretary, Indian Overseas Department, dealt with criticisms of the arrangements for evacuation of Indians from Burma and Malaya. Referring to Malaya first he estimated the total number of people who had come away at approximately 5,000. It had been stated, Mr. Bozman went on, that in the evacuation from Penang there had been racial discrimination. So far as could be ascertained, practically all Europeans in Penang came away and he had not heard of any Indian who had been able to leave. He reminded the House that the Governor of the Straits Settlements had made a public statement in which he had said that the evacuation of Penang took place without his knowledge or orders, and that should further withdrawals of people take place he had issued

instructions that no distinction of race, creed or colour should be permitted. The House would understand, Mr. Bozman said, that the Government of India had no means now of ascertaining what the true facts were. There was no communication with the Malayan Government, direct or through any channels. A number of people who had come away from Malaya had told stories which were remarkably consistent. There was sufficient evidence to warrant a thorough and impartial inquiry into the actual facts when circumstances permitted such an inquiry being undertaken. This view had been forwarded to the proper authorities. As regards Burma, every ship on which we could lay hands had been employed for evacuation from that country and the total number of people evacuated was between 45,000 and 50,000. That, he suggested, was not an unsatisfactory figure considering the short space of time and the conditions of constant air raids in which it had taken place. There was now in operation a scheme of evacuation by air. This scheme had been organized by the Government of Burma and the Government of India and Indian National Airways had given every assistance they could in providing machines, while Chinese National Airways were doing splendid work in taking people away from Burma. He assured the House that in this evacuation scheme, as in all evacuation schemes, emphasis had been laid on avoiding any kind of racial discrimination.

18th. MARCH :—After 5 days' debate on the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill the Assembly divided and passed the motion by forty-nine votes to sixteen. The Moslem League voted against it. Of the Nationalist Party, one voted with the League while a few voted with the Government and some remained neutral. In his reply to the debate, Sir *Jeremy Raisman*, Finance Member, said there had been comments of two kinds on the budget proposals. The greater volume of comment had taken the usual line about the weight of the burdens imposed on the country but there had also been a note of criticism that the sacrifice which the country was being called upon to bear at the present time was if anything disproportionate to the needs of the situation. He found himself much more impressed by the latter type of criticism than the former. Dealing at length with criticisms of the manner in which the accounting of lease and lend supplies had been done, the Finance Member referred to the suggestion that all that we had to do was to credit ten crores in the current year and thirty four crores in the year 1942-43 ; and the deficit would have vanished. This, he said, was an illusion of the kind that beset people in Britain when they thought that Russia would win the war for them. Critics in this case thought that America could balance the budget for them. After explaining the details of lease and lend arrangements, Sir *Jeremy* said that in the circumstances and in view of the amount actually included in the budget on this account, the manner of treatment of lease lend receipts could not possibly have made any substantial difference in our budgetary policy. Their effect was so small that they neither affected the taxation nor the borrowing proposals ; there could be no question of the tax-payer or the lender to Government being asked to make greater sacrifices on account of the way in which Government were at present treating the accounting of the lease lend stores. Referring to a question put to him about the conditions which would be attached to the Government's share of the re-equipment reserve for industry, the Finance Member said he was not at present in a position to formulate them precisely, but broadly speaking Government would be anxious to see that such money was not used to increase dividends to shareholders but utilised to strengthen the position of the industry concerned after the war. Alluding to the position of those who had been victims of heavy loss in Burma and Malaya, he said that he had not had time to discuss the position with those concerned. The suggestion that the central board of revenue was not prepared to make any allowance for the unfortunate plight of these people was an unjustifiable one, because the board were prepared to hear all these people had to say and devise the most suitable measures of relief. As regards the sterling balances, he said these had hitherto been used in the best possible way, namely, extinguishing the external debt and buying up railways and so on, and Government would endeavour to continue to use them as opportunities presented themselves in the best possible way.

In the course of discussion of the bill clause by clause, the *Finance Member* accepted an amendment moved by Mr. *Govind Deshmukh* seeking to exempt certain machinery from the 20 per cent additional import duty. The amendment was passed. The machinery concerned is comprised in items numbers 72, 72(1), 72(2) and 72(3) of the first schedule to the Tariff Act.

Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta* moved another amendment the effect of which would

be to exempt protected industries from the surcharge on customs duties. The amendment was rejected. The House then adjourned.

19th. MARCH :—A sudden development took place to-day while Mr. *M. A. Kazmi's* amendment proposing to omit from the Finance Bill the provision for taxing incomes between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 was under discussion. Mr. *L. K. Moitra* mentioned a point which had escaped the Government's attention and had not been mentioned in earlier debates. He said that the Bengal Act taxing trades, professions, callings and employments provided that every person liable to income-tax must pay a fixed annual tax of Rs. 30. This meant that new assesses would not only pay Rs. 16 annually to the Government of India but would also become liable to pay Rs. 30 to the Bengal Government. This revelation came as a bombshell. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* was informed that Mr. *Moitra's* contention was correct. It was also stated that another province, probably the C. P., also has legislation taxing employments. Mr. *Jamnadas Mehta*, Mr. *N. M. Joshi* and Mr. *A. C. Dutta* supported the amendment in the interests of the poorer classes and Mr. *K. G. Neogy* reinforced Mr. *Moitra's* point by quoting textually from the Bengal Act. Sir *Cowasji Jehangir* had intended supporting the amendment on political grounds because he did not wish to disturb in these days the mental equilibrium of the class affected by the proposed extension of the income-tax classification, but felt doubly convinced after hearing Mr. *Moitra* that the amendment should be passed. He also brought forth the argument that during the last elections to the Central Assembly in 1934, the lowering of the taxable income to Rs. 1,000 had resulted in such a large increase in enfranchised persons that the Congress won the elections easily. If this limit was again lowered, the Congress might be grateful to the Finance Member but not to the other parties.

Sir *Jeremy Raisman* announced amidst cheers the decision of the Government to raise the limit of the lower minimum level of income-tax from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500. This means that out of the estimated new assesses numbering 750,000 about 500,000 will be exempted from income-tax and that the estimated income-tax from this class of over a crore of rupees will be substantially reduced.

While announcing this concession, Sir *Jeremy Raisman* did not hide from the House that he ruefully viewed the damage thus done to an important feature of his Budget. His proposal was not intended so much to get revenue as to make the lower classes tighten their belt and reduce consumption. He had calculated that under the original proposal purchasing power to the extent of a hundred crores would have been affected, while under the modification he had announced only Rs. 40 crores of purchasing power would be affected. The Finance Member said that even though the point raised by Mr. *Moitra* showed an entirely unintended consequence, the Finance Bill had provided escape in that the people in Bengal could contribute to Defence Loans and not pay tax on income. As by closing the first alternative they would not become assesses they would not be liable to the provincial tax. However, he had decided to make a gesture to the non-official benches, but in order to encourage saving he intended to maintain the alternative of subscription to Defence Loans for classes having incomes of from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 2,000 even though the majority of these classes would now be not liable to income-tax. He did not think that Sir *Cowasji Jehangir's* fears about franchise were well grounded and in any case, it was not the business of the House in considering financial proposals to worry about the effect on the number of the electorate.

Mr. *Kazmi* withdrew his amendment and, instead, Dr. *Banerjee* moved an amendment which was in the name of Mr. *Lalchand Navalrai*, fixing the minimum level at Rs. 1,500. The House adopted this amendment.

20th. MARCH :—The Finance Bill was passed to-day by 44 votes to 14. The minority represented the Moslem League Party's votes. The Nationalist Party remained neutral and did not participate in the third reading of the Bill owing to the feeling expressed by the leader of the party that the Chair's ruling regarding the scope of the debate on the third reading had curtailed the power of the House. This attitude of the Nationalist Party combined with the Moslem League's previous decision to take no further part in the debate resulted in the curtailment of the debate which might otherwise have lasted the entire sitting.

The House next resumed discussion on the amendment to reduce the price of postcards to two pice. Mr. *K. G. Neogy* recalled the principle of running the Postal Department on a commercial basis and felt that that principle had been sacrificed without explanation and without a promise that it would be restored after the war. Sir *Jeremy Raisman* read out a part of his speech introducing the

emergency Finance Bill in 1940, when he made it clear that the proposal to increase postal rates was "a vehicle for an indirect tax." The House was satisfied with the explanation but eleven members of the opposition insisted on recording their support for the reduction motion.

When the *Finance Member* moved the third reading of the Bill, *Mian Ghias-ud-din* suggested unanimous support to the Bill as a moral encouragement to the soldiers fighting India's battles. After Mr. *Kazmi* had thanked the *Finance Member* for exempting the lower classes from income-tax, the debate abruptly concluded and the House voted on the Finance Bill. The House then adjourned till the 24th. March.

24th. MARCH :—The Assembly devoted to-day to consideration of non-official Bills. Mr. *Bhulabhai Desai*, leader of the Congress Party, along with a few other members of the Congress Party, attended the Assembly to-day.

The House passed the Bills amending the Indian Limitation Act and the Indian Companies Act, as passed by the Council of State.

WEEKLY HOLIDAYS BILL

25th. MARCH :—On the motion of Mr. *H. C. Prior*, the House passed the Weekly Holidays Bill which provides that every person employed otherwise than in a confidential capacity or in position of management in any shop, restaurant or theatre shall be allowed in each week a holiday of one whole day. The Bill extends to the whole of British India and will come into force in a province or in a specified area within a province only if the provincial Government by notification in the official *Gazette* so directs.

The Assembly also passed Sir *Ramaswami Mudaliar's* Bill facilitating the collection of statistics of certain kinds relating to industries. The House then adjourned till the 31st.

MOTOR VEHICLES AMEND. BILL

31st. MARCH :—On the motion of Mr. *S. N. Roy* the Assembly passed the Motor Vehicles Bill amending the Motor Vehicles Act 1939. Mr. Roy said the amendments proposed were more or less of a formal nature. The Assembly then adjourned.

RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

1st. APRIL :—The Assembly to-day threw out by 37 votes to 16 Mr. *Akhil Chandra Dutta's* resolution recommending to the Government that steps be taken for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners and detenues. The Moslem League Party remained neutral.

After Mr. *K. C. Neogy*, Mr. *L. K. Maitra*, Mr. *Kailash Bihar Lal*, Mr. *G. V. Deshmukh*, Mr. *Chattopadhyaya*, Mr. *Kazmi* and *Sardar Sant Singh* had spoken in support of the resolution, Mr. *Dutta* said that Sir *Reginald Maxwell's* (Home Member) remark that the main political parties in the country regarded it as their duty to act as factories for the manufacture of fifth columnists was untrue and a gross calumny on the people of India. He demanded that Sir *Reginald* should withdraw his remark. He declared that the Government's present policy was crippling India's war effort and asked them, even at this late hour, to realize the gravity of the situation and act with broadmindedness. The *Home Member* winding up the debate said that the number of persons convicted under the Defence of India Rules and still serving imprisonment on February 1, 1942 was 720, out of whom the number of *satyagraha* prisoners was 441, as compared with 6,548 on November 1, 1941. The number of persons released so far was 6,475. Those detained under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules on February 1, 1942 were 1,111 as compared to 1,650 on November 1, 1941. He informed the House that acting on the suggestion of the Government of India all Provincial Governments were reviewing the cases of these prisoners and the result of their review was not yet known. He was, therefore, not in a position to give further information on the subject and suggested that members should await the outcome of the review of cases by Provincial Governments before considering the subject further. He made it clear that it was not the desire of the Government to retain any one who was anti-Fascist and who was determined to assist in the prosecution of the war, and he was doing his best to ascertain how many of the prisoners belonged to this class. He added that Mr. *Sarat Chandra Bose's* case was not being reviewed by a tribunal at the moment, and would have to be considered latest. He assured the House that the Government was not so indifferent on the question as some members of the House thought. The resolution was pressed to a division and lost by 37 votes to 16. The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Kai-Shek's Visit

Comradeship-In-Arms Of Two Great Countries

Few events during the past decade have so deeply stirred the imagination of the Indian people or so spontaneously evoked their goodwill and sympathy as the recent visit of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek. Coming as it did at a time when China and India are engaged in mortal combat against a common aggressor, the visit was far more than a mere gesture of neighbourly cordiality; it was a mission of supreme significance, designed to strengthen the like of friendship that stretch across the centuries and to seal a blood-bond of comradeship-in-arms between two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls or one-third of the population of the World. India on her part rose equal to the occasion and, in doing honour to her august visitors in the way she did, demonstrated to the world that her heart was one with China and that she was determined fully to discharge her share of the burden in furtherance of the common cause.

The Generalissimo

Till a few years back the Generalissimo, though the head of a Government, was not much heard of in the West. He was not respectable. To many he was but one of the many modernised warlords of China, a sort of bandit-chief. To some he was a mere adventurer and to others he was just another revolutionary.

The great Democracies of the West turned a deaf ear to China's wail for help and justice. And most of them did not care to understand the great role that Chiang was playing as the maker of Modern China.

But the past four years of splendid resistance put up by China against the superior forces of Japan, and the exigencies of the Second World War opened the eyes of the West. Slowly but surely both the United States and Britain began to realise the value and the valour of the great Chinese leader.

What is the secret of Chiang's greatness? The answer is simple—he stands as the indomitable spirit of China.

His life itself reads like a romance though he himself is stern and stoic.

Though now a Christian, Chiang was nurtured in the ancient Confucian traditions of China, in which his widowed mother firmly believed. His father, a trader in the village of Chikow, died when the future leader was a boy. His loving mother painfully scraped together the means to give her son an officer's education at Paotingstu Military Academy. When he was fifteen she married him to a girl named Mao.

Chiang's son from his first marriage, Chiang Ching-kuo, was sent to Moscow in the heyday of Soviet-Chinese friendship after the last war. Becoming a Communist, he quarrelled with his father but now has job in China's propaganda department.

Turning-point in Chiang's career was his meeting with pretty and accomplished Miss Soong Mei-ling, youngest daughter of the rich Christian, Americanised Soong family. Divorcing his first wife with a comfortable annuity and dismissing his concubines, China's leader married Mei-ling, and, in course of time, was baptised.

Chiang's marriage into the Soong family made him, posthumously, a brother-in-law of the late great Sun Yat-sen, "Father of the Chinese Republic," for Sun's widow was Soong Mew-ling's elder sister.

Ever since Marshal Chiang met the great Dr. Sun he had been his loyal follower. In the 1910 Chinese revolution he followed his leader to China and commanded a "dare-to-die" brigade of 100 men which captured Hangchow.

At the end of the last war, Sun Yat-sen sent henchman Chiang to Moscow as his representative. Though he did not like Communism, Chiang learnt much from the Red Army.

Back in China, he was put in charge of the new Whampoa Military Academy. Trained there were the hundreds of efficient officers who are now fighting the war against Japan.

When Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the Soong family became pre-eminent in Chinese politics. Soong Mei-ling's eldest sister married heavy-jowled Dr. Hsiang Hsi Kung, China's Vice-Premier and Finance Minister.

Brother Tsu-Ven Soong (T. V. for short) is President of the Bank of China, the financial wizard who gets supplies and loans from abroad.

As the head of the Kuomintang, from 1927 onwards, Chiang was entrusted with the task of unifying his vast land.

But his difficulties were great. Vested interests, foreign intrigues, Japan's greedy arms and internal feuds made his task appear as almost superhuman. But he battled with indomitable courage.

And to unite China the Generalissimo employed three weapons: one economic, one political and one military. The last two he used very often at the same time, like those old duellists who carried a sword in one hand and a dagger in the other. So Chiang would argue politely with some recalcitrant warlord while he moved up his troops to the border of the warlord's province. In the last resort it was the Central Government army which made his policy possible: it was, so to speak, the final and unanswerable argument. Well-armed, well-trained by German officers, regularly paid (an unusual thing with Chinese armies) and personally devoted to General Chiang, these divisions became the nucleus of a formidable force. They were so clearly a match for any provincial army that warlords rarely insisted on putting the matter to the test, and if they did, the dispute was quickly settled.

But by the time that warlords were quelled new dissensions arose.

Alone among the other Powers, Soviet Russia had taken a very early and abiding interest in China's national movement and Communism had found a fertile soil in the mind of young China. Soon these young stalwarts began to assert themselves in the Councils of the Kuomintang. These leftist tendencies were not obviously to the taste of Chiang Kai-shek who began to put them down with a strong hand.

But Communism could not be scorched so easily. The Reds emerged as the champions of the peasantry and they formed first-class armies of their own to stand up against the crack troops of Chiang. But luckily these fights came to an end the moment that Chiang decided to resist the Japanese aggressor and the Red armies of China, patriotically, submitted themselves to his command. Behind this union lies one of the most curious episodes of modern history—the kidnapping of the Generalissimo by the Red troops.

It happened this way. To keep the Communists enclosed in the mountain refuge in the far-off Shensi, General Chiang had sent Chiang Hsuehliang, the Young Marshal, as "Pacification Commissioner" with his own army of Manchurian troops. These men, however, had been driven out of Manchuria by the Japanese four years earlier and longed passionately for revenge. They had no wish to fight the Communists who were then preaching the gospel of the United Front against Japan.

And so the two armies fraternised and Sian became a centre of the anti-Japanese movement. Thousands of students flocked for military training.

It was a great blow to Generalissimo Chiang and he decided to investigate the matter personally. In December of 1936, he flew to Sian with a small personal retinue to demand an explanation. But he found the situation far worse than he had anticipated. For Manchurian troops and the Communists were on the point of rebellion. The Young Marshal argued with the Generalissimo to drop his war with the Communists and concentrate the efforts of United China against the Japanese invader. But the Generalissimo was obstinate and rebellion broke out.

The soldiers fell upon Chiang's retinue and killed some of the staff. The Generalissimo himself tried to escape over a snow-covered mountain, but he was captured and made prisoner.

The question was what to do with him. The more fanatical of Reds wanted to finish him off then and there. Other were ready to kill him if he refused to listen to reason. But the young Marshal and the Communist leaders thought better. They tried to persuade the Generalissimo by argument and solitary confinement, but they realised that no matter what happened, it would do no good to kill the one man in China, who could pretend to command the nation's loyalty.

The chief danger to his life came from less intelligent or more unscrupulous members of the Nanking Government, who wanted to send out a punitive expedition against the rebels without delay. If they had done so, the Generalissimo's life would have been worth little. But fortunately, they were persuaded against this folly by General Chiang's wife, his personal adviser, Mr Donald, and his brother-in-law, T. V. Soong. These three with the great courage (for they could not know the real situation) at once flew to Sian and negotiated with the rebels.

What actually happened in the arguments which went on interminably in Sian no one knows, as an English writer says. But the Generalissimo refused to give in and made no promise of any kind.

When the leaders of this strange rebellion finally permitted Chiang to fly back to Nanking, a free man, they believed that they had failed. But the experience had its effect. Having saved his face and proved, incidentally, his personal courage, Chiang slowly and imperceptibly began to change his policy.

The Kuomintang Congress continued to denounce the Reds and opposed the United Front, but it was clear that the campaign against the Reds had been quietly called off. In return the Communists abandoned the anti-Government propaganda and some of their most revolutionary doctrines and concentrated instead on the necessity of united action against Japan.

And so, during all these four dreary years, United China has faced the battering of Japan's military machines, unflinchingly. Her cities have been destroyed, her homes were pulled down and her villages looted. But China's brave sons and daughters carry on their fight for freedom, an inspiring example to the rest of the world.—(*Free India*).

The Arrival in India

The arrival of the great Chinese leader and his noble consort in India was as dramatic as it was unexpected. Indeed, at the express desire of the visitors themselves, the secret was so well-kept that few, even in high official circles, were aware of their presence in the country till after a few days. It was only when the Generalissimo and his party had been comfortably settled in New Delhi as the guests of the Government of India, five days after they first landed on Indian soil, that the veil of secrecy was lifted and the news of their arrival announced. The following is an eye-witness's account of their arrival in New Delhi :

"At 1-30 P. M. on Monday, February 9, a mysterious special train slowly steamed into New Delhi railway station and stopped opposite the ceremonial platform. Save for a few select officials of the Government of India who had assembled there, the arrival was unnoticed. A few policemen guarded the entrance, but there was no unusual activity. The citizen went about his normal task unaware of impending sensation. On the platform, a high official of the Government of India stepped forward as the door of a saloon opened and a slim, dapper figure stepped out, accompanied by a distinguished-looking lady. From other saloons also several persons alighted on the platform. Warm greetings were exchanged, and the party drove off in closed cars to the Viceregal Estate where they were accommodated in two sumptuous residences placed at their disposal.

"The same afternoon a reception was held in honour of the distinguished guests in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House. His Excellency the Viceroy delivered an address of welcome, to which an appropriate reply was given by the chief guest. The ceremony, which was attended by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, was an impressive one.

"Later, the guests were entertained to tea by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow. After tea the party walked in the beautiful Moghul Gardens of the Viceroy's House, where, amidst the fountains and poplars, they faced a battery of cameras.

"At dawn on Tuesday the National Flag of the Chinese Republic was broken on the masthead of the residences where the guests were housed, informing New Delhi, India and the world that Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek were in our midst.

"Representatives of the Press had been informed of the event the previous afternoon by a spokesman of the Government of India, but the secret had been well-kept. On Tuesday morning, however, banner headlines in the Press informed the general public of the arrival of the distinguished visitors. Newspapers were in great demand and the public eagerly discussed details of one of the most sensational events in modern times.

"Never before had the Leader of the Chinese people done such honour to a neighbouring country. Never before had India have the opportunity of greeting so great a statesman, who was yet a man of the people. It was an event, unique and historic."

Viceroy's Address of Welcome

The following is the text of the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy at the reception held in honour of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek in the Durbar Hall of the Viceroy's House :

"Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek—

"In the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I bid you welcome to India.

"My Colleagues of the Executive Council of the Government of India are gathered in this room to do honour to a great man, and to a great lady, and to mark a moment which, I am persuaded, will come to be known as a turning point of history. This is a meeting which sets a seal upon the comradeship-in-arms of two great nations—nations which between them number eight hundred million souls—one-third of the population of the world: it is a meeting which bodes our enemies no good, and this they soon will learn to their cost.

"I know that I speak for every one of my Colleagues when I say how deeply sensible we are of the honour that Your Excellency and Madame Chiang Kai-shek have done us in voyaging so far, across great mountains and rivers, through all the perils of the air in time of war, to strengthen the ancient links of friendship that stretch across the centuries between China and India.

"Geography has set a barrier between our two countries, but civilisation, adventure, the pursuit of spiritual and intellectual freedom—all those elements that go to nourish the spirit of man—have overcome them.

We can trace down the years, throughout the history of our nations, mutual influences, religious, cultural and political, that have made themselves felt from the earliest times to this present day; a day when China, following the path prescribed by the revered Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder and father of the Republic, and under the leadership of her National Government magnificently inspired by Your Excellency, is opposing so firm a front, so splendid a resistance, to the onset of the barbarians of Japan.

"For a long time before we ourselves were privileged to stand as allies by your side in the line of battle we have had good cause to admire the bravery and staunchness that have characterised China's gallant and unrelenting resistance to the aggressors. China's heroism is the inspiration of us all. As one of your own statesmen has recently said, she is the veteran of Asia's fight for freedom. In the maintenance of that struggle we know well that you, our guests today, have carried the chief burden. Be assured that, to the utmost of our power, we will co-operate with China, even as she is mightily aiding us. I ask Your Excellency to believe that these are not mere words. My Colleagues and I affirm that India's heart is one with China and that we will strive powerfully to discharge our share of the burden in furtherance of our common cause, and so by our added effort, to bring nearer the day when China and the whole British Empire, with our great allies, will march together to the ultimate and inevitable victory.

"For us it is a matter for pride and pleasure that, at a moment when the direction of China's war effort into even stronger channels must be claiming your daily attention, you have felt able to undertake this visit to our country. A year ago we were honoured by the presence of the Head of China's Examination Yuan, Dr. Tai Chi-Tao, and from him we learned that, vast though the land of China is, her sons and daughters are all one in their devoted allegiance to their country's cause, in the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We believe that in this shining example of China's unity there is enshrined a jewel of great price, a precious hope and inspiration for all men in a discordant world.

"Your Excellency, I must not prolong unduly my words of welcome. You will have opportunity hereafter, I trust, for further meeting and profitable discussions with my Colleagues.

"We are privileged now to do honour to the leaders of China's manhood and womanhood, happily in our midst today. India is proud and glad to receive you. From our hearts we hope that we shall be able to make you comfortable here after your arduous journey; that you, and the other distinguished guests whom we are privileged to welcome with you, will derive pleasure and interest, and some rest, during your visit to our land. We believe that incalculable good will come of this meeting not only for India and China but for the whole world. On behalf of India we extend the warmest welcome that our hands and hearts can give to your Excellency, to Madame, and to all who have accompanied you."

The Generalissimo's Reply

His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in his reply said:

"Your Excellency, "On behalf of the people of China, I wish to thank you for this cordial welcome which you have extended to Madame Chiang and myself. I am happy to have this opportunity of visiting India, one of our allies, and China's brotherly neighbour. The subject of my visit is to have personal exchange of views with Your Excellency, the members of your Government and prominent men in Indian public life in order to secure more effective united efforts against aggression. I fully appreciate the importance of our meeting.

"As Your Excellency has pointed out, the spiritual bonds between our two countries are no new development; no mere growth of yesterday. In days almost legendary, Chinese seekers after truth found their way to India after years of perilous travel through arid deserts and over sky-reaching mountains to drink at the inexhaustible fountain of Indian philosophy. They took back to their motherland, in the face of indescribable dangers and difficulties, the priceless volumes which embodied the wisdom of India.

"I am appreciative of Your Excellency's reference to the cultural background between the two peoples. Without doubt, it was partly owing to its existence that the Indian nation was moved to express deep sympathy with us from the moment that we began our war of resistance. The enemy—now the common enemy—tried every expedient to divert that sympathy to himself. India was not misled for a moment. When Japan made perfidious offers of friendship, the illustrious Poet Tagore in noble language voiced the burning indignation which India felt in being asked to grasp in amity a blood-stained hand.

"I am further grateful to Your Excellency for the tribute you paid to the Founder of the Republic of China, Dr. Sun Yat Sen. The principles which he has bequeathed to us have been responsible for the new spirit that has inspired the Chinese people to do their share in making a better world for mankind.

"It is now China's turn to show her appreciation of what India has done for her in a realistic way. The extension of the war to the South Pacific has brought the invasion of this country within the realm of possibility. Any attempted attack on India by Japan would have to be through Burma. The threat through Burma was one of the subjects discussed by me and General Sir Archibald Wavell, when he paid his flying visit to Chungking a month ago. An arrangement has already been made for the despatch of Chinese troops to Burma to assist in its defence. The first steps have thus been jointly taken to safeguard India from a landwise invasion from the east by using Chinese experience and man-power. On the north and east, China is India's shield from land invasion. China is proud and glad that it is so.

"Your Excellency, you have very kindly mentioned that China has been the first to take up arms in this world struggle for freedom. While this is true, I wish to point out that during the last four and a half years of our resistance to aggression, we have been spiritually sustained and materially assisted by His Majesty's Government, and by the people of the British Empire. I bring to Your Excellency, His Majesty's Representative in India, the heart-felt thanks of the Chinese army and people.

"Now that we are comrades-in-arms, standing shoulder to shoulder against aggression, Your Excellency's enlightened leadership constitutes a great contribution to the common cause. At the same time I am fully conscious of the added responsibility that has fallen upon my shoulders. We pledge to our valued ally, who occupies an important and unique position, our friendship and co-operation in attaining our common goal which is to defeat aggression and ensure victory for the democratic front."

Generalissimo's Busy Day

The round of engagements of the Generalissimo began on the morning of Tuesday, February 10, with a talk with His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, followed by interviews with Sir Sultan Ahmed, Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar and Mr. M. S. Aney, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Later in the morning, Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow paid a return official visit to the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

In the evening, a State Banquet was given by Their Excellencies the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow in honour of the distinguished visitors. Eighty-six guests were assembled in the Banquet Hall of the Viceroy's House, including many high officials and other well-known public figures. Among the members of the Chinese party present were: Their Excellencies Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and Madame Chiang; Dr. Wang Chung Hui, Secretary General, Supreme National Defence Council; General Shang Chen, Chief General Officer, National Military Council; General Chow Chi-Chou, Director, National Aviation Commission; Mr. Chang Tao Fan, Dean of Political Institute; Mr. Hollington K. Tong, Vice-Minister of Information; Colonel Chen Tsi Tseng, Personal A. D. C. and Business Manager; Major-General Fisher Hou; Dr. Pao Chung-Jien, Chinese Consul-General, Calcutta; and Lieut.-Colonel Pee Tsong Kan, Secretary and A. D. C.

Viceroy's Speech at Banquet

Proposing health of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, in the course of the Banquet, His Excellency the Viceroy said :

"Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

"A most wise philosopher—none other than Confucius—has asked : 'Is it not delightful to have men of kindred spirit come to one from afar ?'

"None of the posterity for whom he wrote could be more deeply conscious of the truth of that sentiment than we who, on this happy occasion, are privileged to welcome among us the two great leaders of the Chinese nation, and their distinguished companions.

"The story of China during the last decade cannot be read apart from the names of our guests of honour. They have woven themselves into the heroic pattern of fortitude, determination and united endeavour, which China today holds up as it were a banner to the civilised world.

"I do not need to remind you of what is already history. Throughout nearly five bitter and strenuous years the Generalissimo and his consort have concentrated and symbolised in their persons the glorious resistance of Free China to the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor. In a dark hour for the British Empire the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, once declared that we would fight on 'if necessary for years, and if necessary alone'. China has honourable cause to know the meaning of those words. Standing alone against a powerful and well-prepared enemy, she has kept alight the torch of freedom, and in her heroic struggle our guests of honour have throughout borne the heaviest burden.

"That burden is scarcely lighter now, although, thank God, neither they nor we stand alone ; for today as Allies, with strength and resources joined, we face the future with renewed determination and confidence. A few weeks ago His Excellency the Generalissimo accepted the Supreme Command over all the Forces of the Allied Nations operating in Chinese theatre of war, which will include Indo-China and Thailand. We are proud indeed that one of the first acts of the Marshal and his wife after the assumption of that great command has been to visit our land of India. Their gracious and courageous gesture sweeps aside the barriers which nature has erected, and causes us to see, perhaps more clearly than before, how near are China and India to each other, and how many of the priceless gifts of civilisation they have in common. In both the ideals of culture and of kindness prevail : in both the lamp of freedom has been lit ; and we in India may well learn from China what can be done by valiant and selfless men and women to survive and overcome the worst shocks of the aggressor and to work together for a common and unselfish end.

"Her Excellency Madame Chiang Kai-shek, we know, has been an inspiration not only to the cause of China itself but to the greater world, and most certainly to India. We have heard of her tireless labours in the cause of war relief and in finding homes for refugee children and for the orphans of gallant soldiers killed in the struggle. We know too that she has been frequently exposed to the danger of war and has accompanied her husband on his campaigns. It is our good fortune that she accompanies him, too, on his errands of friendship, and we are proud to have her with us tonight.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, we have heard how at this time, when the enemy is threatening the eastern bastion of our fortress, the soldiers of China have come, without stint, to stand by the side of ours on the Burma front. That is the act of a great Ally, and of a brother too. These are the men—and here is their leader—among whose battle honours are inscribed the names of Changsha and Taierschwang. We shall fight this war, therefore, confident and proud in the knowledge that we shall be with China through rough and smooth, through fair weather and foul until the victorious end. It shall be with us as with John Bunyan's pilgrim :

Whoso beset him round
With dismal stories
Do but themselves confound
His strength the more is,
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.'

With God's help our pilgrimage, side by side with China and our other mighty Allies, shall not end until the enemy is utterly destroyed, in Asia, in Europe, on the high seas ; until our banners of victory float at last on a free air, purged of tyranny and oppression. There could be no happier augury of that dawn of victory towards which we now march together than the presence with us tonight of the two leaders of China's fight for freedom.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose the health of Their Excellencies Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek."

The Generalissimo's Reply

Replying to the toast, His Excellency the Generalissimo said :

"Your Excellencies. Ladies and Gentlemen.

"Your Excellency has done Madame Chiang and myself a signal honour which we deeply appreciate. You have been very generous in your praise of our personal endeavours. In those nearly five strenuous years of which you have spoken our contribution has not been as great as we wished. It is the united people of China, who true to their ideals, have borne the brunt of the battle for democracy. Since Japan's first invasion of Chinese soil they have been rising together to higher heights of philosophy, patriotism, unselfishness, courage, endurance and generosity with but one aim : out of the agonizing sufferings and losses that have been inflicted upon us, there shall arise a new world in which men and women can live in peace and happiness.

"Since the outbreak of the Pacific War, China and India have been drawn closer together. In the midst of the trial of war, I have availed myself of the first opportunity to visit India, our ally, in order to get better acquainted with her potentialities and the possibility of her contribution to the joint cause. I am glad that I have come and have learned much during my short stay here. We have a Chinese saying : "To have one look at things is a hundred times more satisfactory than hearsay." I am truly impressed with the greatness of India.

"Your Excellency, it is a great pleasure for us to meet you and know you. Your knowledge of Indian affairs is extensive, and your statesmanship is profound. You have made me feel that I may draw without stint upon the richness of your wisdom. Excellency, Lady Linlithgow, your unbounded interest in social work was known to us before our visit. We should like to convey to you our sincere esteem.

"You have spoken of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Churchill. Since this great leader assumed office, I have been in as close personal touch as the distance which lies between him and me has permitted, and I have found in him stimulation and encouragement.

"Your Excellency has spoken of the presence of Chinese troops in Burma. When I saw General Sir Archibald Wavell in Chungking, I told him that he could count on China's co-operation and assistance in joint resistance against aggression. I have done my best to make this promise good. This is no merit. It is the duty of one ally to another.

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I now have the honour to propose the health of Their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Lady Linlithgow."

Generalissimo at Ceremonial Parade

On Wednesday morning 11th. Feb. at 11 A. M., a ceremonial parade of troops quartered in the neighbourhood of Delhi was held on the ceremonial parade ground, west of the War Memorial Arch, New Delhi, in honour of His Excellency the Generalissimo.

His Excellency the Generalissimo, who was accompanied by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, took the salute. Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and members of the Legislative Assembly were present, in addition to civil and military officers. The following is an eye-witness account of the parade :

"Anxious to get a glimpse of the almost legendary figure of the man around whom Chinese resistance to the Japanese aggressor has centred for the past five years, thousands of people, representative of all sections of life in the Indian Capital, including many Chinese residents, turned out at the ceremonial parade. The setting was impressive. A large number of troops lined the parade ground, which stretches parallel to Kingsway, the magnificent avenue from the Viceroy's House to the War Memorial. Facing them in an enclosure provided for notable spectators were high civil and military officers and other notabilities.

A tumultuous cheer rang out as the crowd had its first glimpse of his Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, seated beside His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in a big Rolls Royce. The car slowly drove down the Kingsway from the Viceroy's House, the Generalissimo smilingly acknowledging the plaudits while carrying out a quick inspection of the troops. After the inspection the Generalissimo and the Commander-in-Chief mounted the dais at the saluting base, where the Generalissimo took the salute as company after company—British and Indian—marched past. The Seaforth Highlanders, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, the machine-gun battalion of the Rajputana Rifles, the Punjab Regiment, the Frontier Forces Regiment, Paratroop battalions and the Hyderabad Lancers participated in the parade. A number of armoured carriers in the march past aroused the interest of the distinguished visitors.

"At the conclusion of the march past, the Generalissimo was introduced to Lady Wavell and Lady Hartley, and then, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, entered the car and drove off amidst renewed cheers."

More Interviews

During the rest of the day the Generalissimo granted interviews to several more visitors, including the Maharaja Holkar of Indore and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President.

In the evening, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek attended a banquet given in their honour by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

On Thursday morning, the Generalissimo gave interviews to Sir Andrew Clow, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sir Homi Mody, Mr. Raghavendra Rao and Mr. N. R. Sarker, Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and General Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana of Nepal. Among the visitors in the afternoon was His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

Madame Chiang's Message to Indian Women

The highlight of Thursday's (12th. February) functions, however, was a reception arranged in honour of Madame Chiang Kai-shek by the All-India Women's Conference at the Lady Irwin College, New Delhi. Replying to the address of welcome presented to her by the Conference, Madame Chiang said:

"Words are inadequate to express my hearty appreciation of the kindness that has prompted you to hold this meeting of welcome in my honour. The opportunity of meeting so many representative women of India alone is sufficient reason for me to join my husband in coming to this great country. Mrs. Pandit some time ago invited me to visit India, but owing to my work I did not feel that I ought to leave China just then. The inward urge that I should come has been, however, latent for a long time. Therefore when the Generalissimo decided to take this trip, this urge became crystallized into action. Now that I am here and stand in the midst of the women leaders of India, who like their Chinese sisters are making immense contributions to their beloved land in this hour of trials and tribulations, I am happy.

"Your chairman has referred to the long and traditional relationship between our two countries, and to a renewal of those ancient bonds of culture. I wish to reciprocate in full measure this sentiment. The Chinese have always regarded the people of India as their brothers. Our two countries have had long religious association. Indeed, China and India are two pillars which today are supporting the economic and industrial edifice of Asia. We are proud of the important part which we are playing together in making the world safe for democracy.

"Mrs. Pandit has paid me a tribute for my share in the war of resistance to aggression. While appreciating this, may I have your permission to share the tribute with my fellow country women. In the past four years and a half, every section of Chinese life has been called upon to give its utmost for the nation; and among those who have responded nobly to the needs of the crisis have been the women. The war, its multitude of problems, has brought forth a large number of new organizations concerned with refuge, aid, war relief, increase of production enterprises and care of war orphans.

"Our Chinese women are doing their tasks willingly and cheerfully because one cannot live in China and feel and think without being moved to action. The fact that a Japanese bombing raid kills 4,000 people in a single day may mean nothing to peoples living a great distance away from the scene, but when one hears flames roar, bombs thud, and sees the horrid outcome of meeting of human flesh and steel sharpnel, then the realities of war become very real. Chinese women have

been the first to face such suffering and misery, and also they have been in the forefront to carry out measures for their relief.

"The desperation of the enemy—also your enemy now—caused by the failure to make military advantages at will has led him to pursue a policy of slaughter of innocent people, men and women, of violence, of destruction of property, and of indiscriminate bombing in the hope of terrorizing those living in the interior of China. Such Japanese barbarism has not only failed to terrorize Chinese women to say nothing of Chinese men, but it has influenced them to work all the harder for the rescue of the injured, the safeguarding of homeless children and refugees, and evacuating of them to safer localities.

"Under the auspices of our Women's Advisory Council, women have been encouraged to work on the farms in place of their men who have joined the army. For those women who are unsuited for farm work, factories have been established to give them employment. The Women's Advisory Council also sees to it that while their mothers are working either on the farms or in the factories the older children are cared for in homes and the younger ones sent to day nurseries. In the broad sweep of the war work carried on by the women of China, devotion and accomplishment have become commonplaces.

"The poet Holmes once said: 'It is the province of knowledge to speak, and the privilege of wisdom to listen'. I would much prefer to hear what my Indian sisters have to tell me about their aspirations, their problems and their achievements, because of all this they possess an abundance of knowledge. While listening to what you are going to tell me, I have no claim to wisdom, but I am deeply interested in your problems and have come here to learn.

"Madame Chairman, in concluding, I wish to thank you and the members of the Conference once more for the sincere and moving welcome that you one and all have been showing me during my short stay in India."

Madame Chiang's Stirring Address

After the formal reply, Madame Chiang Kai-shek delivered an extempore address to the meeting.

"First of all," Madame Chiang Kai-shek said, "I want to tell you what you are up against, and I think you would want to know. I believe you are realists, for in spite of thousands of years of our heritage enriched by the development of the most profound system of philosophy yet evolved by any people in the world, the people of China and India are realists. You may have to fight against a foe full of treachery. During the last five years I have repeatedly pointed out what sort of people the Japanese are and what they have been doing in China, but because the Western world was too engrossed in other affairs, they branded my admonitions as propaganda. Now that the world has had a taste of Japanese methods at Singapore and Manila they are realizing that what I said was not a figment of war-torn imagination but bare facts.

"In 1932 at Shanghai, when the Chinese and Japanese had agreed in principle on certain conditions and were on the eve of signing an agreement, that very night the Japanese bombed and set fire to the sleeping population of Chapei and tens of thousands of people were killed and wounded. Just before the outbreak of the present Pacific hostilities, while the Japanese Ambassador in America and Kurusu were carrying on conversations with Mr. Hull, the Japanese again without warning struck at Pearl Harbour.

"A nation which has treachery as its policy in international dealings can never be trusted. The Japanese are already at your door. They have already struck at China and Burma. Who knows what will happen when they strike India? They will say to you: 'We come to liberate you.' But that is a lie.

"Do you know what happened in Nanking? After our troops had withdrawn, the Japanese rounded up every able-bodied man they could find there, tied them wrist to wrist, made them walk out of the town, beat them and bayoneted them. Later on the Japanese did not even take the trouble to bayonet or shoot them but made them dig their own graves and buried them alive."

After describing what the Japanese had done to Chinese Women, Madame Chiang Kai-shek went on in a moving passage: "What did they do to our children? They captured them and took their blood for the purpose of blood transfusion. They also sent boatloads of our children to be trained as traitors to their own country. We have found many little spies who told us that they had been trained by the Japanese to work against us.

This happened especially after the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1932, when these children were carried off in thousands and specially drilled to work against their fatherland.

"When the Japanese occupy and seize a city they are not only out to loot everything but they try to kill the very soul of the people, everything to deaden body and soul. In cases when some of the surviving population were employed as labourers by the Japanese they received as part payment, injections of opium and heroin. The Japanese are an incredibly cruel and inhumanly callous enemy."

Calling upon Indian women to prepare themselves Madame Chiang said: "We did everything we could at first to appease the Japanese because we needed time in which to prepare ourselves. But when at last we knew the ruthlessness of the enemy we had to take up arms, ill-prepared as we were, for we realized that however terrible suffering and death may be, there was a worse thing—slavery of body and slavery of soul."

"China today is an acknowledged ally of the democracies but we have earned this name by fighting mostly with bare flesh and inferior arms, and by destroying everything of value which might fall into the hands of the enemy as we withdrew into the interior. We have burnt our fields; we have destroyed our houses and property in order to prevent the enemy from gaining them. We have this courage because we know that in order to save our national life we must have the fortitude to sacrifice our individual life."

"As soon as the war started we women of China formed ourselves into a Women's Council, a national body. In each province we formed a provincial committee and in each district a smaller branch. We followed a definite programme to help win the war. We trained and are continuing to train thousands of young women to go to every part of the country to tell the people what the war is about. In India today, there must be many people who still do not understand what the war is about, and who must be told. Many women from schools and colleges run away to join our war effort because they said they could not study while their nation was in jeopardy. I have trained such women personally. Among other lines of work after training they go behind the army and do liaison work between the army and the people."

"At first the authorities asked how can girls go and work in the big hospitals where the men are so rough? Who could protect them? Do you know that when the girls went there the men called them army officers and saluted them as such! Now we receive hundreds of telegrams asking for more women nurses and workers for the hospitals. For not only are the girls appreciated for their nursing ability but also for the fact that they provide wholesome and inspiring entertainment for the soldiers during their stay in the hospitals. As in India, there are many illiterate people in China, and our women are also working against illiteracy. The soldiers are learning to read and write while convalescing. Many of our factories and industries have been destroyed. So we have had to return to hand industries. These are organized in production centres and we can show you the success of these by saying that not only has the standard of the people's livelihood gone up in districts where these centres exist, but also by the fact that by the employment of women in the centres, their men have been able to join the army. You cannot expect a man to fight in the trenches and leave his family unless he knows that his women are self-supporting and can look after their children."

"The spirit of the new China is one for all and all for one. We are united by suffering and victory will crown our efforts. In every worthwhile enterprise, there must be people who are willing to sacrifice everything they have for what they hold most dear if that is to be a success. We in China have these people. I do not mean the Generalissimo. I do not mean myself. I mean the people of China, the unsung heroes."

"Like India, China's roots are deep. In our fertile soil which is now soaked in the blood of our patriots, whether soldiers or civilians, we shall grow fruit for the future. Thus runs a Chinese proverb: 'Think only of sowing; think not of reaping.' We of this generation shall not reap the full benefits of what we have sown but the generations to come will reap the fruits of our sacrifice. And as we today are reaping the fruits of labour of our ancestors, so must we be willing to sow for our children and our children's children."

Visit to Khyber Pass

On Friday (13th February) morning, the Generalissimo left by plane for the North-West Frontier Province on a visit to the Khyber Pass. Meantime, Madame

Chiang Kai-shek also, accompanied by Mrs. Vijayaluxmi Pandit, visited Agra, where she spent three hours, seeing the Taj Mahal, the fort and other monuments.

The Generalissimo landed at the Peshawar aerodrome at 1 P. M. on Friday and was received by His Excellency the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province and other high officials. During the afternoon, the Generalissimo visited the defences of the Khyber Pass.

Speaking at Jamrud to Afridi tribesmen, the Chinese leader said that he felt that he was talking to his own brothers. He was greatly overwhelmed by the hearty welcome he had received from them. "I hope my brave brothers of the Khyber Agency will join hands with my country and our ally Great Britain in order to defeat Japan, Germany and Italy so that freedom may be brought forth with and the world freed from war and aggression." He wished the Afridis all prosperity.

On his return from the Khyber Pass the Generalissimo was received at Jamrud by the Governor, who introduced him to Nawab Mohammed Zaman Khan, head of the Afridis and other Chiefs of the Khyber Agency. The Generalissimo then inspected a guard of honour furnished by Khyber Khassadars and tribal Boy Scouts. Later, the Afridis entertained the Chinese leader to tea. The party then left for Peshawar, where the Governor gave a banquet in honour of the Generalissimo.

Return From Peshawar

On Saturday 14th. Feb. morning, the Generalissimo arrived in Lahore on his return journey from Peshawar. He was received at the Lahore aerodrome by Sir Bertrand Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and other Ministers of the Punjab Government.

After spending a few hours at the Government House, Lahore, the Generalissimo flew back to Delhi, where he arrived in the evening.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu met Madame Chiang Kai-shek on Saturday evening and had tea with her. "The embodied flame of Chinese renaissance" was one of the phrases in which the poetess later summed up her impression of Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Press Conference

On Saturday afternoon, a Press Conference was arranged by the Bureau of Public Information to meet Dr. Hollington Tong, the Chinese Vice-Minister of Information.

Addressing the Press Conference as "brother craftsmen," Dr. Tong said he had brought greetings from the members of the Chinese Fourth Estate to their ally, India. Their common enemy, Japan, was putting out lies which must be overtaken and counteracted; he had decided to appoint a Chinese correspondent in Calcutta and another in Delhi and he hoped Indian correspondents too would visit Chungking where his office already dealt with 400 foreign Press Correspondents none of whom, he regretted, was an Indian. He had talks with Sir Frederick Puckle, Information Secretary, to establish quick means of transmission for the regular exchange of news between India and China and was also working out a broadcast time-table for the same purpose.

The people of China, he said, would like to read in the Chinese Press stories of the Indian people's contribution to the war effort, their munitions production, the heroism of Indian soldiers, India's air raid precaution arrangements and stories of human interests, but not yellow journalism.

More than 20 years ago, he revealed, the Japanese had drawn up the Tanaka Memorial, otherwise called the Charter of Aggression. It provided for the conquest, in turn, of China, the South Seas, India and the whole world. Originally, it was laughed at, and was not taken seriously by the world, but today it had been proved indisputably to be a genuine document. He would like every Indian to read it and promised to send it by the ton if Sir Frederick Puckle would arrange for its transport.

Warning the people of India, Dr. Tong said: "At first the Japanese always use sweet words and say 'friends, brothers and sisters, we have come to rescue you from fire and hell,' and when they come they bring hell with them; that has been our experience during the last four and half years. They did indescribable things to our women and wherever they went they left nothing of our property. It was like a typhoon sweeping over the land. They left nothing for the population to eat; they wanted them to starve. It is not a message of brotherhood or of friendship; that they bring; it is a message of death, chilled death, it is barbarity and everything cruel."

China's Publicity Organisation

Mr. Andrew, Press Attache of the British Legation at Chungking, was also present at the Conference and paid a tribute to the remarkable efficiency of the publicity organization which, he said, was the creation of Dr. Tong, and which had been rebuilt twice after its offices and records had been blown up by Japanese bombs. As an illustration of Chinese publicity methods, Mr. Andrew stated that only recently Dr. Tong's office had put out a remarkable slogan: "Every rumour is an enemy bullet."

On Sunday 15th. February morning Begum Shah Nawaz, M.L.A. (Punjab) had an interview with Madame Chiang Kai-shek. Later in the day, her daughter, Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz, also had an interview with Madama Chiang.

Students' Welcome

In the afternoon the All-India Students' Federation presented a silken banner of the World Students' Association to Madame Chiang Kai-shek. On the banner were embroidered the words: "To the brave Chinese students from the All-India Students' Federation." The banner will be presented by Madame Chiang Kai-shek to the Chinese national organization of students.

Madame Chiang thanked the Indian students for the gift and said that she would gladly convey the message of the Indian Students to their Chinese brethren.

A copy of the greetings for the Chinese students passed at the All-India Students' Conference, held recently at Patna, was also handed over to Madame Chiang to be delivered to the Chinese youth.

Generalissimo And Madame Chiang Meet The Press

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met representatives of the Press on Sunday afternoon in the beautiful lawn of their residence. After shaking hands with the Press Representatives, the Generalissimo said in Chinese, which was translated into English by Dr. Hollington Tong:

"Madame Chiang and myself are very happy to meet you today. I have been in India nearly a week, but what I have seen has tremendously impressed me. After my return to China, I may have something to say to you, but today I have nothing to say except to give you greetings. It gives me great pleasure to meet you today. You may ask a few questions from Madame Chiang. With your permission I will now retire. Good-bye."

Madame Chiang Answers Questions

Madame Chiang Kai-shek spent some time with pressmen, answering questions. In answer to a question as to what had impressed her most in India, she said:

"I have been so short a time here, and India is such a huge country, that it is going to take me some time really to digest what I have seen. But one thing which has impressed me, one of the many things which have impressed me, is the fact that the women of India, like the women of China, will have to take a tremendous part in the reconstruction of the country. I have met quite a number of leaders among Indian women, and I am full of hope that the women of India will be able to fulfil that destiny, and I am greatly impressed by the selfless quality of the women whom I have met. And, if they are the representatives of Indian women, I assure you India has an even more glorious future than what her past has been."

Appealing to the Press, Madame Chiang said:

"The war has to be fought not only with bullets, with artillery and with aeroplanes; it has to be fought by the press. You have tremendous influence over the people. The Press in China today reflects the will of the people, the heart of the people. Not only does it reflect that, the Press is also the moulder of opinion. And, you have, therefore, a tremendous responsibility. Voice die out, but the printed word seems to live on the mind of the reader. I hope you will not take the easy way of writing the sensational, but the more fundamental and honest way of writing what you think the people should know in order to educate mass opinion. That is my message to you."

"Speaking for my husband and myself, we would have regretted it if we had not been able to see you, because we feel that you are a very vital part, a very essential part, in the India of today and in the India of tomorrow."

Asked whether there were religious differences in China, Madame Chiang said: "We have no clear-cut religious sections as in India. Religion has more or less become part of life. Politics is not coloured by religion. We are all Chinese."

We all are one.

"It has been possible to put up this gigantic struggle, because we feel it is better to die than to become slaves and to have our children become slaves. We are determined to be freed from the Japanese aggression.

"I am not paying you a compliment, but I feel a bond of sympathy and spiritual unity between your people and mine, which my stay here has intensified."

Giving her impressions about the Taj Mahal, she said : "I think it is a very beautiful building. I think it is the symbol of a spirit even more beautiful than the building itself ; because it shows that none of us really die, even if our bodies die. I think the spirit lives on and when we think of the fact that so many centuries ago there was this devotion of an emperor to his empress, it only proves what the human heart and the human mind is capable of."

Visit to Calcutta

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, accompanied by their party, left New Delhi by special train on Monday 16th February morning for Calcutta, where they arrived the following afternoon (February 17). On arrival at Howrah station, they were received by high officials of the Government of Bengal and other prominent persons. The party later drove to the Government House.

The same evening the Generalissimo granted an interview to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

Assembly's Welcome to Generalissimo

Meanwhile, a motion extending a welcome and expressing admiration for Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek was moved in the Central Assembly on Tuesday, February 17, by Mr. M. S. Aney, Leader of the House.

The motion read : "Upon the occasion of the visit to India of Their Excellencies the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang, this Assembly do place on record its high appreciation of the honour done thereby to India and its heart-felt admiration of the outstanding services rendered by the Generalissimo to China and the world in combating a power against whose aggression China and India are now happily allied."

The motion was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Aney's Speech

Commending his resolution for the unanimous acceptance of the House, Mr. Aney said :

"This resolution really needs no speech to commend it for unanimous acceptance by this House.

"It tries to embody in two short sentences the feelings of appreciation and admiration which the visit of the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang have evoked throughout this country. In this expression of appreciation the whole country has joined. Congress, the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation, Indian States and numerous other public institutions and organisations extended hearty and warm welcome to the distinguished guests to this country.

"This Assembly, which constitutionally represents the whole of British India and can therefore speak for them authoritatively, will be doing a bare duty which it owes to the country it represents in adopting the resolution moved by me.

"What is the secret of this universal demonstration of the feelings of welcome and admiration for the Generalissimo and Madame ?

"Our guests represent China, a country and a culture which is no doubt as old as India and Indian culture, if not more. The visit no doubt recalls to our mind the old ties, spiritual, religious and cultural, by which these two great nations have been bound nearly for more than two thousand years. India has the proud privilege of being the sacred land of the birth of Lord Goutam Buddha, whose religion and preachings have been mainly followed in China, and as such a country to which pious pilgrims from China have been coming to visit the various places and shrines rendered sacred and sanctified by the activities of Shri Goutam Buddha and his great disciples in later years. Ancient India, which delighted more in rendering silent service to humanity than in receding and chronicling it in pompous language in books of chronicles and histories, is found more accurately and faithfully described in the writings of some of these great talented pilgrims than in the old literature of the Hindus themselves.

"But let me assure the members of this House that the revival of memories of the olden connection, however pleasing to certain minds that take a more absorbing interest in the past than in the present, is not enough to explain the

unanimous tributes that are being paid to the Generalissimo and Madame by people of all castes, creeds and colours.

"There is certainly something outstanding in our guests which appeals to all alike, warms up their enthusiasm and evokes their appreciation and admiration. Those who are familiar with the modern history of China and the story of the establishment of the Chinese Republic by the late Sun Yat Sen and the vicissitudes through which it has gone and is still going, are certainly aware of the part played by our distinguished guests in that struggle. They can easily see the principles which both of them typify in their lives and which they stand and struggle for.

"The establishment of a Republic in China in place of the old Manchu regime is in itself an achievement of an epoch-making character. Our guests have not only made the greatest sacrifice in that noble effort, which like a magic wand or Kayakalpa enabled China to shake off her old age and act bravely and enthusiastically like a young nation, but the distinguished guests have taken on themselves the onerous duty of preserving this edifice of democracy intact against the aggressive designs of a powerful neighbour like Japan.

"Japan was one of the first culprits during the last twelve years to invade the lands of an age-old, peaceful neighbour to satisfy her ambition of building an Empire in the Far East. This act of unwarranted aggression, which resulted in the loss of Manchukuo, naturally and inevitably excited the sympathies of India and all other civilised nations that stand for democracy and the racial, territorial and cultural integrity of nations.

"The heroic struggle which the Chinese people have been carrying on almost unaided during the last five years against Japan in defence of her Republic and democracy under the unique leadership of the Generalissimo, will undoubtedly go down to posterity as one of the noblest and the most inspiring chapters in the history of the human race.

"Our guests, the Generalissimo and Madame have been untiring in their efforts to fight with their powerful adversary. There in China, as in Russia, we see how a whole nation, and not merely a mercenary army, can fight in defence of its liberties, hearths and homes in spite of all odds and handicaps. The guests have placed before us and the whole world the example of what the political leadership of a nation can really mean and achieve. They have during the last ten years turned supine China, suffering from an over-dose of opium for more than 10 centuries, into a nation of soldiers which watches sleeplessly and vigilantly the movements of a dangerous enemy and fights with a determination and strength which has excited the admiration of the whole world and to a great extent frustrated his plans of Imperial conquests.

"The German aggression in Europe and Japan's aggression on the lands in the Far East have enabled the Allied Powers to appreciate the significance of the Chinese struggle against Japan. It is really an act of great chivalry and magnanimity that China, under the leadership of our guests, has joined the Allies and pledged its word to fight the enemies to the finish and conclude no separate peace.

"The war has no doubt taken a very serious and unfavourable turn in the Far East during the past month. The news of the fall of Singapore, received by us only two days before, is no doubt a news of major defeat of the British arms. The loss of Singapore virtually renders this country exposed to enemy attacks by sea and land.

"At a time of gloom and despondency like this, when everything looks disappointing and disheartening, the example of the heroic struggle carried on by the Chinese people and their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder with India to fight Japan, and the hand of assistance held out by America, are the most important factors that send rays of hope to dispel darkness and to cheer us up and keep the flame burning.

"Roosevelt, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek are the three persons whose combination and co-operation with the United Kingdom and India will, I feel sure, save not only India and the British Commonwealth but the whole world from the great catastrophe to which it is being led and driven by the Axis powers.

Democracy and civilisation look to the Generalissimo as one of their saviours and protagonists. And the confidence which the presence of our distinguished guests has inspired in the whole of India for the ultimate success of these great principles for which the Allies stand, is the real secret of the universal tribute paid to them throughout the length and breadth of this country.

"In concluding, I will quote a line from the books of a great Sanskrit poet :—

'Great men, full of compassion for the down-trodden, sanctify the shrines themselves and places of worship by their holy and august visits to such places.'

"India, therefore, rightly feels herself honoured by the presence of the Generalissimo and Madame, who have pre-eminently dedicated their lives to the service of China and the cause of justice, righteousness and democracy, which is the common cause of the whole civilised world.

"I have, therefore, no doubt that this House will carry the resolution with unanimity and acclamation.

Meeting with Mahatma Gandhi

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek met Mahatma Gandhi, who had come to Calcutta specially for the purpose, on Wednesday, 18th. February afternoon. The meeting lasted for nearly 4½ hours. Among those present at the interview were Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Mahadev Desai.

It was understood that during the latter part of the conversation Mahatma Gandhi used his spinning-wheel for a few minutes and made a present of the yarn he had spun to the Generalissimo. He also presented a spinning-wheel to Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

Visit to Santiniketan

The following day, the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek visited Shantiniketan, centre of the famous Tagore University. A pair of silk dhotis and a chuddar for the Generalissimo and a lovely silk sari for Madame Chiang were presented on behalf of the Viswabharati at a reception held in their honour. Replying to the address of welcome presented to him, the Generalissimo said :

"Both Madame Chiang and I feel happy to visit the home of the great poet at this international seat of learning. We are grateful for the reception you have given to us. We did not see the poet in person, but we are glad to witness the spirit he had left behind in this institution he has founded. We fervently hope that the teachers and students who have gathered here will try to build up the great work, of which the foundation has already been laid by your Gurudev. Just as our Sun Yat Sen had established the spirit of universal brotherhood amongst us and raised the glory of new China, so your great preceptor has elevated the spirit of your great land and brought to it a new awakening.

"I have brought nothing from China to offer you but the warmth of my heart and the good wishes of our people. May you achieve the great work that has been left as a trust to the entire nation by the great leader of your land."

Replying separately, Madam Chiang Kai-shek said : "Today my mind flies back to thousands of students in my own country. Seeing your young faces, I remember with pride and hope the ardent spirit of New China and I also remember the terrible trial through which they are passing at this hour. Since Japan started her aggression on China, thousands and thousands of our students had to face bombs, tanks and artillery. Their homes and sanctuaries of learning were desecrated and destroyed, but as you know they walked hundreds of miles to new seats of learning provided by the Government in the interior of the country. They kept the mind of China awake and the torch of flaming patriotism burning brighter than ever.

"In this peaceful land, not suffering from Japanese militarism, it may be for you to realize what this means. I wonder also whether you realize that the principles of humanity demand a dynamic attitude towards life. Absence of hatred would be a dead and cold thing if it did not make it possible for others to perpetrate wickedness and wrong. You have a great opportunity and lead millions into freedom and equality.

"The Japanese bombed our universities thinking that they were hot-beds of resistance, and our students took the opportunity to make them real hot-beds of resistance. They carried on their work among the masses of our people. They laid the foundation of a great united China.

"Your noble founder, I believe, wanted you to prepare yourselves to become leaders. He would not remain apart from your people and be mere leader in name only, but bring revival in the generations which have to redeem your nation. I know that if our young people were aware of the possibility of my coming here, they would have sent their warm greetings of fellowship and of their sympathy for

yon. Your poet has a place in the minds of the Chinese people for their heart and has been enshrined in all time to come."

Meeting With Bengal Premier

On Friday February 20, the Bengal Premier, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, and the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, called on the Generalissimo and had over an hour's conversation with him.

The Generalissimo and Madame Chiang also met other leading Indian personalities during the rest of their stay in Calcutta.

Farewell Message To India

On the evening of Saturday, February 21, His Excellency the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek gave his farewell message to the people of India. The message was read out by Madame Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast from the Calcutta station of All India Radio. The following is the full text of the message :

"During my two weeks' stay in India, I have had the opportunity of discussing very frankly with the highest civil and military authorities, as well as with my Indian friends questions concerning joint plans against aggression and the objective of our common efforts. I am happy to find that there was full sympathy and general understanding between us. My mission is now drawing to a close. On the eve of my departure I wish to bid farewell to my friends in India and to thank you for the many kindnesses showered upon Madame and myself. The briefness of my stay has not permitted me to tell the Indian people all that I wished to say. I avail myself of this opportunity to address to them the following message. It is the expression of my high and warm regard and long cherished hopes for India, it comes from the depth of my heart.

"Since my arrival in this country I have found to my great satisfaction that there exists among the people of India unanimous determination to oppose aggression. China and India comprise one-half of the world's population. Their common frontier extends to 3,000 kilometers. In the 2,000 years' history of their intercourse, which has been of purely cultural and commercial character, there has never been an armed conflict. Indeed, nowhere else can one find so long a period of uninterrupted peace between two neighbouring countries. This is irrefutable proof that our two peoples are peace-loving by nature.

"To day they have not only identical interests but also the same destiny. For this reason they are in duty bound to side with the anti-aggression countries and fight shoulder to shoulder in order to secure real peace for the whole world.

"Moreover, our two peoples have an outstanding virtue in common, namely, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of justice and righteousness. It is this traditional spirit which should move them to self-negation for the salvation of mankind. It is also this spirit which has prompted China to be the first to take up arms against aggression and, in the present war, to ally herself unhesitatingly with the anti-aggression countries, not merely for the purpose of securing her own freedom, but also for the purpose of securing justice and freedom for all mankind.

"I venture to suggest to my brethren, the people of India, that at this most critical moment in the history of civilization our two peoples should exert themselves to the utmost in the case of freedom for all mankind, for only in a free world could the Chinese and Indian peoples obtain their freedom. Furthermore, should freedom be denied to either China or India, there could be no real peace in the world.

"The present international situation divides the world into two camps, the aggression camp and the anti-aggression camp. All those who are opposed to aggression and are striving for the freedom of their country and mankind should join the anti-aggression camp. There is no middle course and there is no time to wait for developments. Now is the crucial moment for the whole future of mankind. The issue before us does not concern the dispute of any one man or country ; nor does it concern any specific questions pending between one people and another. Any people therefore which joins the anti-aggression front may be said to co-operate, not with any particular country, but with the entire front.

"This leads us to believe that the pacific war is a turning point in the history of nationalism. The method, however, by which the peoples of the world could attain their freedom might be different from what it used to be. The anti-aggression nations now expect that in this new era the people of India should voluntarily bear their full share of responsibility in the present struggle for the survival of a free world in which India must play a part. A vast majority of

The resolution was passed with only four members dissenting. Two members from the Punjab, Sardar Faraz Singh and Gopal Singh Gauri, sought permission to move an amendment to that part of the resolution on Cripps' proposals that dealt with the point of non-accession of the provinces to the Indian union. The President held the amendment out of order. He said that the Working Committee resolution should be either accepted or rejected as a whole.

BANNED RESOLUTIONS

The Committee passed two resolutions as recommended by the Working Committee. (I) The lesson of Rangoon and lower Burma. (II) Evacuated lands and the behaviour of soldiers.

The Government of India issued the following notification banning the publication of these two resolutions by the Press:—

In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication, by any printer, publisher or editor in British India, of the whole or any portion of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on the 28th April, 1942, beginning with the words:—"The Committee has noted the recent extraordinary happenings in Burma and notably in the city of Rangoon" and ending with the words: "In particular all panic should be avoided even though those in authority give way to it".

In exercise of the powers provided by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the printing or publication by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of the whole or any part of that portion of the second Resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress adopted at Allahabad on April 28th which begins with the words "the Committee has also noted with dismay" and ends with the words "must be resisted by the people at all costs."

EVACUEES AND REFUGEES FROM MALAYA AND BURMA

The Committee passed the following resolution on 'Evacuees and Refugees from Malaya and Burma:—

The All India Congress Committee has noted with indignation the arrangements made for and the treatment accorded to evacuees and refugees from Malaya and Burma to India. The officials whose business and duty it was to protect the lives and interests of the people in their respective areas, utterly failed to discharge that responsibility and, running away from their post of duty, sought safety for themselves, leaving the vast majority of the people wholly unsecured and unprotected for. Such arrangements for evacuation as were made were meant principally for the European population and at every step racial discrimination was in evidence. Because of this and also because of the utter incompetence, callousness and selfishness of those in authority, vast numbers of Indians in Malaya and Burma have not only lost all they possessed but have also undergone unimaginable sufferings, many dying on the way from lack of the necessities of life, from disease, or from attacks from anti-social elements.

Racial discrimination was shown at the base camps in Burma where special arrangements were made for Europeans and Anglo-Burmans while Indians were left almost unsecured for; in the according of special facilities for transport and travel to the Europeans and Burmians; and in the general treatment given to Indians and non-Indians along the routes and at the various camps. In particular, this was in evidence in the scandal of a safer and more convenient route being practically reserved for non-Indians, while Indians were forced to travel by a longer, more difficult and more dangerous route.

The Committee is aware that recently some alterations have been made in these arrangements and that Indians are now being brought over by air from Myitkyina, and can also avail themselves of the safer land route in limited numbers. The treatment of the evacuees and refugees on the Indian side of the border though somewhat better now is still far from satisfactory. But from all reports the conditions at the base camps for evacuees in Burma are highly unsatisfactory and the worst sufferers there are Indians. The Committee calls upon the Government of India to make all necessary arrangements

speedy evacuation from the unoccupied zone in Burma of all Indians who wish to be so evacuated. Suitable Indians, official and non-official, the base and other evacuation camps and routes used by evacuees. The Committee trusts that non-official relief agencies will be permitted to send workers and doctors all along the Manipur route from Dimapur to Tamu and beyond to the base camp on the Burma side, as well as to Aizkhyina, which is the air base for refugees.

The problem of the evacuees and refugees from Burma is not solved by merely bringing them to India. Every effort should be made to find suitable work for them in existing establishments or on the land, or regular semi-permanent camps should be started where productive work for wages is organised.

The Committee expresses its appreciation of the fine service rendered to the evacuees by various non-official relief organisations and by their voluntary workers. The Committee calls upon the Indian public to extend all possible help to the evacuees, and particularly all employers to provide employment for as many of them as possible. The Committee also extends its warm welcome to all those Indians who have returned to the homeland in these distressing circumstances and assures them of its deep sympathy and anxious interest in their cause.

NON-VIOLENT NON-CO-OPERATION

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant moved the following main resolution of the Session. The resolution was seconded by *Shri Rajendra Prasad*:—

In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India, and the attitude of the British Government, as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All India Congress Committee has to declare at once India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown. They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger, not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an imperialist Government and refuses to recognise the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to nazism and fascism as to imperialism. If India were free she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war, though her sympathies would, in any event, have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organised on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership, and with intimate contacts with the people. A free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her. The present Indian army is in fact an offshoot of the British army and has been maintained till now mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own.

The essential difference between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast man-power of India herself is not utilised for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interests and dangerous to the cause of her freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible man-power should remain untapped, while India develops into a battleground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or on her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control. India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The A. I. C. C. is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis, as well as the exigence of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which remain in a partial measure, British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety, and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon

her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of the nation may be. In case an invasion takes place, it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has presented the organisation of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would, therefore, expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor, nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them. In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. *They desire our help only as slaves, a position which we can never accept.*

The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme, and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

AMENDMENTS MOVED

Several amendments were moved to the resolution. Most of them were, however, withdrawn before voting. The two amendments moved by Dr. Ashraf and Sajjad Zabeer were voted upon and rejected by an overwhelming majority. Only four votes were recorded in their favour.

The two amendments are as follows:—

Add in paragraph 3 after India's participation in the "imperialist phase of."

Delete in para 3 line 6 after "her own policy" the words "and might have kept out of the war though" and substitute "she would join with the people of China, U. S. S. R., America and Britain etc., to fight the menace of Fascism."

K. M. Ashraf Delete in paragraph 6 the words "expect the people of India to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation" and substitute "an all-out national resistance by every possible means."

Delete in para 6 from "such resistance..... any other way."

Sajjad Zabeer

NON-OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS

The A. I. C. C. office received notice of six non-official resolutions to be moved at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. The resolutions were arranged according to ballot.

The President received a requisition signed by fifty-one members of the A. I. C. C. requesting that special permission be given for the following resolution to be moved at the A. I. C. C.

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component state or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different states and provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

The President in view of the importance of the subject as also the number of signatures to the requisition permitted the resolution to be moved when the non-official resolution before the Committee. The President observed that the two resolutions will be voted upon separately, but the debate will be a joint one. The non-official resolution given notice of by Shri K. Santanam was as follows:—

CONGRESS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

"The All India Congress Committee notes with deep regret that the attempts

to establish a National Government for India to enable her to face the problems arising out of the present grave situation have failed and that as a result of this, Nationalist India has been placed in a dilemma. It is impossible for the people to think in terms of neutrality or passivity during an invasion by an enemy power. Neither is it practicable to organise an effective defence, independently and unco-ordinated with the defence measures of the Government. It is absolutely and urgently necessary in the best interests of the country at this hour of peril to do all that Congress can possibly do to remove every obstacle in the way of establishment of a national administration to face the present situation; and, therefore, inasmuch as the Muslim League has insisted on the recognition of the right of separation of certain areas from United India upon the ascertainment of the wishes of the people of such areas, as a condition precedent for united national action at this moment of grave national danger, the A. I. C. C. is of opinion that to sacrifice the chances of the formation of a National Government at this grave crisis for the doubtful advantage of maintaining a controversy over the unity of India is a most unwise policy and that it has become necessary to choose the lesser evil and acknowledge the Muslim League's claim for separation, should the same be persisted in when the time comes for framing a constitution for India and thereby remove all doubts and fears in this regard, and to invite the Muslim League for a constitution for the purpose of arriving at an agreement and securing the installation of a National Government to meet the present emergency."

Considering the circumstances in which the resolution came up before the A. I. C. C. the president allowed Shri Rajagopalachari to move the resolution. Shri K. Santanam seconded it. The debate on the two resolutions lasted for three hours at the end of which they were voted upon. The resolution moved by Rajagopalachari was defeated, 120 members voting against it and 15 members voting for it. The resolution given notice of by the 59 requisitionists and moved by Shri Jagat Narayan Lal was passed, 92 voting for and 17 voting against it. Giving permission for the resolution moved by Shri Jagat Narayan Lal, the President gave it as his opinion that the resolution in no way contradicted the position taken up by the Working Committee at Delhi with regard to the question of the demand for the partition of India made by the Muslim League and incorporated in the resolution dealing with Sir Stafford's draft proposals. The other non-official resolution notified by Shri K. Santanam and to be moved by Shri Rajagopalachari, which could not be taken up for consideration owing to lack of time is as follows :

FORMATION OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN MADRAS

"Whereas the Presidency of Madras has been seriously affected by the conditions resulting from the Japanese aggression and the lives of the people are subjected to growing dislocation and it is suicidal for the present and disastrous for the future, for the people's representatives to remain passive and allow the present authoritarian administration to function under such conditions as may enable the people effectively to offer resistance to the aggressor and inspire them for all the sacrifice involved in the defence of the mother-land, the All India Congress Committee authorises the Congress Legislative Party in Madras to accept responsibility of Government if invited to do so, and further advises them to invite the Muslim League to participate in such responsibility and assist in the formation of a popular Government for the province."

A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following Circulars were issued by S. J. B. Kripalan, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees :—

Circular No. 5.—February 7, 1942

Please send us the following information :

I (1) The total number of satyagrahis still in jail in your province. The satyagrahis are (2) Those who offered satyagraha and were arrested (3) Those who were approved by Gandhi but did not offer satyagraha and were arrested under some section of the D. I. R.

(2) The total number of other political prisoners in jail in your province. If possible please send us the names and other particulars of these prisoners. In what prisons are they at present? If there is any alleged reason for their non-release from any source that also may be mentioned.

II. I hope our circular No. 1 in which certain suggestions for the speedy

working of the constructive programme were made is under your active consideration. Please let us know what steps have been taken so far to implement the A. I. C. C. instructions. To enable you and us to record the progress of work from month to month you will do well to make a survey of the existing Congress organisation and the constructive work going on now in the province. You may get statistics from each district under (to suggest only a few) the following heads:—

- (1) The number and strength of Congress Committees working in each district.
- (2) Constructive centres organised by Congressmen in rural or urban areas.
- (3) Villages where there are no Congress Committees functioning or are without active Congressmen.
- (4) The number of spinners (apart from professionals).
- (5) The special difficulties that the district is experiencing in organising spinning, carding, weaving etc. Is cotton locally cultivated?
- (6) The crops sown in the district. The proportion of food crops to money crops.
- (7) The general economic condition of the people especially the peasantry.
- (8) Any special facilities in the district or part of the district for any handicraft.
- (9) The social and economic condition of Harijans. Any Harijan Congress worker in the district?
- (10) Hindu-Muslim relations.
- (11) Other minorities such as Christians, Sikhs etc.
- (12) Any volunteers untrained or otherwise in the district and their work.
- (13) The part our women-folk are taking in the various constructive activities of the Congress.

You will find that the collection of this data will enable you to carry on more effectively and systematically the work that we have undertaken to face the present emergency. Millions have to participate in this work. To secure the intelligent co-operation of the millions, our workers have to have a clearer and wider perspective than they have shown hitherto. Work carried on in a perfunctory and haphazard manner will not produce lasting results. The times that we are passing through will brook neither sloth nor inefficiency. All Congressmen have to beset themselves and accept responsibility for some definite, solid piece of work. If we all do our duty, we need have no uneasy fears as to the future. The Congress today and for that matter every Congressman is faced with a crucial choice. The organisation and its component parts have to live up to their faith and affect the future or perish.

We can, if we keep alert and vigilant, wrench strength and unity out of the dangers encompassing us today. Danger infuses fresh life and vigour in the brave. All our Congress committees have to be compact, business-like bodies and their members active Congressmen. Where necessary individuals should be put in charge of sections of work.

No changes in the Congress constitution are necessary for activating Congress-men and Congress Committees. What is needed is a change in our outlook, in our way of doing things. Those who cannot adapt themselves to the call of the time will best serve the Congress by resigning from the Committees. Let our committees consist exclusively of active Congressmen.

It is my considered view that every P. C. C. executive should invite the secretaries of allied Congress organisation in the province such as the secretaries of the Provincial branch of the A. I. S. A., and A. I. V. A., and A. I. Harijan Sangh, the A. I. Talimi Sangh etc., to their meetings. The P. C. C.'s will find the presence of those secretaries helpful in chalking out their own schemes of constructive activity. The secretaries of these organisations when invited must be considered members of the P. C. C. executive. Mahatma Sahib is in agreement with this suggestion of mine. The U. P. P. C. C. has already adopted it.

You are requested to send us the information that we have asked for in this circular and in our circular No. 1 as soon as possible.

Please send copy of this circular to all District Congress Committees.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Circular No. 6—February 28, 1942.

Inter-provincial consultation and co-ordination are necessary and helpful in normal times. They are more so during these anxious times. Various problems face us today. Each P. C. C. has got a plan of its own to meet the common problems and problems peculiar to itself. Under these circumstances it would be of advantage if select active workers from provinces could meet together, compare notes and benefit by mutual experience. This will not only give them valuable information but enable them where possible to pool their resources.

Periodical meetings of representatives of all provinces, some of them very far-thing, in one place though desirable would not be possible, especially in these days of travel difficulties. The expenses involved would also be considerable. It is,

therefore, suggested that the following Regions of contiguous provinces may be formed for inter-provincial consultation and collaboration.

- (1) Assam, Bengal, Utkal.
- (2) Bihar, United Provinces, Madhya Pradesh, Ajuer-Merwara.
- (3) Punjab, Sind, Frontier, Delhi.
- (4) Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra, Karnataka, C. P. (Madhya) Vidarbha.
- (5) Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Kerala.

It would be desirable to hold one meeting a month of each of these Regions. If that is not possible, at least one meeting in two months should be held. Each province may send anywhere from one to three representatives to the meeting of the Region. I may add that the purpose of these Regional meetings can be served only if the representatives selected are the provincial presidents, secretaries or active field workers who have a personal knowledge of the difficulties, resources and methods of work in their respective provinces.

I should like you to collaborate with the provinces in your Region to arrange the first Regional meeting as soon as possible. I or some other representative of the A. I. C. C. would like to be present to facilitate work. I would, therefore, request you to inform me as soon as possible of the dates during which it may be possible for you to settle in consultation with each other a meeting of your Region.

I suggest that the following provinces may in each of the five Regions take initiative and set the machinery of consultation in motion to the end that the first meetings may be called as soon as possible. Subsequent meetings need not be held in the same province in the Region. The meeting place may be changed from time to time.

- Region 1. Bengal.
2. United Provinces.
3. Punjab.
4. Bombay.
5. Tamil Nadu.

If any of the provinces suggested here for taking the initiative in the matter is for any reasons not in a position to do so this office may immediately be informed so that arrangements may be made with some other provinces in the Region, to do the needful.

After these first meetings have been held, it will be possible for us to work out co-ordination among the regions themselves.

Circular No. 7—March 6, 1942

You must have read Gandhiji's leading article in the last issue of Harijan dated March 1st under the caption 'Criminal Assaults' dealing with danger of women being molested by soldiers. Gandhiji has advised our sisters to be fearless and self-reliant. This advice has come none too early. When ever there is danger to women's honour the tendency in our country is to segregate them or to remove them to places of safety. This under the present circumstances is scarcely a remedy. The danger is daily increasing and very soon there may be no place of safety anywhere. If for any reasons those in authority now are unable to check soldiers from molesting women, the position will be much worse, when unfortunately there is an invasion from outside. Moreover, segregation is no remedy. It is likely to make our women more timid and helpless than they already are.

The only way, therefore, is to ask them to be brave and self-reliant. This can best be done by organising them. They may be invited to participate fully in the present programme of the Congress. Fortunately our programme is such that in working it there can be no difference between men and women. It can be carried out as efficiently by men as by women.

Congress Committees are, therefore, requested to progressively associate more and more women with their activities. This may be done by creating in the provinces, where they do not already exist, women's departments or appointing women organisers. The work of these departments and organisers will not be different from the general Congress work. It must also be carried on under the general supervision and direction of the Congress Committees; but the special charge of the Women's Department or Organisers will be to approach women, to induce them to take interest in Congress work and generally to organise them. Every Congress actively must be helped by an auxiliary force of women. They must fully participate both in the programme of national

self-sufficiency and self-protection. They must have a volunteer organisation of their own. This is the only effective way of making them fearless and self-reliant.

Every circular issued from this office must, therefore, be taken to include men and women whatever may be the expression used. Specific mention will be made if any instructions from this office are meant for men only.

Circular No. 8.—March 24, 1942

The Working Committee which met in Wardha on March 17 considered the reports of the working of the constructive programme received from provinces. The reports revealed that while the work was making steady progress in some provinces no serious beginnings were yet made in others. Constructive programmes being the only programme before Congressmen today, the strength and efficiency of our organisation will be judged by the extent to which Congress committees are able to mobilise their resources for carrying it out. A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who are guiding and controlling affairs in the provinces. Things happen or are made to happen in the country which tend to distract our attention from our task but we must be on our guard.

The programme placed by the A. I. C. C. before the country, is two-fold : (1) self-protection and (2) self-sufficiency. Fairly detailed instructions with regard to both have been issued by this office. It is now up to you to act and supplement and amplify them to meet local requirements. What is needed is not mere instructions but further and more intensive effort.

Self-protection has a double aspect : (i) protection from air raids and (ii) protection from internal disorder. Government and semi-government agencies are at work for organising protection against possible air raids. It is common knowledge that in spite of considerable expenditure government efforts lack popular appeal and support. The results achieved, therefore, bear little relation to the effort and money spent. For this and other reasons Congressmen cannot associate themselves with government-controlled bodies. But it would be folly to impede their effort unless what they do is against the A. I. C. C. instructions. The instructions that the official A. R. P. organisations broadcast to the people should be studied and such of them as are sound and reasonable should be commended to the people for adoption. These instructions may be added to by the local Congress committees according to the needs of the local situation.

The Congress has for the last two months been carrying on propaganda against fear and panic with considerable effect. Naturally the panic is greatest in areas which are in danger by sea and air. The situation in these areas has to be closely and constantly studied by local Congressmen and advice given to people. The problem of evacuation must be carefully considered. As pointed out by Gandhiji the military authorities would not like at critical times to be encumbered with the problems of such of the civil population as is not needed in a particular locality. Therefore, those whose everyday business does not require them to be in cities that are liable to attack from air and sea and those who are afraid, should leave such localities without creating confusion and panic. Before they leave they must make sure that they will not create problems for themselves and for those with whom they take refuge. There is time enough for regulated evacuation. Afterwards when actual bombing takes place, if the timid and those not wanted begin evacuation in hurry they will create problems as in other countries of which we are familiar through papers.

As to protection from internal civil disorder, we have already issued necessary instructions. The volunteer organisation that we contemplate for meeting the needs of the present situation is broad-based. Our previous volunteer organisations were subject to many rules and a fairly severe disciplinary code and were confined to Congressmen. This time we have thrown open the doors of the organisation to all our countrymen irrespective of political affiliations. The only condition being adherence to peaceful methods. Maintenance of peace and security is the chief aim of the volunteer organisation. It should not, therefore, be difficult to realise that this can be achieved only through peaceful means. No countryman of ours can have any reasonable objection to subscribing to this perfectly obvious and necessary condition. We are happy to note that the response to Congress call in this direction has been ample and spontaneous.

The drive, therefore, to enlist members of all communities and all political parties for the volunteer organisation should be further intensified. The organisation should be split up into units of ten or twenty, each in charge of a mohalla in the city or of a village or part thereof in rural areas. The units should mainly confine themselves to the service and protection of their respective localities. They should be in constant touch with the people. They should try to serve them in every way. They should help in organising mohalla meetings and otherwise carrying on the constructive programme. Their chief duty, of course, will be the maintenance of peace in the mohalla, prevention of disorder, and in the event of any disorder breaking out, protecting the people. Volunteers should be animated by community of feeling and unity of purpose. At night they should learn to watch and guard their respective localities. All this will give our people a sense of security, a common purpose and common action. It will give us and the people necessary training for co-operation and self-help.

The programme of self-sufficiency has been explained time and again by Gandhiji. Each passing day emphasises the urgency of carrying out this programme with speed and thoroughness. Conditions approaching starvation and nakedness, semi-starvation and unemployment have been the lot of many for a long time past. But the war lengthening out, many more have been thrown out of work and the earnings of many others have considerably diminished. Conditions will go on progressively deteriorating. The new taxation imposed by the central and provincial governments has added to the already great misery of the masses and hit hard the lower middle classes. Therefore, if the situation is not controlled, it will lead to all manner of highly undesirable consequences. It can be controlled only by the programme of self-sufficiency. Many items in the programme require technical ability. Happily we have organisations carrying on this work for the past many years. They are technically equipped for the tasks they have undertaken. The All India Spinners' Association and the All India Village Industries Association may be drawn upon for whatever technical advice and assistance is needed. Their co-operation and supervision should be sought. This will impose new duties and new tasks upon these organisations. The existing staff may not be able to cope with these. But if Congress Committees take up the self-sufficiency programme in earnest we have no doubt the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. would willingly do their part. We had complaints from Congressmen and Congress Committees that the A. I. S. A. is half-hearted in its response to their needs. Many of these complaints are based on ignorance. The A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches are subject to definite rules and work under serious financial and other limitations. They cannot be as swift in their response to our demands as Congressmen would wish them to be. While we are putting ourselves in touch with the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. headquarters, you will please get into touch with the provincial branches and devise a technique of mutual co-operation. I hope you have carried out the suggestion I made in one of my previous circulars that provincial secretaries of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. I. A., Harijan Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, and the Women's Department should be associated with your provincial executive. This should greatly facilitate mutual co-operation.

There is great paucity of trained workers in Khadi village industry and intelligent young men to join the institutions started by the A. I. V. I. A. and A. I. S. A. for training workers. The expenses at Wardha for a student do not exceed Rs. 15/- per month, all told. The A. I. V. I. A. secretary, Sri Kumarpappa has assured us that he will be willing to accept responsibility for the training of all those who are sent to the central institution of the association at Wardha. I have no doubt that the A. I. S. A. secretary will allow similar facilities. The expenses of course will have to be met by the P. C. C. sending out workers for training. For particulars of the training you will please correspond with the secretaries of the two associations at Wardha. Whenever there are provincial centres for training I am sure those in charge of them will welcome workers selected by the P. C. C. for receiving training. Please note the following directions for your office :
(1) Send us a detailed report of the work done in your province every month, if not every fortnight.

- (2) Send a report of your work to all provinces. Other provinces will send you theirs. This exchange of reports will keep the provinces in touch with one another and give you valuable suggestions.
- (3) Send us copies of the circulars that you issue from time to time. If the circulars are written in languages other than Hindustani or English please send us their Hindustani or English renderings.
- (4) You should appoint inspectors who will go round, see the work and submit reports.
- (5) Send copies of our circulars, unless they concern you exclusively, to district Congress committees in your province. We have complaints from some districts that they are in ignorance of the instructions that we send to the province. Please acknowledge receipt.

National Week—April 6—13

The General Secretary, A. I. C. C., issued the following appeal in connection with the 'National Week' on the 28th. March 1919:—

The National Week will be soon on us. It has been observed every year since 1919. It commences on April 6 when the nation inaugurated a non-violent mass struggle for the redress of its many and grievous wrongs and the attainment of Purna Swaraj. From this day the nation looked to itself, it looked inward. It renounced the enslaving idea of salvation achieved through the help and goodwill of outside agencies. It inaugurated the era of self-reliance and national purification through work, suffering and sacrifice. The giant rose from its agelong slumber and determined to cast off the cobweb accumulation of centuries of social superstition and economic and political slavery. It determined to cast off disease, squalor, inequity, poverty, and slavery in one vast united effort of an awakened people.

This day also witnessed the ghastly massacre of the Jallianwalla Bagh wherein Hindu, Muslim and Sikh blood mingled to cement unity in common calamity. From the blood-soaked earth of Jallianwalla Bagh, began a struggle which has been ever widening in depth and volume. The country has witnessed the rise of the masses of Indian humanity to the realisation of their inherent strength.

The National Week has always been marked by the renewal of our general determination to achieve the goal of complete independence and self-purification through the intensive carrying on of the constructive programme. In the words of the sage at Sevagram the fulfilment of this programme is the sure key to Swaraj. Let the week, therefore, witness a fresh determination by all Congress-men and Congress Committees to do their utmost to carry out the manifold items of this programme. Let this week be dedicated to the double need of the hour, the need for self-protection and self-sufficiency. It is not enough today, as in the past, to organise sales of Khadi. It is more necessary that we lay emphasis on the production of Khadi through spinning carried on in each locality and in every house. Let people in their thousands determine to learn all the processes of cloth making leading up to spinning. Let a day in the week be set apart to the sacred task of Hind-Muslim unity. Let another day be consecrated to the purge of the sin of untouchability. Let every day see the intensification of the life-giving national constructive activity. We may also not forget that the message of Swaraj through our own effort and not through outside agencies, is carried to every hamlet and home in India. Let, therefore, everyday of the week dawn with Prabhat Pharis. Let every day and with national songs, processions and mass meetings where our determination to achieve Purna Swaraj is ever renewed. In this hour of temptation and trial let us rely upon ourselves and on the guiding Deity that rules the destinies of men and nations. Thus shall we dispel the clouds of despondency that darken the Indian horizon today. Thus shall we drive away the craven fear and panic. Thus shall we assert our manhood and our right to live as free and honoured nation.

Work for Women in the Emergency Period

The women's department of the A. I. C. C. has since January last issued a series of circulars to the P. C. C.'s women's department about work by and among women. The latest circular is given here under the signature of Sm. Suchita Devi, Secretary, Women's Dept., A. I. C. C.:—

With the approach of war nearer India, new problems are arising every day. It is becoming increasingly difficult to lead normal lives and carry on normal activities. The Congress Committees have been asked to readjust their activities to new conditions. I have been approached by women from several provinces to suggest ways and means to meet the present difficulties. The greatest need of the hour is to take stock of the situation and organise. The recently published article of Mahatma in 'Harijan' on 'Criminal assault' draws our attention to a sinister side of the dangers that threaten us. We have to prepare ourselves to meet such and other emergencies with wisdom, courage and fortitude. It is not possible for individual and isolated women to do anything effective. The need of the hour, therefore, is for men and women to organise themselves and work in co-operation with each other and to help to allay panic, preserve peace and order, arrange for the safety of women and children, meet the economic situation arising out of the shortage of grain and other commodities. The following are some of the suggestions for organising women.

THE PROBLEM OF PANIC

A vast majority of them being illiterate, women are prone to believe false and fantastic rumours abroad. They are, therefore, likely to suffer from exaggerated fears. Nervous and panic-stricken women upset the whole household. They destroy its morale. Therefore, it is essential to arrange for the spread of correct information. Alarming rumours must be promptly denied. This can best be done by holding at regular intervals, mohalla meetings of women where they should be given the correct available information. Whenever necessary information may be given through hand bills and periodical bulletins.

(2) VOLUNTEER CORPS

A strong volunteer corps of women should be organised. They should be taught simple drill, first aid, the art of self-protection in an emergency etc. Much of the work of organising women can be done through this volunteer corps. It should render whatever help it can to women and children leaving the town or refugees coming in.

(3) COMMITTEES

In the case of towns there should be a central town Committee with branches in each mohalla. This committee through its branches should (a) convey to each home the day-to-day instructions of the local Congress Committee, (b) collect information regarding the difficulties of the mohalla and convey them to the Congress Committee, (c) arrange to teach spinning to the mohalla women, (d) arrange lectures on useful general information, (e) organise a short course of physical culture with special emphasis on how to ward off personal assault, (f) and out cases of assault and oppression on women, explain to the victims that such incidents are not to be kept secret under false ideas of modesty and honour, give publicity to such incidents and render help in bringing the criminals to book, be they civil or military, (g) keep in touch with men volunteer corps to be able to ask for assistance in any emergency.

(4) PROBLEM OF GRAIN SHORTAGE

Through the mohalla committee women must be given information about different substitutes when one kind of grain is running short. They must be warned against evils of individual hoarding. They should be taught the value of simple yet wholesome and nourishing meals and advised to give up wasteful habits in food.

(5) PROBLEM OF CLOTHING

The shortage of clothing which may come in the near future has to be tackled from now. Women can do a great deal in this direction. The mohalla committee should make arrangements to teach carding, spinning, silver-making. It can arrange to supply charkhas and cotton, take the yarn spun and arrange for the weaving of cloth. Unemployed local weavers are found everywhere today. These can be set up in their trade again, by means of the yarn supplied by the women's committees. It is quite possible that all these activities may be beyond the scope of a particular organisation. In that case particular items may be taken up by the different committees. It must be understood that organisation and work means strength, care should be taken to see that women's organisation work in co-operation with the other branches of the Congress organisation. In all that we do we should be ready and willing to have help from men.

Medical unit for Relief of Evacuees

President's Appeal

The Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued the following statement on the 28th, April 1942 :—

"The Government of India have accepted our offer to organise and send a full medical unit with helpers and volunteers and equipment along the Manipur Road to Sittang in Burma to give help to the evacuees and refugees coming to India. We are, therefore, taking immediate steps to organise such a unit and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chairman, Civil Protection Sub-committee, has been requested to organise it in co-operation with the non-official relief organisations. This unit will consist of 8 doctors, 8 compounders, 2 sanitary inspectors, 40 sweepers and personal attendants with medical stores and equipment. The sending of this unit will cost a considerable sum of money but the object is such that I am sure sufficient funds will be forthcoming. The need is immediate. I appeal, therefore, for donations for this medical unit and for relief work among the evacuees coming from Burma. Donations should be sent to the A. I. C. C. Office, Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, or to Messrs. Bachray & Co., Ltd, 5, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay, or to Shri Brij Mohan Birla, Treasurer, Civil Protection Sub-committee of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, Birla Park, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

The All Parties Leaders' Conference

Third Session—New Delhi—21st. & 22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

The Presidential Address

The third session of the All Parties Leaders' Conference was held at New Delhi on the 21st. February 1942 under the presidency of *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru*. Those present included Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir Mohomed Yakub, Dr. B. C. Moonje, Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir R. P. Paranjpye, Sir C. B. Mehta and members of the Central Legislature, including officials and Europeans. After *Sardar Sobha Singh*, Chairman of the Reception Committee had welcomed the delegates, *Sir Jagadish Prasad* read messages from Mr. V. D. Savarkar, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and others wishing the Conference success. *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* then delivered his presidential address in the course of which he said :—

I desire to thank you for asking me once again to preside over this session which I look upon as a continuation of the sessions of the Conferences held at Bombay in March last and at Poona four months later. Since July when we met at Poona, events have happened both inside the country and outside, the meaning and significance of which cannot be ignored by any thinking person, though I admit that their interpretations may be different in different quarters.

When this Conference met for the first time in Bombay, it did not profess to advocate any scheme of a permanent constitution for India. We recognised that that should be left over to the verdict of the country under more peaceful times and that meanwhile we should direct our energy by pressing for changes in the system of administration during the interim period so as to enable the country to do its best in support of war-efforts. All our recommendations and demands were inspired by that feeling. I have naturally followed the course of criticism with close attention. I believe I may fairly say that in India we received a very substantial measure of support from the press generally. It is true that in some quarters we were represented—or shall I say misrepresented—as the agents of the Congress or the Hindu Sabha or possibly both. I repudiated this charge at once. I do repudiate this charge and this insinuation once again. We have not sailed under false colours. We did not profess, and do not profess, to represent any of the political organisations which are occupying the stage of public affairs in India. As a collection of individuals entitled to hold and express opinion on the present situation in India and the future, we deemed it our duty at the previous Conference, and we deem it our duty at this Conference, to say what in our opinion is best

calculated to serve the immediate object in view, to save this country from those deplorable dissimilarity which has disgraced our public life during the last few years and which in my opinion is threatening the integrity and the present safety of the country as well as the fruition of its aspirations in the future. I was also glad to notice that our recommendations received a considerable measure of support in the English press and in Parliament, but I shall be untrue to myself if I were to disguise my feeling of disappointment at the inability of those in power in England to understand our point of view or to make an adequate and timely response to our recommendations and demands which have always been conceived in a spirit of true service to the country and true friendship to England.

EXPANSION OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

There was tardy and partial recognition of our demands. Between April and July last year we knew nothing as to whether any part of our demands was going to be accepted. It was shortly before we met at Poona that the announcement was made that eight Indian members would be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council. I am free to confess—and I said so then—that the selection was excellent, and I do not see any reason why we should condemn these good men and true, merely because they do not happen to belong to the two major political parties. Our demand has been that during the period of the war the Executive Government shall be responsible to the Crown, that is to say, not removable by an adverse vote of the Legislature. Technically it may be open to the objection that the National Government have always weighed with me, namely (1) that these are war times when normal constitutional ideas have got to be adjusted to the urgent needs of the occasion, and (2) that we do not want it to be said that in the guise of establishing National Government, we have sought to concentrate all political power in the hands of any particular community or set of politicians. The Crown as a de facto institution unidentified with any political party or section of the community, can be, at a juncture like this, a great unifying force, and we can wait until more propitious times before seeking to allocate power into different hands. Meanwhile, without being legally responsible to the Legislature, the National Government can, in actual practice, hold itself morally responsible to the country at large. For all these reasons, I think that these eight gentlemen who joined the Executive Council deserved every support even though the Executive Council still falls far short of our conception of a National Government.

And here let me express to you my own regret and sorrow—and I am sure I am expressing the collective sense of this gathering—at the death of my revered friend, the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari. He was with me at Allahabad on the 22nd of December last and met a large number of Hindus and Muslims at my house. I had also a long private talk with him, and I can tell you that I was deeply impressed by his earnestness and anxiety to do something to bring about peace between the different communities and different parties. In his death we have lost a wise and sage counsellor. He was a true servant of India—not Muslim India or Hindu India but India as a whole—a man of great and varied culture and toleration, and altogether a person of great moral influence, and we mourn his death very sincerely. His name will be associated for ever with his great achievements in the premier state of Hyderabad. It unkind Fate had not taken him away from the scene of his earthly labours, I have no doubt that he would have rendered enduring services to the Motherland at this juncture.

Speaking for myself, I think it would not be fair on our part to dismiss men like Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Mr. Aney, Sir Homi Mody, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, Mr. N. R. Sarker, and Sir Feroze Khan Noon as men who have had no experience or who do not know what the country wants and what is best suited to the interests of the country. None of them can be described as a job hunter. Some of them, to my knowledge, have joined the Executive Council at great personal sacrifice and only out of a sheer sense of duty to the country. And I am sure that if others belonging to the major political parties had been ready to take upon their shoulders the responsibility which have fallen on theirs, they would have been only too glad. It is for this reason that in the special circumstances existing at present, we should do everything to strengthen their hands, and to treat them, not in any technical constitutional sense, but in a larger sense, as if they were our representatives, the custodians of our welfare and our honour, and the exponents of our aspirations and ambitions. I have been told that

each other or indulging in dreams of world federation or at least a federation of Asiatic powers or building up other castles in the air. I am bound to say that I have never in my forty-five years of experience seen the average Indian being more critical of Government than at present. This may hurt the pride of the Government or the officials, but I think they will serve India and England at this juncture who, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, delude themselves into a false sense of security or overstate their powers to ride the storm or tell the British that it is only the disaffected politicians of one party or another, who are withholding their co-operation or are critical of the Government. I wish my friends in England to know—and I have many friends in England who, I am sure, will not misunderstand me—that England must lose no time in taking a bold and courageous step as much in her interests as in the interests of India. To put it shortly, my conviction is that the time has come when the British Government must recognise that in so far as political power is concerned, the centre of political gravity should not be Whitehall any longer but Delhi.

WHITEHALL REGAINS MUST END

This is not an occasion for indulging in constitutional quibbling, or to use the words of Lord Hailey, for manoeuvring over punitions. I had at one time the honour and privilege of being associated with Lord Hailey in the Government of India, and I can say with knowledge that if ever there was a man in the Indian Civil Service who, with all his faults and shortcomings, had a touch of statesman-ship in him, it was Sir Malcolm (now Lord) Hailey. And his recent speech in the House of Lords has once again confirmed my belief. I had also the privilege of knowing Lord Catto and coming into touch with him when he was a Member of the Luncheon Committee. Even at that time he struck me as a man of very broad views, and I can say that the two speeches which seemed to me to have some idea of the situation in India and of the needs of the country, were the speeches of these two noble Lords. I should not be surprised if they were repudiated by those who affect to know the Indian situation more directly and more immediately. It is, however, in the spirit of these two speeches that I would like the Indian question to be approached immediately, and if it is approached in that spirit and if Delhi can come into its own as against Whitehall, I believe we may look forward to the future with greater confidence. I confess I have never been fond of Whitehall. At the Round Table Conference I described the Secretary of State for India as the Great Moghul. The Great Moghul of Whitehall at that time was Mr. (now Lord) Benn. There is another Great Moghul now in Whitehall—and Indian history proves that we have got to make distinctions between one Moghul and another Great Moghul. In the twentieth century, however, any Great Moghul, living six thousand miles away from us, is an anachronism. It is therefore that I earnestly press that the big constitutional question should not oppress the mind of any one at the present moment and that the immediate situation should be dealt with bravely, courageously and in a spirit of confidence—and this can only be done by an act of self-abdication on the part of the Great Moghul at Whitehall. It will not do for anybody in England to tell us that political power now is concentrated in the hands of men in authority at Delhi. Local administration and authority may be exercised by them, but at every step we see the benumbing hand of Whitehall.

CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN THE PROVINCES

If this is the position at the Centre, what about the Provinces? We have some of the countries in Europe—being administered by Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act. The fact that Congress Ministers had no justification to throw up their offices can be no justification for the prolonged continuation of the rule of these Provinces autocratically by Governors under Section 93. We may assume Governors mean well and are doing the best according to their lights to meet the day-to-day situation, but they are greatly mistaken if they think that their rule is widely or generally appreciated or that their lights are not sometimes dim. We saw something of that dimness at Bhangpur. I believe the time has come when constitutional form of government in the Provinces should be restored. Speaking for myself, I hold very strongly that in the interests of the Provinces themselves, people should be asked to accept coalition Ministries during the period of the war. I would make an

earnest appeal to our legislators who are theoretically still *in esse* to accept the system with all its faults and shortcomings as a temporary expedient necessitated by war conditions. And I would also make an earnest appeal to them and to their leaders to rise superior to petty communal or party or personal jealousies, not to bargain at this juncture for the quantity of representation of each community or party, not to place their own community or party above the country, to remember that they are Indians first and everything else next, and that India is as much the home and concern of one party or community as of the other. It almost looks ridiculous that we should be talking of permanent constitutional issues—Dominion Status or Independence or Pakistan—or representation of this community or that community in the legislatures and cabinets, when the enemy is knocking at our doors. The significance of Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon should not be lost upon us, and the stern voices of those who broadcast to us from enemy countries, sometimes abusing some of us, sometimes encouraging all of us with hopes of freedom and independence, ought not to delude us. The undivided tale of Europe—of France, Poland, Belgium, Denmark, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, countries which were independent until a year and a half ago—should be a warning to us. On the other hand, the courage and the power of resistance shown by China whose honours and inspiring head has just been in our midst and whom, in common with others, we welcome, ought to inspire us with hope. Speaking for myself, I can tell you that while I do want freedom for this country and a position of honourable equality in international affairs, I do not think we need dissipate our energies in talking of the revolution that is to come or of the world federation and so forth, as if it were round the corner. However much we may blame the British for this thing or that, for their shortcomings, for their want of pre-vision in starting heavy industries in good time, in building up the military strength of the country according to modern standards, in training our young men before the war for eventualities which have overtaken us, and however much we may blame each other for our own shortcomings, the hour has struck when we should recognise that regrets for the past and mutual recriminations will carry us nowhere. We are not at the present moment concerned with the past; we are at the present moment concerned, and ought to be concerned with the immediate present. My advice, therefore, is that we must coalesce together—and if we cannot compose our differences for ever, we must at least call a truce. It may be that the common enemy of us all may be the common inspirer of common effort between Indian and Indian and between Indians and Englishmen. Let England see things clearly and let India also see things clearly. Let England touch our pride and let India rise equal to the occasion.

PREMIER'S REPLY TO LEADERS' APPEAL

At the conclusion of his written speech, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru read out Mr. Churchill's reply to his appeal and said :

" I recognise the courtesy of the Prime Minister in sending this reply. I also recognise the force of the observations that during the stirring times through which we have been passing since I sent my cable, probably he required sometime before he could make up his mind to devote his attention to the Indian question. I also think that it would be disconcerting to prejudice his final conclusions on the other matters which I raised in the telegram which, along with my colleagues, I sent to him early in January last. He has said that he would let me have a reply later on. But I desire to make just a few observations. The situation as it has developed during the last two months is so urgent that a long delay in coming to final conclusions will be disastrous in my humble judgment to the interests of this country as well as England. Frankly, we have been pressing most of these ideas at this conference since March last and although I should be the last person to advocate precipitate action, yet the urgency of the occasion requires that there should be no unnecessary delay. In March 1941 when we met at Bombay, the Japanese aggression towards the east was at best a matter of speculation. To-day, you have the fact that the Japanese have overrun Malaya and Singapore and are threatening Burma very seriously, and God only knows what will happen to the whole coastline from Chittagong to Travancore and Cochin. It is for this reason that we have urged and do urge now that some definite steps should be taken by His Majesty's Government to

put heart and courage into the people of the country, so that if the war has to be conducted as the people's war, it should be conducted on those lines and a people's war cannot be conducted with an immobile bureaucracy at the top.

HOME MEMBERS' REMARKS CONDEMNED

"Since my arrival this morning, a friend of mine handed over to me a copy of the speech of Sir Reginald Maxwell in the Assembly. I wondered whether he is in the true line of descent of Home Members represented by men like Sir William Vincent. He waxed eloquent in the Assembly about the dangers of 'fifth columnists' and defeatists. Let him know that he is after all a bird of passage in this country (cheers). This is our country. We have got to live here; we have got to die here; our interests are far more vital than those of Sir Reginald Maxwell (renewed cheers). I am not a defeatist; but I should like to put the last ounce of energy resisting the foreign aggressor, whether Japan or Germany. I wonder Sir Reginald Maxwell ever thought that with a speech like the one he delivered he would serve the interests of our country or the enemy by encouraging the enemy to believe that India is seething with disaffection and ready to fall a prey to the enemy.

"Frankly, speeches like this do not serve any useful purpose at this juncture. I have said with regard to the Duke of Devonshire's speech that he had better practise the virtue of silence. May I ask this honourable member of the Government of India, this relic of ancient times unsuited to the present conditions, to change his point of view, to adjust himself to present conditions, to come out in the midst of the people. I say as a confirmed supporter of the British connection: Do not divide India into two or more watertight compartments, official and non-official. We meet at homes, at dinners, we talk small things; but we never get near to the rock bottom of things. Frankly, speeches like this are my despair. The Government of India may feel proud. I certainly do not. I only hope and trust that the Indian representative in the Government of India, will not take that speech lightly (cheers).

"Sir Reginald has asked us to look upon this Government as our own Government, but speeches like this do not justify us in hoping that this so-called Government deserves our confidence and it is for this that we have asked for a countryman of his, Sir Stafford Cripps put forward views which we have been putting forward and what would have been his fate if he had been in India instead of in England. He might have found himself in an internment camp (renewed cheers).

PLEA FOR ABOLITION OF INDIA OFFICE

"The next thing to which I shall refer is the changes brought about by Mr. Churchill in the Cabinet. During the last ten years I have been a severe critic of Mr. Churchill's Indian policy; but at the same time with all his faults and shortcomings, with all his failures, I have admired him as very few people have admired him, and I admire him for the courage he has shown on this occasion. I should have been sorry indeed if he had been thrown out of harness. He has done the wise thing in including Sir Stafford Cripps in the Cabinet. But do not overrate the influence of Sir Stafford Cripps. As against him there may be half a dozen men in England who may still be thinking in terms of the times beyond recall. I also hope that there will be substantial changes in the India Office (applause). It stands discredited. I do not think since 1858 when the Office was created, any other Secretary of State has done greater harm to India than Mr. Amery has done (cheers). He has practically destroyed our faith in the good intentions of England. Instead of bringing peace and harmony in the country, and while professing love for the minorities—and there is no greater friend of the minorities than myself—he has done everything he can to keep them apart. Therefore, I sincerely hope and trust that the advice given even by the Conservative paper, *The Daily Mail*, will be accepted by Mr. Churchill and a new spirit introduced in the India Office. Frankly, there is no need for the India Office to exist.

SECOND DAY—NEW DELHI—22nd. FEBRUARY 1942

Proceedings & Resolutions

POPULAR GOVERNMENTS IN PROVINCES

When the Conference resumed its session on the second day, the 22nd. February 1942, Sir Maharaj Singh moved a resolution expressing the opinion "that in the

Provinces the rule of Governors under Section 93 of the Government of India Act should forthwith cease and that popular Governments enjoying public confidence should be established."

Sir Mahatma Singh, after recalling his days at school in England with both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Amery, said that Mr. Amery had not risen so far as India was concerned to the high expectations raised by his school days. Sir Mahatma Singh commented on the present condition in seven provinces, where, he said, they had gone back to the year 1860 from the constitutional point of view and where some sixty or seventy crores of rupees were being spent without any popular control. The present rule in these provinces was coming to an end in October, 1942, and after that, it would have to be continued by parliamentary legislation or some change would have to be introduced. "We ask that a change should be introduced now." "Any reform," he went on, "is better than no change. We recommend Executive Councils in the provinces, not as an alternative in which we had great confidence but because we felt it was better than nothing and the Executive Councils which we had in mind were not Executive Councils of the old days but those in which a majority of the members had, subject to certain exceptions, full power over Government as is the case with the Executive Councils in the Government of India." He appealed to the Congress, even implored them, to restore parliamentary government; they could do so in those provinces. "Where there is a will there is a way, if not, necessarily often finds a way," he concluded.

Sir Jagdish Prasad asked how many Provincial Governors now regretted the disappearance of parliamentary government and had any government made an authoritative declaration that they would be glad to have popular Ministers back again. All that had been said was that until certain parties came to terms it was impossible to have National Government, the assumption being that while you could not force democracy down the throats of certain section of the people, autonomy could be forced down the throat of all sections.

Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna declared that the resolution raised not a peace-time issue but a war-time issue.

Sir R. P. Paranjpye pointed out that when people like him who had not always seen eye to eye with the Congress Government were coming forward to advocate responsible governments in the provinces, it was clear they were doing so not with any selfish motive but because they were democratically minded and sincerely desired that democratic government should be established as early as possible. (Hear, hear). The resolution was adopted.

DEMAND FOR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The main resolution was moved by the *Rt. Hon. Mr. M. R. Jayakar*. It expressed "profound dissatisfaction" that all real power in the Central Government is still concentrated in British hands inasmuch as the key portfolios of Defence, Finance, Home and Communications continue to be withheld from Indians, the resolution called for abandonment at this critical stage of the existing policy of the British Government and urged the immediate adoption of the following measures by His Majesty's Government:

"1. A declaration that India shall no longer be treated as a dependency to be ruled from Whitehall and that henceforth her constitutional position and powers will be identical with those of the other self-governing units of the British Commonwealth.

"2. During the period of the war the Governor-General's Executive Council shall be reconstituted as a truly National Government functioning on the basis of joint and collective responsibility and consisting entirely of non-officials enjoying public confidence and in charge of all portfolios subject to responsibility to the Crown, and in regard to defence without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief as the executive head of the defence forces.

"3. The British Government should recognise the right of India to direct representation through persons chosen by the National Government in Allied War Councils wherever established and at the peace conference.

"4. The National Government should be consulted in all matters precisely on the same footing and to the same extent as His Majesty's Government consult the Dominions."

MR. JAYAKAR'S SPEECH

Mr. Jayakar commented caustically on the circumstance that a man of the status of Mr. Amery, who for 25 years had been working alongside Lokmanya Tilak,

was given charge of "Indians Overseas" as if other departments could not be administered by him or by other Indians. Referring to the Duke of Devonshire's claim that there was no impediment in India to the war effort, Mr. Jayakar narrated the Mahabharat story of the choices which Arjuna and Duryodhana made when the support of his armed men, Arjuna chose Krishna's own individual moral support and Duryodhana the support of his armed men. And Arjuna won. "I hope," said Mr. Jayakar, "that history will not repeat itself. The moral support of this country, if obtained, will be a greater support than the support of hired soldiers and money. What could be greater than the moral support of a country like India which for centuries has put its whole faith in non-violence?"

Regarding General Chiang Kai-shek's visit, Mr. Jayakar referred to the belief in India that to see a great man was itself an inspiration and quoted an Englishman who had watched the generalissimo from a distance at the ceremonial parade in Delhi. That Englishman had told him, said Mr. Jayakar, that the generalissimo looked on with a sardonic smile as he watched the few tanks that passed before him. What he thought to himself nobody would know. Looking at the austere face of the Generalissimo mellowed by human sympathy, said the Englishman, he felt that if he was in his presence for three years, he would follow him to the ends of the testimony of a young Englishman.

General Chiang Kai-shek's own words, Mr. Jayakar proceeded, contained a note of admiration of the Indian Government, when he said that the united people of China were fighting this great fight for freedom and millions of Chinese had risen to heights of philosophy and patriotism, courage and endurance, sacrifice and resignation. Was the Government of India's policy likely to create any of these qualities in the Indian fighter, asked Mr. Jayakar.

For 150 years the Government had been telling the people of the country that they need not worry about the country's defences, the British Government was there to look after it. What was the position now? In a small place like Singapore, which had been declared once to be immune to all attack, they made the confession that there was no food, no water and no munitions. What guarantee did the Government give to the people? asked Mr. Jayakar, that these "three no's" would not be repeated in this country? "This Government," he declared, "has proved itself absolutely incompetent to conduct the war without the co-operation of the people. We want to tell this Government: 'Move aside. We shall take charge of the conduct of the war, before it is too late.'" Mr. Jayakar went on to recall that Lord Bryce, after seeing India under official leading strings, said while leaving the country that he "smelt of gunpowder every where." A similar admonition was contained in General Chiang Kai-shek's farewell message in which he said he hoped that the British Government without waiting for demands from the Indian people would forthwith grant them real power. The General must have seen, commented Mr. Jayakar, that what had been given was only the semblance of power. The General wanted this real power to be given in order that Indians might develop their spiritual and temporal resources more and more. The General also declared that there was no possibility of world peace unless freedom was given to China and India. That again was an admonition and a warning to the British Government. "I do not know," said Mr. Jayakar, "whether the stories of misgiving him the reception which a free India would have given.

Sir B. P. Singh Roy, supporting Mr. Jayakar's resolution, said that they wanted attainment of Dominion Status through evolutionary processes as it had been done in the dominions. This was no novel proposal. Let them begin with a convention and after the war, let the convention be incorporated in the constitution. All were agreed that transfer of power to representatives of the people would alone rouse popular enthusiasm for participation in war. He concluded that the unitary form of Government in the centre should take the place of the present diarchic system of Government.

Sir Jogendra Singh complained that nothing had been done to awaken the patriotic fervour of Indians. He added that unless people were made to feel it was their war there would not be sufficient response.

Mr. Jaganadas Mehta held that the August Declaration was hedged in with impossible conditions that would indefinitely postpone India's self-government. Putting up all sorts of excuses to repudiate India's rights. He appealed to Britishers, he declared, had created vested interests to sustain which they were to make a gesture which would heal the wounded feeling of Indians.

regards the exact form of the constitution. Already communism has played havoc with us. I do not think it can be exorcised until England declares a self-governing country. I, therefore, think it is the essence of the situation that Mr. Churchill should make up his mind at an early date. If Mr. Churchill should fail, then woe betide India and England. Mr. Churchill alone can answer clearly, bravely and courageously the call of statesmanship.

The situation is fraught with great danger. It will be wrong on my part to ask for details of the Government's strategy and details of the steps they are taking but we do not want the fate which overtook Malaya to overtake India. The situation is serious. I pay a tribute to Mr. Arthur Moore for the bold stand he has taken up. I wish there were half a dozen Moores and half a dozen Governments on the efficiency of A. R. P. organisations and Civic Guards. I want these organisations to be brought more and more under non-official control. I feel strongly because the very life of our children and women is involved. We are very vividly conscious of the dangers and we, therefore, ask that all organisations for the defence of the country must be brought under popular control.

I earnestly appeal to all leaders of big national parties. This is not the occasion when any one can stand on personal prestige. The time has come when they should meet together and stand up against the foul enemy and prevent them from soiling sacred India. If they come to a working arrangement among themselves, they will have earned the lasting gratitude of the country. It serves no useful purpose to raise the history of communal questions. We must rigorously suppress communal feeling and work for India as a whole. Let all realise they are equally children of India. Let them save the country. In this calamity we shall have to stand or sink together. The occasion demands we must cease to think in terms of communalism. I pray my appeal will not go in vain. It would do you no dishonour if you bend before your countrymen. You have been bending before others. For once learn to bend before your countrymen. When we shall have passed the ordeal of fire, we shall then be able to solve our differences".

The C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference

FIRST SESSION—NAGPUR—7th, FEBRUARY 1942

The Presidential Address

"The first session of the C. P. Non-Party Leaders' Conference was held at Nagpur on the 7th, February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. J. J. Kedar, Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University. Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas Member of the Government of India was present. Sir S. Radhakrishnan also addressed the Conference which was attended by representatives from all over the province.

Condemning the "deliberate policy of repression" followed by the British Government regarding the defence of India, Mr. J. J. Kedar said that injury to India from British occupation had been most grievous in the matter of Defence, and added that notwithstanding persistent urgings of Indian statesmen, the British Government had refused to give adequate opportunities to Indians to be trained in all arms and rise to the highest posts of Command. The cup of Indian humiliation had been filled to the brim by the importation of Australian officers to command Indian troops. Australia excluded Indians as undesirable. But Australian officers might soon be not available, because Australia was recalling her troops from overseas and officers for the Indian Army might perhaps be brought from South Africa or South America.

Referring to Mr. Amery's repeated utterances that Britain was willing to concede self-government the moment there was an agreement between the major elements in India, Mr. Kedar said: "We refuse to accept the *bona fides* of Britain in this respect. Britain has not professed that internal dissensions stood by way of Burma's political advance. Nevertheless, England refused Burma's plea for self-government. The conclusion is inescapable that England is making communal divisions in India as a pretext for refusal to part with power, and give up her exploitations of India." The Duke of Devonshire's utterance in the Lords, Mr. Kedar said, was positively mischievous, and it was nothing short of instigating recalcitrant minorities to greater intransigence. The British Government, Mr. Kedar urged, should forthwith declare that India was no longer a dependency of England and British

Domination but was equal in status and functions, that India would have equal representation in all Imperial and International Councils and that her representatives would be selected by the National Government of India and take instructions from that Government only.

Concluding, Mr. Kedar said: "At the very moment that Indians are being invited to defend the Empire and the democracies of the world, the White races flout their arrogant claim to a privileged status, on the sole ground of colour. The colour bar is bad enough at all times; it is wicked in war time. It undermines the hesitant loyalty of the coloured races in the British Empire and makes them prone to listen to Japanese propaganda for emancipation of the coloured races from White domination, and to the cry of 'Asia for Asiatics.' Dependent and discontented India is a liability; a free and friendly India will be an asset—an incomparable asset to England. I venture to suggest that, if England will even at this stage do the right thing and act according to our recommendations, there are good days ahead both for India and England and the future of democracies will be assured". Mr. Kedar held that the Conference was a non-party one and their only concern was to suggest ways and means by which the political progress and integrity of India might be secured and the present dangers of external invasion and internal commotion might be effectively met. They had met to support the recommendation of the Sapru Conference. Referring to Provincial Autonomy, Mr. Kedar said that the fact that Mr. Sarat Bose, who in the Bengal Premier had selected as Minister, was imprisoned and removed from Calcutta under the orders of the Central Government without the knowledge and consent of the Bengal Premier, who was responsible for Law and Order in the province, was enough to prove that Provincial Autonomy had considerably been attenuated if not abolished. Provincial Autonomy at its highest was never adequate or genuine. To-day it had practically ceased to be.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN'S SPEECH

Sir S. Radhakrishnan said that the Indian National Congress had expressed its sympathy with Britain, Russia, America and China, and it was no more pledged to the creed of non-violence. Yet, there was not nation-wide enthusiasm and effort for this war. The Congress was demanding that if this struggle was to be an inspired struggle, it was essential for the British to put their professions into practice and let India feel that the war was being waged not for vague terms like international democracy or freedom of nations, but for the freedom and independence of India as well. Only that feeling could rouse the enthusiasm of the Indian people.

Referring to the British Government's insistence that a Hindu-Muslim agreement must first be reached, Sir S. Radhakrishnan admitted that the people of India were to blame, but asked if the British had been helpful in enabling the people to solve this problem. He recalled the past history of India and the steps taken by the Government to keep the communities apart. The existence of Coalition Governments in the Muslim majority Provinces was evidence that sufficient understanding existed between the communities, and if the Government were sincere, they could proceed on that assumption. If the British Government were harping on the differences between the communities, the world could not help feeling that the war was being fought for maintaining the makeshift structure called the British Empire.

Concluding, he said: "No nation has the right to oppress or conquer or even prosper by play of force. Every nation, weak or strong, must be granted freedom. It is therefore essential in the interest of world peace and the British Empire to grant the minimum demands of India."

RESOLUTIONS

The Subjects Committee of the Conference passed five resolutions. One demanded that the Government of India should immediately be nationalised and all portfolios including Defence, Finance and Communications be transferred to Indians who command the confidence of the country, though technically responsible to the Crown during the war.

Another resolution related to the international status of India, and the third urged abandonment of racial discrimination.

One resolution relating to the Provinces urged that Adviser Regines must be ended, and popular governments should be brought in falling which at least non-official Executive Councils should be appointed.

The All India Muslim League

WORKING COMMITTEE—DELHI—21st, FEBRUARY 1942

Resolutions

Meetings of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League were held at Delhi on Saturday and Sunday respectively, the 21st, and 22nd, February 1942. Fifteen out of 23 members of the W. C. attended the first meeting, with Mr. Jinnah presiding. Three resolutions were passed.

DANGER OF WAR TO INDIA

By one resolution the Working Committee drew the attention of the Muslims of India in general and of provincial and other League branches throughout the country in particular "to the growing danger of war to India and the sufferings which people may have to go through under such conditions," and called upon them to be vigilant and ready to face any dangers if and when they come, with equanimity, courage and fortitude. The Working Committee had full confidence that, in the event of grave developments or emergency, the Muslims would stand united and extend all assistance to the suffering and helpless and called upon the provincial Leagues to strengthen the Muslim National Guard organisation so that it might be able to render effective assistance in maintaining peace, tranquillity and order in the country and help the suffering humanity.

SUFFERINGS OF MUSLIMS IN FAR EAST

By the second resolution the Working Committee expressed its deep sympathy with the sufferings of the Muslims and other Indians in Malaya, Singapore and other places in the Far East, and called upon Muslims all over India to do all they could to give relief to evacuees and to those who were at present stranded in the various parts of India. The Committee further required the British Government to help them in every possible way.

SARV CONFERENCE DEMAND

The third resolution ran thus:—"The Working Committee have carefully considered the proposals formulated by the so-called Non-Party Conference over by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and are definitely of the opinion that if the British Government are misled into accepting them, Muslim India will without doubt revolt against any such decision, for these proposals clearly mean the virtual transfer of all power and authority to the Central Government to be set up as indicated in these proposals on the basis of India being a single national unit and enjoying Dominion Status in action, thereby establishing Congress or Hindu Raj for all practical purposes. Muslim India will never accept such a position which is sought to be secured by Hindu leaders, who are virtually hand in glove with the Congress and other allied Hindu organisations in the country, under the guise of interim changes during the period of the war but in reality the object behind is to coerce the British Government at this critical moment to surrender and compel them to prejudice and torpedo the Pakistan demand of Muslim India. This will be a clear breach of pledges given by His Majesty's Government and recently reaffirmed by the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, in his speech at Leeds on February 4, in the following words: 'We shall stand by pledges, both by our general pledges as to India's future freedom, and also by our pledge to the different main elements in India's national life, that they shall not be coerced under a system of government which they are not prepared to accept.'"

"The Working Committee deplore the method adopted by the Non-Party Conference and its President, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in levelling an attack against Mr. Amery who, as spokesman of His Majesty's Government, has refused to resile from the solemn pledges given to Muslims. The Working Committee trust that the British Government, in spite of present difficult war situation, will not submit to coercive methods adopted by Hindu India and will remain true to their pledges."

COUNCIL MEETING—DELHI—22nd, FEBRUARY 1942

The resolutions were confirmed by the Council of the League which met on the next day, the 22nd February 1942.

At the outset, *Maulana Zafar Ali* sought the permission of the Chair to move the adjournment of the House to discuss a definite matter of public interest, namely, the critical situation created in the Punjab by the regrettable attitude of the Unionist Muslim League in regard to the promotion of the General Sales Act, affecting as it adversely does the commercial interests of the Muslims of the Punjab, who are deeply resenting the measure and are being sent to jails along with thousands of traders of other communities."

The chair ruled out the motion. *Mr. Jinnah* said that the *Maulana* had sufficient time to give notice of a regular resolution on the subject or in the alternative, bring the matter to the notice of the Working Committee.

The Council re-elected *Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah* as president of the League for the year, his being the only name recommended by all the Provincial Muslim Leagues. The announcement of his re-election was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers.

CIVIL DEFENCE WORK

The Council confirmed resolutions, passed by the Working Committee of the League at its meetings held on November 16, December 26 and 27 and February 21. There was some discussion in regard to the resolution relating to emergency work it was were to spread to India. Sir *Kamini Khan* wanted the League to give a lead whether the Muslims should co-operate with other organisations in the civil defence work.

Mr. Jinnah said that the League had never declared that it would non-co-operate with any organisation. The resolution had left the matter to the discretion of the Provincial Leagues, who, in the interests of humanity, would carve out the best policy suited to the local needs.

Maulana Zafar Ali said that the Congress had already started work in connection with civil defence and the League should do likewise. He urged that the Provincial Governments should be asked not to interfere with the Muslim National Guard organisations.

Mr. Jinnah : It is for the leaders of the Provincial Muslim Leagues to make preparations to face all dangers, which are not at our door.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan : A conference of the President and Secretaries of all the Provincial Leagues is being held here to-morrow afternoon, when this question will be carefully considered and a proper plan would be chalked out.

MR. FAZLUL HUG CONDEMNED

The Council adopted three non-official resolutions. One resolution strongly condemned *Mr. Fazlul Hug* for "becoming a mere puppet in the hands of the Hindu Mahasabha and adopting a policy of ruthless repression against the workers of the Muslim League which is the only popular representative organisation of the Muslims of India and also against the Muslim students of Bengal, who have undergone great suffering in the Muslim cause." The Council expressed "its sympathy with the Muslim League workers and the Muslim students of Bengal, who have thus served the best interests of the Muslim India."

SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM KAZAKS

The second resolution expressed great concern and sympathy with the Muslim Kazaks "who have come into India from Soviet Russia and the great hardships and privations they have suffered owing to lack of food, shelter and sympathy. This Council requests the Government of India to make proper arrangements and provision for the welfare of these Kazaks and find ways and means to allow them to settle peacefully in some part of north west India."

During discussion it was disclosed that the Government of India had sanctioned a grant of Rs. 3 lakhs for the relief of Kazaks and had also decided to permit them to settle temporarily in Hazara district of North-West Frontier Province. *Mr. Jinnah* told the Council that the question had been carefully examined by the Working Committee yesterday and they had decided to depute *Sardar Aurenzeb Khan* to make personal enquiries and submit a report on Kazaks. He suggested that *Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan* could be associated with the enquiry.

Mr. Jinnah also sought to disabuse Muslims of the idea that the League had large funds. He said that their only income amounted to about Rs. 14,000 a year, solely derived from gate money and membership subscriptions. In spite of these handicaps, they were doing their best to serve the Muslims. He assured the Council that he and the Working Committee would not rest till proper

arrangements for the Kazaks had been made. Mr. Jinnah's suggestion was approved by the Council. Lastly, the Council, while appreciating the action of the Government of India in releasing Allama Ishaq Khan, placed upon his movements outside Madras and urged upon the Government the need for immediate removal of those restrictions.

LEAGUE AND MINISTRIES

The Council rejected a resolution, appreciating "the exemplary sense of discipline" shown by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Sir Saadullah Khan in resigning from the National Defence Council.

During discussion, Mr. Jinnah made a statement. He said that it was wrong to describe the Punjab Ministry as a League Ministry. In Bengal, he said the Legislative Assembly consisted of 250 members of which 125 were Muslims. Similarly in the Punjab, Muslims were in a minority in the Legislature. In Sind Muslims had a majority of 10 but that majority could be reduced to minority whenever seven Muslims joined the non-Muslim majority, as had been done at present. It was true that in the North West Frontier Province Muslims had a clear majority, but the League did not function at the time of the last elections. He was confident that the League will have a majority after the next elections. Mr. Jinnah said that under the existing constitution, which was an *ex-parte* constitution, as far as the League was concerned, the League in the nature of things could not form a Ministry and it was wrong to say that there was a League Ministry in any province, or the League was not representative of Muslims because it could not form a Ministry in any province.

The resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

REFERENCE OF HOLY PROPHET IN TEXT BOOKS

A resolution relating to references to the Holy Prophet and other Muslim saints in the basic school text-books evoked some discussion. It was pointed out that unreviewed language was used in regard to the Prophet of Islam in some of the United Provinces schools. Mr. Jinnah felt that the matter, although very important, was the primary concern of the Provincial Muslim Leagues. They had similar difficulty in Bombay and after the Congress Government had gone out of office, the objectionable textbooks were withdrawn by the Government. The best remedy would be to have committees to scrutinise all text-books for denominational schools so that nothing was included in the books by which the religious sentiments of any community were injured. He suggested that the Provincial Muslim Leagues should examine the whole problem and bring up the question, if necessary, before the annual session of the League at Allahabad in April next. This suggestion was accepted by the House and the resolution was withdrawn. The Council then adjourned *sine die*.

ANNUAL SESSION—ALLAHABAD—3rd. to 6th. APRIL 1942

The Welcome Address

The annual session of the All-India Muslim League commenced at Allahabad on the 3rd, April 1942 in the *Jinnah Chaman* amidst scenes of great enthusiasm. Jinnah "Chaman" was beautifully illuminated and the huge pandal was packed to its full capacity.

Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, the President, arrived in the pandal exactly at 9-40 p.m. and was given a rapturous ovation by the crowd amidst shouts of "Jinnah Zindabad", "Muslim League Zindabad" and "Pakistani Zindabad". The chief "Salat" of the national guard with a drawn sword led the procession. The President was accompanied by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mr. Zahur Ahmad, Mr. Ghaz-nawarullah and Mr. Rizwanullah.

On the date were seated members of the Muslim League Working Committee, the Muslim League Council, the members of the Reception Committee, a number of ladies and guests. Separate arrangements were made for purdah ladies on either side the dais.

After the recital of prayers, *Nawab Sir Mohd. Yusuf*, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his address in English. The Nawab in his address explained at length the Muslim demand for Pakistan, which he claimed had "an immeasurable dynamic and potential value for the creation of a united India on the basis of treaties and engagements in co-operation with the British Government, which is undoubtedly giving a lead in transforming

the British Empire into a Commonwealth of Nations. A united India, be added, would be an asset to any federation or comity of nations and that unity could be achieved only if all the four parties interested in India, namely, the Muslim nation, the Hindu nation, the British nation and the Indian States combined together to so adjust their differences as to draw up a scheme of united independent sovereign states in India which could easily merge themselves into a Federation or Commonwealth of Nations for the purpose of solving India's economic and defence problems irrespective of what form the political system of the country would take according to its genius and requirements of circumstances and situation.

Dealing with Muslim objections to a strong Central Government, the Nawab said that the Muslims as a nation deemed it highly detrimental to their vital interests to accept any such Government at the Centre based upon the parliamentary democratic form of Government as this would mean that even in those provinces where they happened to be in majority, they could not have an independent sovereign state without being subordinate to the Government at the Centre, where the Hindus would be in permanent minority.

Considering the question to whom power should be transferred, the Chairman observed: "Obviously the power cannot be handed over to the Hindus, although they happen to be in a majority, because the Muslims do not agree to it. Similarly, power cannot be handed over to the Muslims simply because the British Government must snatched away the empire from them. If the power must necessarily devolve, it must devolve on the Muslims and the Hindus both, and if it is to be given to both it must be according to an agreed solution of the constitutional problems arrived at by the Hindus and the Muslims. If no agreement could be reached, then it is possible that some form of constitution may have to be imposed from above, namely, by the British Commonwealth of Nations and that obviously must be based upon fair play and justice to both the nations, not to mention the classes and communities."

Continuing, Sir Jiaohammad Yusuf said: "If the English-speaking peoples with the same religion and same language could belong to a group of nations, there is no reason why the Hindus and the Muslims should not be treated as two nations on the basis of incontrovertible historical facts. The Congress demand for immediate independence and transfer of power while the enemy is reaching the approaches to India, and in the absence of any understanding between the Hindus and Muslims, seems to be fantastic and selfish in the extreme, and savours of coercion of the British Government in the hour of its trial. The Sapru demand, while it may be practicable as an interim arrangement, fundamentally prejudices the basic demands of the Muslims and hence cannot achieve the main purpose of an 'all-out war effort' against the invaders of India. It has been rightly appreciated in the statement made by Mr. Churchill that a hurried statement may lead to a great confusion and hamper even the present war efforts which all classes and communities are making against the Axis nation. Sir Stafford Cripps has come out to India to discuss the tentative terms of the declaration which has to be made by the British Government based on the recommendations of a committee of distinguished members of Parliament. Let us hope that some solution will be found for a re-adjustment of the differences between the Hindus and the Muslims and some scheme would be evolved which will be in consonance with the two nations theory of the Hindus and the Muslims apart from other nations that exist on this continent."

Mr. Jinnah's Presidential Address

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you very sincerely for the great reception that you gave me at the station. I am proud to see that every month, every year, the Muslim League is going forward by leaps and bounds. I also thank the All-India Muslim League that they have honoured me by electing me as president for this year. I congratulate all the workers and office-bearers who have toiled and worked from day to day for the last three months in making all these preparations that we see here. Let me tell you that as we are growing in our strength we are growing in our power of organising and managing our affairs better and better every day. Now I wish to tell you and want to pick up the thread since we met at Madras last year in our annual session. At Madras we defined our policy, we defined our ideology, we defined our programme, and I appeal to every one of you kindly to read that speech of mine again and study it—not only study it but I appeal every one of you to make some beginning in one direction or other with regard to that programme and the policy that we have laid down. I

don't want to go on repeating things. There was a time when it was necessary to repair things to make our people and those who opposed us to understand us. The propaganda of the League and the literature and the meetings and conferences that are being held throughout India, our Press and even our opponents' Press has enlightened us now as to what the real issues are before us. (Hear, Hear.)

Now let us talk less and work more. Not only that but the grave international situation and the war that is now on our very borders and almost at our gates—that must force us to realise how grave the danger is in front of us and we do not know what is going to happen. But ladies and gentlemen, I must earnestly appeal to you, *Muslimans, organise yourself to meet all eventualities whatever may happen.* (Hear, Hear.) These are obvious truths that I am telling you and I really don't think that now I should go on labouring and labouring because I think you have in my judgment to pick up the analogy; you are no longer infants but you have reached the age of discretion, and can act as men and women. On that point I shall say no more.

CRISS PROPOSALS

I know that the uppermost subject which is today not only engaging the attention of all India but is also engaging the attention of the whole world, is the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of His Majesty's Government. You have been following it from day to day. Now I want to tell you, as far as it is possible for me, and explain to you as shortly as I can, this draft declaration of proposals which have emanated from His Majesty's Government and they have come to the conclusion that they are just and final. Let us examine them and let us understand them. I am not going into details, I am going to pick up the main points. The main points that emerge from this document are, first the object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect and in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs. Here there may be some doubts as to the function. But that is a matter which will have to be considered when we come to the signing of a treaty or treaties with one Dominion or two Dominions or more.

The next point that emerges is this, I immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution for India. So we shall have an elected body charged with the task of framing a new constitution. I shall deal with it when I come to the clause which lays down how that constitution-making body will be set up and how it will be composed. Third, there is a provision for the partition of the Indian States. Fourth, His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the constitutions so framed. But subject to these are exceptions. The first exception is the right of any British Indian Province that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decided. That is to say, the constitution-making body when it completes the framing of the constitution and when that constitution so framed emerges from the deliberations of the constitution-making body which will be, remember, a sovereign body, then it would be open for any province or provinces to say: "We are not in agreement with this constitution and therefore we are not prepared to accede to this constitution".

LEGAL FACTOR FOR MUSLIMS

But the most vital point and the most important of all the points so far as we are concerned particularly is as to how a province or provinces will express their will and exercise their right. But that is not in the document. A suggestion, however, has been thrown out by Sir Stafford Cripps and the suggestion is that if the province, the Legislative Assembly of the province, is in favour of accession by 60 votes, then it will be an end of it. It means that the province is bound to accede. But if they get 59 and the minority happens to be 41 then there will be a plebiscite of the people of the province. Then of course the non-acceding provinces can among themselves by the same process form another union or a Dominion or any single province may stand by itself as a Dominion. That is the corollary.

Then comes the provision for treaty, the treaty or treaties which will have to be signed and made with the Dominion or Dominions that may be set up, as well as with the Indian States acceding or not acceding. I told you that I would refer to the actual clauses of the proposals and how the constitution-making body will be

set up or formed and the provision is this. Immediately upon the end of hostilities the constitution-making body shall be composed as follows, unless leaders of the principal communities agree to some other machinery before the end of the hostilities. So at the end of the hostilities the constitution-making body will be composed by this method. Immediately upon the results being known of the provincial elections it would be necessary at the end of the hostilities, the entire membership of the lower houses of all provincial legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to elect the constitution-making body by a system of proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about one tenth of the number of the electoral college. Therefore, I think you understand that all the members of assemblies of eleven provinces will meet together as one single electoral college and they will be roughly 1600 members and they will be entitled to elect one tenth, which means in all 160 members by means of proportional representation. That is the constitution-making body.

After that we come to the Indian States who will be invited to send their representatives and the number will be according to their population. But how they will be chosen it is not mentioned at all in this document—whether by nomination or some method of election. Now, gentlemen, this is the document so far as the future is concerned.

THE PRESENT

But then there is a provision for the present also and that provision is this. While during the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India. They desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian peoples in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India. The important words, ladies and gentlemen, are that the responsibility for the defence of India will be that of His Majesty's Government and the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people will be invited in the counsels of their country. This was the original wording but later on it was modified in this way. During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution might be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But this is the change in wording—"The task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India." Then they say that His Majesty's Government desire to invite the effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections in the counsels of their country.

PREFERENCE FOR ALL-INDIA UNION

Now, ladies and gentlemen, that is the document and let us put it in a few words what it means and how I understand it. It means, whatever may be the constitutional implication of the status and the powers of the Dominion or the Indian Union. We start with that. For that purpose a constitution-making body will be set up which will be the sovereign body. A sovereign body will start—and to use the language of Sir Stafford Cripps—"with a preference for an All-India Union." I think that will be the composition of that body. The composition of that body would be that first of all it will be elected from amongst the members of the eleven assemblies meeting together as one college and by means of proportional representation, not separate electorates. When that body is formed, I cannot conceive how they can come to any other conclusion except the Union, and that is why it is so composed. But after the constitution-making body has framed its constitution by a bare majority it is true that any single province or provinces who do not approve of that constitution are given a chance to go through another test which I shall explain here-after. But remember that at the most Muslims even by separate electorates will not be more than 25 percent but by the system of proportional representation they might be less in number in the constitution-making body. So the overwhelming majority will be non-Muslim and therefore the probabilities are contemplated that the constitution may by a majority be in favour of only one Union.

Ladies and gentlemen, the other point which is not there is, will the decision of this constitution-making body be taken by a bare majority or not? Reading that

document as I do, clearly, it cannot be anything else because it is the accepted rule of every document that when we want to lay down a specific majority we state so. If you do not state so, then it means the rule of a bare majority. For instance, in our own constitution we have the clause that our constitution cannot be changed except by a majority of two-thirds. So that is the constitution-making body. If I may make a comment on this a little, Mr. Gandhi will come to this constitution-making body with a dead certainty of getting a constitution which will emerge for an All-India Union. Now when that is done, the province or provinces who would feel that it has been done, they are given the constitution: "no, you have yet another chance before you are killed." (Laughter.) And what is that chance? The chance is this; it is not in the document. The suggestion of Sir Stafford Cripps—of course various suggestions have been made, we shall also make our suggestions when the time comes but at present he has made a suggestion—he says look here, if I are against it then a plebiscite. That is not the end of it. Plebiscite—so we shall have one more chance before we are dead. Whose plebiscite? Of course the plebiscite of the province. Whose self-determination do you want, to ascertain? Self-determination of the two nations put together or one nation alone? (Hear, Hear.) The answer is: "of course of both together." That is another chance and if you get the plebiscite in your favour, then at least you will escape the slaughter-house before our Kurland is made. (Laughter.) This is the point of a most vital character so far as Muslim India is concerned.

STAGNANT OR MUSLIM NATION

"Then with regard to the present, gentlemen, I can tell you nothing except this document because it entirely depends as to what will be the final picture. I cannot throw any light on it. I have explained to you, and I hope correctly, and if I am not correct I shall certainly stand corrected by Sir Stafford Cripps or any body else. After explaining the date of declaration of the proposals I think I am echoing your feelings when I say that the Muslims feel deeply disappointed that the entry and integrity of the Muslim nation has not been expressly recognised. (Hear, Hear.) Any attempt to solve the problem of India by the process of evading the real issues and by overemphasising the territorial entity of the provinces which are mere accidents of British policy and administrative divisions is fundamentally wrong. (Hear, Hear.) Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the right of national self-determination is unequivocally recognised. (Hear, Hear.) It must be realised that India was never a country or a nation. India's problem is inter-national in this sub-continental and differences, cultural, social, political and economic are so fundamental that they cannot be covered up, concealed or confused but must be handled by all as realists. The alleged power of the minority in the matter of cessation suggested in the document is illusory as Hindu India will dominate the decision in favour of one will be at the mercy of the Hindu majority in those provinces who will exert themselves to the fullest extent and length for keeping Muslim India tied to the chariot wheel of Hindudom. Thus the Muslims will be doomed to subjection in all the provinces. (Hear, Hear.) We cannot barter away with our consent the future for the present while fully realising the danger of foreign aggression and notwithstanding all our anxieties to defend India and to help the prosecution of war. To do so will be a crime on our part to posterity and generations of hundred millions of Muslim India to come (Hear, Hear.)

As regards the proposals relating to the immediate adjustments in the central and provincial governments which we are told must be considered within the framework of the existing constitution, it is difficult to gather from the document any-thing definite and concrete, for it must necessarily depend upon the full picture when it is disclosed and it is not known to us, not is it before us as yet. The document is a bare skeleton of the proposals and obviously requires a lot of filling in and adjusting before it can be made acceptable and it is one of these cases when the details will become more vital than the bare statement of certain principles. It has roused our deepest anxieties and grave apprehensions specially with reference to the Pakistan scheme which is a matter of life and death for Muslim India (Hear, Hear.) We will therefore endeavour that the principle of Pakistan which binds only until we know how the right of Muslims to keep out or accede thereto is defined and recognised in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms and vetted recognition in the document should be conceded in unequivocal terms and repeated as it was after the last war. (Hear, Hear.) The document shows that Pakistan is trea-

led as a remote possibility and that a definite preference for a new Indian Union process indicated in the document and the interviews and explanations of Sir Stafford Cripps so far we against us and we are called upon to play the game with a loaded dice. Our Working Committee is engaged, as you know since the 27th of March in the task of most careful and searching examination of these proposals. I trust that in order to give real effect to the principles of Pakistan and Muslim self-determination, His Majesty's Government and Sir Stafford Cripps will not hesitate and make the necessary adjustments on their behalf. Let us hope that there will emerge out of these negotiations a settlement that will be just, honourable and finally acceptable to all. (Loud applause.)

Resolutions—2nd. Day—Allahabad—5th. April 1942

"The second sitting of the open session of the League began on the 5th. Mr. A. Jinnah.

Condolence

At the outset, a condolence resolution was moved from the chair placing on record "the Conference's deep sense of sorrow and grief at the sad and untimely demise of Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan of Alandot, which is an irreparable loss to the country in general and the Muslim nation in particular."

Mr. Jinnah, in moving the resolution, referred to the late Nawab of Alandot as a loyal and sincere worker and a great champion of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah offered his sincere sympathy to Nawab Iftikhar Hussain, the son of the late Nawab, who was present on the day. The resolution was passed all standing.

Emergency Power for Mr. Jinnah

Mr. Asaphani, Deputy Mayor of Calcutta, moved a resolution authorising the President "till the next session, to take any step or action he may consider necessary in furtherance of and relating to the objects of the Muslim League as he deems proper, provided it is consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League."

Mr. Asaphani, referring to the present international situation and the approach of the enemy within the striking distance of India, said that it was necessary to give such powers to Mr. Jinnah, because he might have to take during any emergency momentous decisions, when it might not be possible for him to consult the Working Committee or the Council. He said that the Muslims had confidence and implicit faith in Mr. Jinnah, and no one would feel reluctant to give him this authority, which would be used by him in the best interests of the Muslims and the country.

Muslim League of Lucknow seconded the resolution.

MUSLIM LEAGUE OF LUCKNOW'S AMENDMENT RULED OUT

Mr. Asaphani wanted to move an amendment at this stage to the following effect: "As the object of this resolution, which is to appoint the Qaid-e-Azam dictator for one year, is to prevent the Muslim League from expressing any opinion about the Cripps Proposals, I give notice of my intention to move my resolution as an amendment to this resolution."

Mr. Jinnah ruled the amendment out of order. He said that Mr. Asaphani had moved a resolution in the Subjects Committee, but it had been rejected by an overwhelming majority after full discussion. According to the League constitution, a resolution which had been negatived in the Subjects Committee could not be moved in the open session, and it appeared that the Muslims wanted to evade this rule. Mr. Jinnah said that the first part of the Muslims' amendment was entirely incorrect and the object of the resolution was not to appoint him (Mr. Jinnah) a dictator. He said that a similar resolution was passed at Madras. The main object of the resolution, he pointed out, was to give certain specific powers to this President to be exercised in case of emergency. He said that neither the Working Committee nor the President of the League was a dictator. He added that many questions arose which required immediate attention. He explained that it had been specially made clear in the resolution that the step or action taken by the President should be in furtherance of the objects of the Muslim League and should be consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League. Thus, concluded Mr. Jinnah, the preamble of Mr. Asaphani's amendment was

incorrect and the object was to manoeuvre to evade the League constitution. The amendment was ruled out of order.

It was learnt that the resolution of Maulana Hasrat Mohani, which had been negatived by the Subjects Committee, and which he wanted to move as an amendment to Mr. Isphani's resolution before the open session, suggested that the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps.]

Maulana Hasrat Mohani opposed Mr. Isphani's resolution. As he rose to oppose it, there were continuous and insistent shouts from the crowd of "sit down" and "we don't want to hear you." Mr. Jinnah, intervening, said that everyone had the right to freedom of speech and the Maulana should be allowed to have his say. Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that he never disowned Mr. Jinnah as the Qaid-e-Azam and had always recognised him as a great leader, but it was possible that at this critical juncture, Mr. Jinnah, if he was given unfettered powers, might take a wrong decision, namely, accept the Cripps Proposals. Maulana Hasrat Mohani said that according to the established creed of the Muslim League, the object of the Muslims of India was to establish completely independent zonal States, whose constituent units should also be autonomous and sovereign, and the Muslim League could not but reject the proposals of the British Cabinet brought by Sir Stafford Cripps. The proposals could only lead to the establishment of a single Dominion or two or more Dominions, possibly including a Pakistani Dominion, but the proposals would certainly not give completely independent and sovereign States as envisaged in the League creed. Mr. Jinnah, he reiterated, might take the wrong decision and accept the proposals.

Chaudhury Khaliqzaman supported the resolution. The main resolution as proposed by Mr. Isphani when put to vote was carried by the House with the single dissident vote of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

MUSLIMS & THE WAR EMERGENCY

Chaudhury Khaliqzaman next moved the following resolution : "This session resolves that a Committee be appointed by the President to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of the life, honour and property of Muslims in consultation with the Provincial Leagues and to submit a weekly report to the President of the steps taken to carry out the above mentioned objects".

The mover emphasised the need on the part of the Muslim population to eschew panic in the present situation. He said that it would not do to start running away. The need of the hour was for them to organise themselves and have volunteers and nurses and organise relief work, etc., under local branches of the League to meet all emergencies and eventualities.

Maulana Akram Khan of Bengal, a member of the Working Committee of the League, seconded the resolution and Sir Abdullah Haroon supported it. They also emphasised the points mentioned by the mover. Discussion on the resolution was not finished when the session adjourned to meet again on the next day.

Mr. Jinnah decorated a national guard volunteer from Qanuni, Mohammad Yaqub, with the gold medal, which had been awarded to him by the Reception Committee, for pluck and promptness in putting out a fire in a portion of the main pandal last evening at risk to his person.

RESOLUTIONS—*3rd Day—ATLAHABAD—6th. APRIL 1942*

The open session of the Muslim League, on resumption on the 6th, April 1942, continued discussion on Chaudhury Khaliqzaman's resolution authorising the President, Mr. Jinnah, to appoint a Committee to take forthwith all necessary and effective steps for the protection of life, honour and property of Muslims.

The resolution was further supported by Haji Sattar (for the Madras Province), Mr. G. M. Syed (for Sind), Mr. Chundrigar (for Bombay), all members of the Muslim League Working Committee, and Mr. Mohd. Ismail (for Bihar), Mr. Muzaffar Shab Gilani (for the Punjab), Khan Bahadur Mohd. Momin, Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League (for Bengal), Syed Abdul Rauf Shah (for C. P.), Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, and Mr. Karimul Reza, M.T.A. They all stressed the need for organising the District and City Muslim Leagues throughout the country to meet any eventualities that might arise due to the approach of war to the very doors of India.

Begum Aizaz Rasool (United Provinces), supporting the resolution, stressed the part which women could play in cases of emergency. She made special men-

tion of nursing, first aid and other relief work, which could be taken up by women.

Regum Mohammad Ali entered a strong plea for educating women, so that they could effectively share the responsibilities of men in these critical times. She exhorted Muslim women to join the League and organise themselves.

Mr. Jinnah, explaining the resolution, referred to the "grave internal and external dangers at this juncture" and the needs to save life, honour and property of 100 million Mussalman. He said that it did not mean that they did not also have the concern and care of other fellowmen belonging to different communities, castes and creeds. He emphasised that the Muslims should organise themselves in a systematic and planned manner without any loss of time.

On the Committee, *Mr. Jinnah* continued, should be the right sort of men, capable and selfless, who could command confidence and respect of the people. The function of the Committee will be to deal with the situations as they might arise in different provinces and keep in touch with the various Provincial District and Primary Leagues, and guide them to put into effect measures suggested by the Committee.

Mr. Jinnah made a special reference to emergencies like shortage of food-stuffs and other necessities of life and the rise in prices, and said that they must be dealt with. He said that there may be villages or towns in which Muslims were in a handful minority, and he had grave apprehensions about them in case of any disorder. He suggested that they should be in cases of emergency brought at any cost or sacrifice to places where there were a larger number of Muslims. The resolution was adopted unanimously.

EXPRESSION OF MR. FAZLUL HUG

A resolution moved by *Mawlana Jamal Ali*, and unanimously adopted by the session placed on record "its sense of relief and gratitude for the timely action of the President in expelling from membership of the Muslim League *Mr. A. K. Fazlul Hug*, who has completely forfeited the confidence of Mussalman by his repeated betrayal of their cause generally in India and particularly in Bengal".

The mover said that this resolution would show that Muslims throughout India were behind *Mr. Jinnah* in the action he took against *Mr. Fazlul Hug*.

ASSISTANCE TO EVACUEES

Another resolution adopted unanimously by the session expressed heart-felt sympathies with the Indian nationals who had settled down in Java, Burma, Malaya and Singapore, and who have had to lose their all and sail homewards in most tragic circumstances in over-crowded and under-provisioned ships or trail backwords across forests and mountains foodless and without shelter for weeks on. The resolution "condemned the action of those responsible for the shameful discrimination against Indian nationals in the matter of accommodation, route, facilities, food and water" and demanded of the Government of India to take immediate and effective steps to evacuate other compatriots still in Burma by evacuating them at the earliest possible moment and to place at their disposal available means of transportation and every possible facility.

The resolution drew the attention of the Government of India to the inadequate arrangements made for giving relief and succour to Indian evacuees who are reaching Chittagong and Madras Coastal ports amongst other places. The resolution further called upon the Provincial and District Muslim Leagues to render every possible assistance to evacuees.

The resolution was moved by *Sir Nazimuddin* and supported by the hon. *Mr. Fakhra*, Member of the Council of State.

STATUS OF BALUCHISTAN

The League, by a resolution moved by *Qazi Mohammad Isa* of Baluchistan. Member of the Working Committee, and unanimously adopted, demanded that "the Province of Baluchistan be forthwith raised to the same constitutional level as the other provinces."

ALARMING GRAIN SHORTAGE

A resolution put from the Chair drew "the attention of the Government of India to the grave situation that has been created in the country due to grain shortage, particularly of wheat, paddy and 'dal' and requested the Government to

take immediate steps for the conservation of grain and other foodstuffs for the peoples of India." An amendment in the Constitution adopted by the session increased the representation from Baluchistan on the Council of the Muslim League from five to ten.

RESTRICTIONS ON ATLANTA MASSACRE

The following resolution was put from the Chair and unanimously adopted by the session:—"This session of the All-India Muslim League urges upon the Government of India to remove all restrictions imposed upon Allama Mashurqi and also to lift the ban on the Khaksar movement and release unconditionally all the Khaksar prisoners." Another resolution urged upon the Government of India "to review and rescind the order of internment in a distant province, passed against *Nawabzada Abdul Rehman Khan Bugti* of Baluchistan, because the resolution said, there had been no judicial enquiry or finding establishing the justification of the said order, and in the absence of such a position, the step taken against him seemed to be arbitrary, unjust and one capable of terrorising and demoralising the general Muslim population of the province.

The Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference PLENARY SESSION—SERAJGUNJ—15th, FEBRUARY 1942

President's Address

"The plenary session of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference was held at Serajgunj (Bengal) on the 15th, February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. *Mohomed Ali Jinnah*, who in the course of his address said:—
So far as the British Government is concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of 'nothing doing.' The August proposal still stands. We have accepted the principles of this proposal, but as they have come to translate that proposal, they have destroyed its principles by whittling these down by making us an offer which no decent, self-respecting organisation can accept."
Criticising the Congress, he referred to the observation made by Mr. *Rajagopalachari* in the course of a recent speech that "there are two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims," and said: "this is the first time one of the foremost leaders of the Congress has had the frankness to declare that the Congress is a Hindu organisation, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms, and on any other terms."
Coming to the problems of Bengal, he made a review of the incidents that led to the expulsion of Mr. *A. K. Fazl-ul-Husain* from the League and to the formation of the new Ministry in the province. He pointed out: "With all this generous survey, I ask you what is your verdict? Is this not a case of gross betrayal and treachery, not only to the Muslim League, but to Muslim India?"

GOVERNOR'S ACTION

Criticising the action of the Governor of Bengal during the last ministerial crisis, Mr. *Jinnah* said that the Governor, instead of following the ordinary course which was being followed even in the British Parliament, instead of calling the leader of the largest party, he encouraged a man to canvass, before being commissioned, to form a Ministry, which practice was, to his mind, highly "improper and derogatory to the honour of any leader who claimed to be so." He maintained that the Coalition Party being dissolved, the Governor should have called the leader of the largest party, which was the Muslim League Party, to form a Ministry. In this connection, Mr. *Jinnah* referred to the recent announcement of the Government of Bengal regarding the appointment of Whips in the Legislature, and inquired of the Governor, whether in his own country in a Parliament of 615 members, there were 17 Whips. Had they ever heard anywhere in this world that a Legislature of 250 members required 17 men to whip them.
The number of Parliamentary Secretaries to be appointed by the Government would also not be less than 17, and thus the total number of officials and Ministers and others came to something like 45 or 50. Out of 119 members, which he believed was wrong and getting shakier now, at least 50 had been kept by providing jobs. This was the position of the Ministry of Bengal.

Explaining the position of the Muslim League and the Muslim League Party in the Assembly after the formation of the new Ministry, Mr. Jinnah said that the Opposition was entitled and had every right to go and appeal to the electorates that Mr. Fazl-ul-Haq and those who were elected by them and that they were now doing the greatest possible harm to the interest of Bengal Muslims and Muslim India. But the position is this that every step is resorted to not to come forward openly and appeal to the people. Who prevents them from doing that? They do not do that because almost 99 per cent of Bengal Muslims are against them."

DEFENCE ACT MEASURES

He strongly criticised the action of the Government in taking measures against League members under the Defence of India Act, and said: "Let me say from this platform that if His Excellency the Governor of Bengal does not stop this without delay, in Bengal there will arise a situation for which there is no parallel in the history of Bengal during the British Raj. We are not going to be suppressed and oppressed or tyrannised by this wretched Ministry which does not represent the Muslims."

"I hope that the eyes of the Viceroy will also open with regard to this issue. If they want to be constitutional and if they want to have this issue to be tested constitutionally, let us have fresh elections, let us go to our people, and let us take their verdict, to which we are willing to bow down."

Speaking about the Congress, Mr. Jinnah said that it was found from the speeches of Congress leaders, at any rate in their language, in their talking, that there was less aggressiveness and arrogance. In his recent speech at Madras, Mr. Rajagopalachari frankly admitted that the President of the Muslim League had got a true following of the Muslims and that there were two powerful popular organisations of Hindus and Muslims.

"This," he said, "is the first time that one of the foremost leaders of the Congress had the frankness to admit that the Congress is a Hindu organisation. This is the truth, and I appeal to Mr. Gandhi to bow before the truth, and I declare that the Congress does not represent anybody except the Hindus and that the Muslim League represents Muslim India. If this is admitted, then I think there is hope for both of them to meet on equal terms and on no other terms."

DIVISION OF INDIA

Discussing the question of partitioning India as demanded by the League, Mr. Jinnah made a reference to the "latest pronouncement of the great international statesman, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, who always thinks in terms of international problems, and for whom India does not exist," and said that in this pronouncement, Pandit Nehru expressed astonishment how the Muslim League could talk of partitioning India and of forming a separate Muslim bloc when some Islamic countries, who were separate Muslim blocs, had lost their freedom, etc.

"Well," said Mr. Jinnah, "I can say to Pandit Nehru, my dear friend, let us look after ourselves and see how we can stand by ourselves. May I know from him when, now that big and powerful nations could not stand alone, how the whole of India could stand by itself alone?" Mr. Jinnah maintained that the scheme of partitioning India, as envisaged in "Pakistan," was so simple that all educated men and even a large body of educated people, had understood what it meant.

A PRACTICAL ISSUE

Discussing the question of interim and future constitution of India, Mr. Jinnah said that it was a practical issue of immediate importance. It was being emphasised and understood how matters now stood.

"On the one hand," he went on, "the British Government are holding fast to the August Offer, which consists of two parts—one part is the declaration of His Majesty's Government's policy with regard to the future constitution of India and the other part is that in the interim period the British Government propose to expand the Executive Council of the Governor-General and associate the major political parties by allowing them to send their representatives in the Council."

"The Congress had definitely and clearly taken up the position that they are not prepared to have anything to do with any kind of change, or changes, or expansion of the Government in the Centre, or in any provinces, within the framework of the present constitution. Therefore, the Congress did not accept the basic principle underlying this proposal of His Majesty's Government of August 8."

"Then there are other parties who are doing reconnaissance or patrol work of the Congress, such as, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Liberal Federation and the Non-party Conference, who are one and the same and who are ready to tumble in. All of them have the same objective, that is, to corner the British Government. "What they cannot achieve by friendly talks, they want to achieve by backdoor policy, and they call it the national Government. But to whom the national Government will be responsible? Not to the nation which does not exist of course, nor to the nations which do exist, but to the Crown, which means the Governor-General and the Viceroy because the Crown is merely a symbol. "They think that if they can entrap the British Government by this method, their next cry will be: "The Viceroy is a tyrant, the Viceroy is unconstitutional, he is overriding the majority decision of his Cabinet every time. Therefore, it must now be made responsible to the Legislature." These all are not words, but a game through which I think, even a blind man can see. Why do not they, instead of putting the cart before the horse, put the horse before the cart, and say this is our complete scheme. "Well, that is the position so far as the Hindu leadership is concerned. So far as the British Government are concerned, up to the present moment their position is that of 'nothing done'. The August proposal stands.

LEGATUE POSITION

"So far as we are concerned, our position is this that while we have accepted the principle of the August proposal, when they have come to translate it they had destroyed the principles by whitening them down, by making us an offer which no decent self-respecting organisation can accept. Therefore, our position is this that we are willing, provided we get a real share not only in the authority in the government of the Centre, but in all the provinces. "Once the other side accepts that principle, namely, the Congress—and it is no use really saying that the Congress does not represent a solid body of Hindu opinion—there will be something to discuss. The Congress certainly to-day represents a solid body of Hindu opinion. The bodies other than the Congress have really no claim to speak on behalf of the Hindus, except for themselves. Let the Congress accept that principle, let them also say that they also want the real share, then we will sit down and consider." In conclusion Mr. Jinnah said: "Let us stand firm, united, consolidated, harness and prepare yourselves, the Muslims of Bengal, under this flag, and I assure you that we shall win, and let me declare as your President of the All-India Muslim League, with all the responsibility of what I am saying, that no amount of repression, no amount of persecution, will make us budge from the right position which we believe we are in, and that if you force us, there will be a situation to resist; and that if you coerce us and if you force us, there will be a situation not only in Bengal, but the whole of India, for which there is no parallel. We are prepared, we are earnest, and we are not merely talking. Do not force the issue upon us. You will ruin yourselves if you do that.

RESOLUTIONS

The conference demanded the dissolution of the provincial Legislature and the issue of an order by the Governor of Bengal for a fresh election. It expressed its complete want of confidence in the present Ministry, formed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul-Haq in defiance of the policy and principle of the All-India Muslim League, and demanded the resignation of the representatives of the Muslim constituencies who had joined the Progressive Party and the Progressive Coalition Party from the Assembly and the Council, as they had lost the confidence of their voters and of the Muslim public, and challenged them to seek re-election on their new ticket. The conference condemned the "repressive policy of the present Government which aims at the suppression of the Muslim League organisation and the legitimate civil rights of the people, particularly its ill-conceived campaign, against Muslim students and the gross misuse of the extraordinary powers assumed by Government on account of the war situation, by employing the Defence of India Rules for the furtherance of personal ends and party tactics." It endorsed and reiterated its whole-hearted faith in the ideal of Pakistan, and expressed the firm determination of Muslim Bengal to make every sacrifice necessary for its early attainment. By another resolution the conference requested the Governor of Bengal to "drive Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee from office as Minister of the Crown, as he,

while in office, offered himself for arrest by defying the orders of another provincial Government in British India namely, the Bihar Government, established by the Government of India Act and deriving its authority from His Majesty the King Emperor." Resolutions, expressing satisfaction at "the country-wide allegiance of the Muslim of Bengal to the ideals, policy and programme of the Muslim League; demanding immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all conditions under which Allama Mashriqi has been released; calling upon all Muslim organisations to form defence guards for the maintenance of order and discipline among the populace in the event of air raids and other possible armed attacks; and recording the heartfelt sympathy of the conference with the Muslims of Bhagalpur, who are alleged to have been subjected to oppressions at the hands of Hindu Mahasabhanites, were also adopted at the conference."

The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation

General Secretary's Report

"The history of the Muslim Students' Federation can be traced back to the year 1937 when some Muslim students of Bengal seceded from the A. I. Students' Federation and organised themselves separately. The reason for the step was the same which had compelled Muslims in general to leave as a body the A. I. National Congress and reassociate the Muslim League. And just as the Muslim League met with strong opposition from the Congress, Muslim students of Bengal met with immediate opposition to their efforts to form a separate organisation of their own. Various were the reasons advanced against the step and many were the obstacles put in their way. It was said that students should be above communal considerations and that interests of all students, Muslim and non-Muslim, were the same. Many Muslim students themselves were set to oppose the formation of the new Congress-minded organisation and that the Congress itself had become an anti-Muslim body, Muslim students in Bengal, and presently in other provinces also, persevered in their purpose of breaking away from hostile influences. To Mr. Mohd. Noman of Aligarh goes the credit of laying the foundation of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. With commendable energy and singular devotion he took up the task of the organisation of the Muslim student community into one body. Presently Qaid-e-Azam Mohd. Ali Jinnah extended his blessing to the Federation and the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad shouldered the heavy responsibility of action as the president of the organisation.

Since then the Federation has continued to grow in strength and popularity and now has branches in all the provinces. The most important and active branches affiliated with the parent body are in:—Bengal, the Punjab, Bombay, Madras, U. P., C. P., Delhi, Mysore and at Aligarh. The Federation undoubtedly is a force in the country to-day. To Bengal again goes the credit of giving the lead in the matter of active participation in politics and to make sacrifices in the cause of Islam. The recent developments in the province and the part played by the Muslim Students' Federation has shown that the Muslim youth can give a good account of itself in the struggle in which the Muslim League is involved.

PUNJAB ORGANISATION

At the time when the A. I. M. S. F. was in its infancy Muslim students in the province realised their duty of forming their own Federation. Messrs. Hamid Nizami, Khurshid Alam took up the task. An extensive tour of the province was undertaken by them in the year 1937-38 and the message of unity and organisation preached. Next year some of the workers of the Federation, particularly Khan Abdus Sattar Khan Wazir, took up the propagation of the Khilafat Pakistan ideal and this gave an impetus to the youth movement and it began to attract attention and the people at large. Mirza Abdul Hamid then took charge of the Federation and till last year continued to strengthen it vigorously.

PAKISTAN CONFERENCE

The Pakistan Conference, organised by the Federation last year, under the presidency of the Qaid-e-Azam, created history. It was as a result of the untiring work of Ch. Nasrullah Khan, General Secretary, and Ch. Mihad Sadiq, Treasurer, that the Conference was such a success. Mirza Abdul Hamid, President, and his co-workers all worked day and night to make the Conference the success

that it was. It was the first such enterprise of its kind. Those who deserve mention were: Z. K. Malik, Ashfaq Bokhari, Manzoor-ul-Haq, Mohd Ashraf and Malik Sadik. It would be unfair not to mention some of those outsiders who helped us generously by money and advice. The Nawab Sahib of Mandot, President, P. P. M. T., comes first without whose generosity the Conference could not be held indeed. The Federation is also indebted to the Himayat-e-Islam for granting us the use of the Ibtisamia College ground, and its President, Sheikh Sir Abdul Qadir, for guidance in the matter and advice. We are also thankful to Principal Khawaja Dil Mohammad for the help and encouragement he gave us.

MUSLIM GIRLS' FEDERATION

The need of a girls' section of the P. M. S. F. was keenly felt, but without the help of Lady Abdul Qadir, Fatima Begum Sahibza and Miss M. Qureshi, it could have scarcely been possible to do so successfully. We are thankful to them and for their help in the arrangements for ladies in the Conference. We also thank the Press, specially the "Eastern Times" and the "Orient Press" for giving wide publicity to our endeavours. Soon after the Conference it was decided that the Federation should have a non-student president. Accordingly Miss Bashir Ahmed, Bar-at-Law, editor of the "Himayat" was elected president. The choice was widely approved on all sides. The Federation is at present working under the guidance of the Miss Sahib. On election, the immediate task before the President was the implementing of the two main resolutions passed at the open session of the Pakistan Conference, viz., the drafting of the constitution of the Federation and carrying the message of the League to the masses through a rural propaganda sub-committee which was formed for the purpose. The first task was completed by the President with the help of Messrs Hamid Nizami, Mohd Shah and Hamid Ali. The constitution is a model of democratic idealism.

PRIMARY ORGANISATION

As there were no properly constituted primary branches of the Federation it was decided that general elections should be foregone and that when the work of organisation is completed, election should be held in the month of November. The organisation was taken up in earnest and very soon we had properly constituted and active branches at Lyallpur, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Campbellpur, Peshawar, Wazirabad, Gujranwala, Amritsar, Multan and Dera Ghazi Khan and elsewhere. The Muslim Girls' Federation did not lag behind and established branches at various places. Miss M. Qureshi deserves special credit for her work in going from college to college for the establishment of the branches. Now the students of the Jinnah College for girls have consolidated the organisation and enrolled about 1,000 members. The organisational work was completed within three months of the Pakistan Conference and before the summer vacations, even though our annual examinations intervened soon after the Conference. During this period Raja Ahmed Khan and Malik Mohd. Sadik also carried on work in the Government and Ibtisamia Colleges in connection with the Adult Education Scheme.

RURAL PROPAGANDA

During the summer the Federation worked along with the League in Lahore and conducted a number of public meetings in condemnation of those who had joined the so-called National-Defence Council in defiance of the A. I. M. T. mandate. Happily the incident was soon closed so far as the Punjab was concerned. During the summer vacations the Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the League to the masses undertook an extensive tour of the mouzail in order to take the message of the League to the masses in rural areas. Districts thus visited were: Sheikhupur, Rawalpindi, Jullundur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Lyallpur. The workers among whom Messrs. Z. K. Malik, Nasrullah Khan, M. A. Sadik, Ilyas Qureshi and Zahir Alam deserve special mention, delivered numerous speeches and explained the Pakistan ideal to the villagers. They also established branches of the League and the Federation at the various places. The Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee has issued a separate report on the subject.

As soon as the colleges reopened, preparations were set afoot to hold the general elections according to the new constitution. Primary branches were properly constituted by the Organising Secretary and a Council was set up. Owing to certain difficulties which then arose Mr. Mohd. Noman, Deputy President, A. I. M. S. F., had to visit Lahore to guide the elections. The Federation established 13 different departments, each with their conveners and office-bearers. These are: Education (Raja Ahmad Khan), Political Propaganda (Zahur Alam Shahed), Lectures and Debates (Gulzar Hussain), Constitution Committee (Iftikhar Ullah), Library (Raja Ahmad Khan), Volunteers (Raja Sher Ali), Propaganda (Ilyas Qureshi) Urdu (Hamid Ali Khan) and Funds (Mohd. Ashraf). These departments are functioning properly.

The Lyallpur branch of the Federation undertook, during the period under review, to hold two conferences, which proved eminently successful. The first was the Educational Conference held under the presidency of *Haji Sir Abdullah Haroon* and the second was the Pakistan Conference under the presidency of *Muhtik Barkat Ali, M.R.A.* The success of these conferences under difficult circumstances has brought laurels to the Lyallpur Muslim students. And now the Rawalpindi branch is taking upon itself the arduous task of holding the 2nd Annual Session of the Federation.

Second Session—Rawalpindi—7th. & 8th. March 1942

Presidential Address

The second annual session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation was held on the 7th. & 8th. March 1942 at Rawalpindi in a specially erected pandal in the Iqbal High School grounds. The session proved highly successful and on both days the audience, which included many non-Muslims, was at least 25,000 souls. A special feature was the presence of a large number of Muslim girl students from all over the province.

In the course of his presidential address, *Chaudhri Khaliquzaman* reviewed the history of Hindu-Muslim relations in India during the last 25 years. The Congress, he said, was throughout chary of recognising the rights and demands of Muslims, which ultimately led the Muslim League to formulate its demand for separate homelands for Muslims in zones where they are in a preponderant majority. Referring to his own and the late *Mawlana Mohd. Afiz* experiences in the Congress during the Khilafat agitation days, the speaker explained how the Muslim leaders were disillusioned and how they were at last compelled to adopt the ideology propounded by Allama Iqbal. The Chaudhri Sahib next referred to the enmity of the Congress towards the Muslims. *Panaji Nehrū*, he said, was anxious to form a federation of India with China but would not think of Muslim provinces forming a federation of their own. He also referred to the alleged fears of the Sikhs and the Hindus from Pakistan coming into operation.

Referring to the proposed statement by Mr. *Churchill* he said: "If any constitution, prejudicial to Muslim interests, is proposed by the British Government we shall resist it with our blood." He appealed to the Hindus to come to terms with the Muslims and form a united front.

Resolutions—WARXING TO BR. GOVERNMENT

Mr. *Hamid Nizami* next moved the main resolution which is as follows:—

Resolved (a) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation declare unanimously and in unequivocal terms that no constitution shall be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is based on the principle that the Muslims in India form by themselves a separate nation and the North-Western and North-Eastern Muslim Blocs are their homelands wherein they shall be entitled to the right of self determination unhindered. (b) that this Conference of the Muslim Students' Federation strongly protest against the mischievous attempts and machinations of certain Hindus to frame a constitution without the consultation and to the detriment of the Muslims; warns the British Government that any attempt on their part to go back on the declaration of Aug. 8, 1940, shall be stoutly resisted by the Muslim nation all over India and (c) assures the Qaid-e-Azam, Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah*, that the Muslim nation under his able leadership shall, in a thoroughly organised and disciplined manner, strongly resist any such attempt of the British Government and shall readily make all sacrifices required of them in this connection.

The mover in an impassioned speech explained the present critical situation in the country, the expected declaration by the British Government regarding the

constitutional problem and the efforts of the Hindus to stampede it into acceding to the Hindu demands made by the *Sapru* Conference, and going back on the pledges repeatedly to the Muslim nation regarding their position.

Raja Iftikhar Ullah, who ably seconded the resolution, further explained the Muslim position and stated that if the British Government makes a bargain with the Congress at the expense of the Muslims, it will cost it dear. *Suratya Rasheed* of the Jinnah Islamiya College for Girls, Lahore, further supported the resolution and assured the Qaid-e-Azam that Muslim women shall fight shoulder to shoulder with their men both in the Congress and in the Government if Mr. *Churchill* betrays Muslim India. The resolution was carried unanimously.

Thereafter Maulana Jamal Mian Farangi Mahalli addressed the session on Pakistan and gave reasons for the Muslim political creed. It was a very impressive speech and the audience was visibly moved. The session terminated after a poem by Mr. Nafis Khalili.

On the next day, the 8th, March, *Firzuda Ghulzar Husain*, General Secretary read his annual report. The following resolutions were then moved and passed unanimously:—

1. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation in their second annual session strongly affirms that "Pakistan" is their goal.
2. The Punjab Muslim Students' Federation reiterate their faith in the able leadership of Qaid-e-Azam Mr. *Mohd. Ali Jinnah* and fully endorse the programme and policy of the All-India Muslim League.
3. Resolved that the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation request the authorities of the Punjab University to create a chair for Islamic History in the University.
4. Resolved that this session of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation demands of the Punjab University that Urdu should be taught up to the M. A. classes and it should be made the medium of instruction for teaching various subjects in schools up to the Matriculation standard.
- Raja Iftikhar Ullah*, *Shahid Mubashir-Din Arif*, *Miss Farukhanda Akhtar*, *Mahid Mohd*, *Sadiq*, *Nasim Rizwi*, *Firzuda Ghulzar Husain*, *Mr. Mohd. Sadiq* respectively spoke in support of the resolutions. A resolution demanding that the restrictions imposed on Allama Inayat Ullah Khan Mashrafi should be removed and the Khaksar leader should be allowed to return to the Punjab was also passed. By another resolution it was decided to continue the work done by the Pakistan Rural Propaganda Sub-Committee of the Federation for the next year.

The All India Muslim Conference

Working Comm. Resolutions—Delhi—6th, April 1942
AMERY'S FIGURES CHALLENGED

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim Conference, which after its meeting at Calcutta, on April 3, 4 and 5, under the chairmanship of Mr. *Sheikh Zahir-uddin*, President, resumed its session at Delhi on the 6th, April 1942 and passed a resolution expressing surprise and regret at the recent statements of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons with regard to the status of the All-India Muslim Conference, as also the popularity of the Muslim community and characterising them as unworthy of an authority of the rank and position of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

The Committee asserts "that the population of the Muslim community is, under no circumstances less than 45 millions, and that it comprises not only weavers and agricultural labourers, as stated by Mr. Amery, but like other communities of India, also of lawyers, legislators, Government servants, businessmen, cultivators, artisans and factory workers."

The Committee considers it vitally necessary to point out that the figures given in the Census Report of 1931, on which Mr. Amery has based his statements, are incomplete, misleading and unreliable in as much as,

Firstly, the writer of the Census Report of 1931 has made it abundantly clear that the castes shown in the said Census Report are representative only and not exhaustive and that a complete tabulation of the whole population has not been

given, the total numbers covered by the Caste Census table being only 220 million out of India's 335 million people. Secondly, the census figures classify as Muslims only those who are actually engaged in the weaving profession, to the exclusion of all other Muslims, who, since after the decay of the handloom industry, have taken to various other occupations and whose number is enormously large. Thirdly, the figures of the Muslim population were adversely affected by the campaign which, according to the writer of the Census Report, was attempted against any record of caste in 1931, and lastly in the Census of 1931 large numbers of Muslims have themselves recorded as Shieks and under other denominations, to conceal their Muslim identity, with a view to save themselves from the social humiliation attached to the Muslims as a class, as also to escape the disability of getting into the Police, Military and other Government Services, with which the Muslims suffer as a community upto this day.

The Committee, while vehemently repudiating the leadership of Mr. Jinnah and strongly condemning the unwarranted pretensions of the Muslim League to represent Muslim India, emphatically asserts that the All-India Muslim Conference alone represents the 45 million Muslims and their interests.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema Conference

Thirteenth Session—Lahore—20th, March 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivering his presidential address at the thirteenth session of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* at Lahore on the 20th, March 1942, *Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani* discussed at some length the Islamic ideal of peace in the national and international spheres.

The *Maulana* said that the *Jamiat* stood for the practical realisation of this ideal, and it had always rightly guided the Muslim community in India in all religious, cultural, economic and political matters. He strongly refuted the allegation that the *Jamiat* was a satellite of the Indian National Congress.

BRITAIN TO BLAME FOR THE DEADLOCK

Dealing with the political problems of India, the *Maulana* recounted the various declarations of His Majesty's Government and criticised the British Government's attitude in declaring war on behalf of India without consulting the representatives of the Indian people. It was natural for India, he said, to demand a declaration of the war aims of the British Government. The declarations which were made in this connection indicated practically nothing about the fate of India in the post-war world. The result was that the various political parties in India decided their own policies, ending in a constitutional deadlock in eight out of the eleven provinces of British India.

Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani then referred to the Atlantic Charter and deplored Mr. Churchill's speech in the House of Commons that, due to certain difficulties, India could not be allowed to enjoy that freedom and democracy which the Charter held out to the smaller nations of Europe. The *Maulana* expressed great concern at the dark shadows of war that were being cast over India both from the East and the West.

The *Maulana* hoped that at this critical hour at least the British Government would change their attitude, "The whole world should know and realise that we cannot forget our aim of freedom and self-government even to the end of our lives." He added, "We refuse to bow before an oppressive conception which is antagonistic to our ideals."

The *Maulana*, proceeding, said that a politically conscious group among the Muslims thought that the system of separate electorates was detrimental to the interests of that inter-communal harmony and goodwill which was so essential for a country like India. The *Jamiat*, he added, had, after long deliberations, adopted the principle of joint electorates with reservations for safeguarding Muslim rights. This question, he said, was still open, and the different political parties of the Indian

Muslims, should, after mutual consultations, arrive at a desirable conclusion in this regard.

The Maulana then proceeded to discuss the position of the Muslim community in a free India. In this connection he divided the political thinkers of India into three groups, namely, those who were after establishing a strong Central Government of the majority community to whose sweet will all the interest of the Muslim community should be subordinate. This was a conception which, the Maulana added, would never be realised in actual practice.

The second group, according to the Maulana, was one which, impressed by the aims of the first group, tried, by breaking up the unity of India, to create a separate political sphere for itself and to attach itself to the British Crown directly. It was evident, the Maulana continued, that the supporters of the theory of separation knew that the form of government that could be introduced in these areas would not be based on the sovereignty of the Islamic law, but on modern democratic lines. If the view of this group were to prevail, the problem of safeguarding the rights of minorities would be transferred to the provinces, with greater complications than that exist at the centre. He pointed out that one of the complications that would arise was that, while in the provinces or zones with a Hindu majority, the Muslims would be insignificant minorities which could not have any effective say in the administration, the provinces or zones with a Muslim majority would have very strong Hindu minorities which could interfere effectively with the administration.

"ONLY PRACTICABLE SOLUTION"

The third group was the one in favour of a Federal constitution for India, in which all the component parts would be independent and autonomous and free from intervention from the Centre. According to this group, the Centre would be invested with the powers which the autonomous parts would willingly and unambiguously part with. Each part of the Federation would provide the necessary safeguard for the cultural, political and religious rights of the minorities. The far-sighted among the leaders of India considered this last proposal the only practicable solution of the constitutional tangle of India, in the existing circumstances.

Maulana *Hussain Ahmad Ali Nadwi* proposed the inauguration of a separate department of Religious Affairs to look after the religious, cultural, economic and social problems of the Muslims of India whatever the ultimate form of Government may be. This department would be run on purely religious lines, and should possess the power to legislate with a view to bringing about social and economic reform among the followers of Islam in this country without the fear of interference from the Federal Government.

DIFFERENCES AMONG MUSLIMS DEPICTED

Concluding, the Maulana depicted the internal differences among the various Muslim political bodies and said that their differences had eliminated the possibility of co-operation in matters which were of common interest for all. The Jamaat, he said, was always in favour of full co-operation in all such matters, and had always been ready to extend the hand of friendship towards other bodies. A false sense of pride should not stand in the way of different political bodies among the Muslims co-operating with one another in matters of common interest and welfare. If such an attitude were not adopted, the Maulana was afraid, the interests of the Community would be fatally injured in the coming struggle.

DISTURBANCE AT THE CONFERENCE

Several persons sustained injuries when missiles were hung towards the date by a section of the audience. This occurred when the President of the Pakistan Conference, Maulana *Hussain Ahmed Ali Nadwi*, and remarked that it would strengthen the hands of imperialism. A section of the audience took exception to these remarks, and raised full-throated cries of "Pakistan Zindabad". This was the signal for uproar and confusion, in which missiles were hung at the date, resulting in injuries to about a dozen persons. An attempt was also made by certain persons to set fire to the camps of the delegates, but Abhar volunteers promptly arrived and controlled the situation.

A posse of police rushed to the scene, but the President warned that no policeman could enter the pandal. The President resumed his address, while the police threw a cordon round the pandal.

Resolutions—Lahore—22nd. March 1942.

MAULANA AZAD'S ADVICE TO MUSLIMS

Advice to the Muslims not to stand in the way of freedom by presenting different schemes and to stand on their own legs and work for the independence of their country was given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, addressing the concluding session of the Conference on the 22nd. March 1942. The Maulana said that India should take a lesson from the experience of various European countries. India was no longer a spectator; the time for her trial had arrived. The question of the future of Muslims in India was a vital question and it had been worrying him for the last thirty-eight years. During this period, there had been no change in his attitude towards this question. He had been trying to find out the root cause and had come to the conclusion that, unless they were free from British imperialism, no other question should be raised. Muslims should not ask for any safeguards but should try to attain the country's freedom first. He was confident that no earthly power could efface the rights of Muslims in this country nor any constitution or safeguards could save them if they had no confidence in themselves and did not attempt to stand on their own legs.

RESOLUTIONS

The Conference adopted several resolutions. While reserving the right to express its opinion on the proposed constitutional reforms, the Conference in a resolution, called upon all Muslims and Muslim organisations in India to sit together and formulate a common formula, agreeable to all schools of thought, to be presented to Sir Stafford Cripps. Maulana Nuruddin Bihari, moving the resolution, warned the political leaders not to accept a scheme which might be detrimental to the interests of the country. By another resolution, the Conference viewed with great concern the detention of political workers in India without trial and urged the Government either to place them on trial in a court of law or release them forthwith. Failing this, the Conference requested the Government to grant maintenance allowance to the families of the detainees. The other resolutions *inter alia* urged the abolition of distinction of castes or creed, high and low, amongst the Muslims, demanded the introduction of reforms in Baluchistan, advocated the use of Swadeshi goods and urged the removal of restrictions placed on the Kazaks.

The All India Ahrar Conference

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—21st. & 22nd. Feb. 1942

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE STRIKE

No annual session of the Ahrar Conference was held in 1942 and none since the war began; for the All India Ahrar Working Committee passed a resolution on the 11th Sept 1939 at Amritsar refusing to help the Government in their war effort. In pursuance of that resolution speeches were made in different places and arrest courted which resulted in a large number of people going to jail in 1939, 1940 and 1941. In 1942, on the 21st. and 22nd. of February, 1939, taboos civil disobedience and so all speeches against recruitment etc. were prohibited. The resolution in fact prohibited all form of civil disobedience on any account whatsoever. This decision was taken in view of the tense situation in the country arising out of the nearness of war theatres. The resolution runs as follows:—

(1) This meeting of the All India Ahrar Committee informs all provincial committees and their respective branches that no subordinate committee is permitted under any circumstances to embark on, or join in, any civil disobedience movement or other aggressive action. If any situation arises anywhere, the central office should be apprised of its details and no step should be taken without the previous written sanction of the centre.

(2) In view of the present situation in the country, the central office is instructed to issue a circular letter to all subordinate branches inviting their attention towards the following matters:—

(a) Enrolment of members, (b) organising of volunteer corps, (c) contradicting false rumours, (d) prevention of panic among the general public, (e) cooperation

with all non-official organisations in the country for social service according to local conditions and irrespective of political differences.

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—15th. March 1942

CONNECTION WITH AZAD MUSLIMS SEVERED

On March 15, 1942, a meeting of the All India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore in which the decision was taken dissociating the party from the Azad Muslim Conference. The reasons are embodied in the resolution which runs : "In view of the fact that so far no circumstances have arisen to urge for a reconsideration of the policy adopted by the Ahrar organisation about the war in September 1939."

"And in view of the fact that the Azad Muslim Conference in April 1940 by its resolution No. 12 adopted the same policy about the war as had been adopted by the Ahrar organisation in 1939."

"And in view of the fact that several parties joining the Azad Muslim Conference or their great and responsible leaders have acted against the war policy decided by the conference in April, 1940, and when doing so they did not consider it advisable even to hold mutual consultations, and have thus acted very irresponsibly."

"And in view of the fact that the Board appointed by the Conference to formulate Muslim demands within two months has not done anything in the matter even after nearly two years of its constitution, and now it has been proclaimed that the present is no time to formulate such demands,"

"This working committee considers it necessary to sever its connection with the Azad Muslim Conference, to inform the president of the Conference of the above decision and to direct its representatives on the Conference Board not to participate in its meetings in future."

Working Comm. Resolution—Lahore—17th. & 18th. August 1942

DISSOCIATION FROM CONGRESS DECISION

On the 17th. & 18th. August another meeting of the All India Ahrar Working Committee was held at Lahore after the arrest of the Congress leaders and the disturbances ensuing therefrom. The following is the text of the resolutions adopted at the meeting.

"The Working Committee of the All India Ahrar-i-Islam has taken into consideration the situation that has arisen out of the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee held at Bombay and the resultant action of the Government of India. For the guidance of the workers and sympathisers of the Ahrar organisation and the general Muslim public, and as an advice for the Indian public, the working committee has arrived on the following conclusions :—

(1) In respect of the present world war, this working committee stands by the policy enunciated by it at the beginning of the war on the 11th of September, 1939, at Amritsar, in pursuance of which a large number of Ahrar workers and volunteers had to undergo imprisonment, and some of them are even now bravely bearing the rigours of incarceration. Even after the lapse of three years this working committee does not find any change in the circumstances which would justify any amendment or rescission of that policy."

(2) The All India Ahrar Committee in its meeting of February 21, 1942, decided to prohibit all civil disobedience in view of the internal and external situation faced by the country. At that time corn and other necessities of life were scant and dear and there was a danger of foreign attack and internal disorders. In view of the situation arising out of the Congress decision of Bombay and the corresponding Government action resulting in riots and disturbances in the country, this Working Committee is more firmly of the opinion that the previous decision should be adhered to, and the Ahrar organisation should not undertake the responsibility of any aggressive movement as the present circumstances render it not only difficult but even impossible to keep the situation peaceful."

Therefore, this working committee does not find it advisable to recommend to the All India Ahrar Committee to rescind its decision of February last."

(3) A reign of violence has been established in the country by the actions of the Government and a section of the Indian people. This Working Committee finds itself unable to support the violence of either party, and whereas it wants to impress on its countrymen the fact that desperate injury to lives and property is not approved of even by Gandhiji and other Congress leaders, it wants to impress on the Government also the fact that desperate shooting to control the situation and bring not only on excited crowds but even on people sitting in their

buildings and creating peace through terrorism cannot be useful either for Government or for world peace, and therefore it should not allow its police and military to do things as they like. Temporary provocation should not cause Government to be panicky and desperate urging it to take action inconsistent with its delicate responsibilities, which action might look vindictive.

(4) Not only the freedom of India and other countries, but also a reign of justice and an equal and equitable struggle for the prosperity of all humanity is needed to ensure world peace; and the victory of any party in the present world war cannot guarantee its future peace or freedom as is evident from the aftermath of the last world war. So the policy of subjugating, or keeping under subjection, other nations cannot ensure for the benefit of any country for any long period of time.

(5) All Muslims generally, and the Ahirar workers and sympathisers especially, should bear it in mind that the present disturbed conditions have emphasised the need for peace and accord in the country, and so we should try to eliminate all factors provoking communal passions. And now when the Government and a section of the people are at logger-heads with each other, none should side with either party or become the tool of any other group in the country working for communal conflict.

Under the circumstances, instead of going to jails we should concentrate all our energies on service of the people, establishment of internal peace and safeguarding against impending dangers.

Similarly it is the duty of the Government and the people in conflict with it to prevent the creation of an atmosphere for communal disturbance, and not to search a weak prey for their anger and rage.

(6) Majlis-i-Ahrar has always stood for independence of India and other Islamic and non-Islamic countries, but under the present critical circumstances it considers all civil disobedience in the zeal to help the allies or in the hope of welcoming the Axis powers not only unnecessary but also inadvisable.

The All India Azad Muslim Board

Resolutions—Delhi—1st. & 2nd. March 1942

NATIONAL POLICY FOR MUSLIMS

A meeting of the All India Azad Muslim Board was held at Delhi on the 1st. March 1942 and the following resolutions were passed unanimously after a full-day discussion:—

"Since the last session of the Board, the cataclysm of war has advanced with giant strides and the whole world lies engulfed in a deluge of blood. India is no longer a distant spectator of the war, but finds itself within the zone of imminent danger. Questions which only two years ago appeared to be vital and claimed all attention have paled into insignificance. New problems are uniting their forces and resources to save their freedom. Courageous efforts have to be made for new international alignments to develop and co-ordinate determined endeavours to meet and overcome to aggression, it is imperative that no effort should be spared to knit all the people of India into a united endeavour. The country's will should be galvanised and its immense potential effectively developed for the task of defending the country and thereby establishing its freedom in a world free of aggression. The Board is convinced that there is general unanimity in India that the country must forthwith cease to be a Dependency if this end is to be achieved and that it should have the freedom enjoyed by the other free countries of the world, including England and the Dominions. Representing nine constituent Muslim organisations and speaking for the bulk of the Indian Muslims, this Board fully supports this demand.

"Further, it feels constrained to conclude that the specious plea of the Secretary of State for India, and the British Government that the Muslim League is the authoritative spokesman of the Indian Muslims, and that its attitude and demands constitute an insuperable obstacle in the way of India's freedom is an indefensible subterfuge to mask the disinclination of the British Government to part with power. This serious gravity of the situation occasioned by the menace of an early invasion most imperatively demands that the British Government

should immediately recognise India's freedom and transfer real power to enable the representatives of the people to assume complete responsibility for the defence of the country as a whole in full and mutual collaboration with the other free countries.

SYMPATHY FOR MUSLIM COUNTRIES

"The Board has noted with keen regret that the conflagrations of war has enveloped nearly all the Muslim countries of the world and their independence has been held to ransom. From the eastern source of the Red Sea in the near Middle East no less than in Malaya, China, Russia, and certain parts of Europe, Mussalmans along with their other people are exposed to the horrors and severe ordeals of war.

"The Board conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the Muslims and other inhabitants of these countries who are suffering from the savagery of aggression. It earnestly hopes that the freedom of all the countries and nations which have fallen victim to old or new aggressors will be fully restored.

"It further desires to place on record its fullest sympathy with Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq and Iran in their present plight and hopes that all of them will emerge strong and free in a world free from aggression and exploitation."

Resolution—Second Day—Delhi—2nd. March 1942

Carried to Mr. CHURCHILL AND CRIPPS

"The meeting concluded on the next day, the 2nd. March, after three days' sitting. The Conference passed two resolutions at to-day's session, one urging unconditional release of all detenus and the other, appealing to all Muslims that under the present changing circumstances, they should, for their national existence, unite and act unitedly in order to safeguard their national interests.

It was understood that a copy of the resolutions passed by the Board was forwarded to the Prime Minister Mr. Churchill, the Secretary of State for India Mr. Amery, and Sir Stafford Cripps.

The Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference

Calcutta—21st. June 1942

NAWAB BAHADUR OF MURSHIDABAD'S OBSERVATIONS

"Having regard to the long fostered relations between the two sister communities of India, centuries ago, there is no reason why at this fateful hour, or at any other time, strenuous effort should not be made to bridge the gulf of difference that unhappily divides them still," observed the *Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad* presiding over the Hindu-Muslim Unity Conference, held at the Town Hall, Calcutta on the 21st June 1942.

The *Nawab Bahadur* said that a true citizen born on the soil of India was he who was actuated by sentiment of patriotism to see complete understanding arrived at between these great communities living side by side in their resolve to stand firm in order to be benefited by the increasing glimmer of the dawn of India's salvation.

Confident in the fulfilment of their aims and aspirations, the *Nawab Bahadur* concluded by appealing to Indians to seek to dispel the gloom of disunion and distrust for the sake of their common good by becoming for ever united through trials and privations, through prosperity and adversity in the enduring service of their dear and beloved Motherland.

MR. FAZLUL HUG'S OPENING SPEECH

Opening the proceedings of the conference, the Bengali Premier, Mr. A. K. *Fazlul Hug* said that from the beginning of his political life he realised that there could be no salvation for India without Hindu-Muslim unity. At the same time he felt that for the freedom of India, the advancement of the Muslim community was essential. He felt that such unity and amity were even more necessary for the Muslims themselves. The true Islamic spirit was based upon friendship and cooperation with neighbours, whatever their religion, race or colour. He admitted that he had always been a strenuous fighter for the rights of Moslems, but he knew that these based on justice and even if some of his Hindu friends had at times misunderstood him, they now realised that he had always worked in the

best interests of the communities and the country. Today Bengal, among the Indian provinces, faced dangers of an order which people in other areas did not, perhaps, realise. In this danger, it was imperative that all Bengalees should unite in facing the common danger and the common enemy. A house divided against itself shall fall, and it was for Mr. Hux a consolation, even in the midst of the dangers and distress of today, that former political opponents had come together to share the service of the Motherland. Even dangers lost their terror when shared with friends and he was confident that the new unity established in Bengal would have far greater consequences.

CONGRESS PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Wishing the movement complete success the Congress president, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad* in a message to the conference said:—

It is needless to say that in the present critical and grave times our province stands in need of no movement more than this. He added, 'It is unity and unity alone that is needed most at this juncture of common danger and let us agree that we have differences about future, but let us also agree that we can respond to the demands of the present. We have had enough of quarrels but it will at a time when the invader is knocking at our doors.'

LORD BISHOP'S MESSAGE

Welcoming the move, the *Lord Bishop of Calcutta* in a message said that the Punjab had set an example which, he sincerely hoped, Bengal would endorse by her own action.

RESOLUTIONS

The conference adopted a resolution emphasizing that the need for unity and solidarity of the people of Bengal had never been so pressing and immediate as to-day and it was only on the basis of such unity that they could hope to overcome the perils which threatened to engulf them.

It urged the people of the province to unite in the common task of safeguarding internal security and order, storage and distributing of foodstuffs and other essentials, and the provision of medical and other relief, irrespective of differences in caste, community, creed or political affiliation, and to carry on an intensive propaganda to stress the overwhelming identity of interests of the people in this crisis and also constitute peace brigades for despatch to places where there is any apprehension of communal trouble.

By another resolution the conference decided to set up a non-party and non-political organisation, and for this purpose a council of the Hindu-Muslim unity association was formed with about 100 members with direction to frame the constitution and to work out a plan and programme of action for the proposed organisation.

A third resolution stressed the need for creation of a permanent trust fund for publicity through speeches and pamphlets, creation of a literature of communal harmony and dissemination among the masses of greater knowledge of the common achievement of the two communities in the fields of cultural and spiritual activities.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Lucknow—28th. February 1942

NEW COMMITTEE ELECTED

The Old Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha met at Lucknow on the 28th. February 1942 in the afternoon at the residence of Sir J. P. Srivastava under the presidentship of Mr. V. D. Savarkar and passed the last year's accounts and transacted such other formal business not taken up during the Bhagalpur session of the Mahasabha. The dispute about the Ajmer Hindu Mahasabha elections also came up for consideration and the matter was referred to Mr. V. Deshpande for arbitration.

The Committee met in the evening in the Ganja Prasad Memorial Hall and elected the following office-bearers unanimously.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Bhairam and Mr. M. C. Chatterjee, Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth of Kotra (General Secretary), Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri and Mr. V. Keshwar (Secretaries).

The following constituted the Working Committee:

Khai Bahadur Hussain Chandra (Delhi), Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna (N. W. P.), Lal Hariram Seth (Agra), Sir P. Srivastava (Udipi), Capt. Kesho Chandra (Punjab), Mr. Ramkrishna Pande (Maharashtra), Dr. U. G. Gokhale (Bombay), Mr. L. V. Bhopalkar (Maharashtra), Mr. Patwardhan (Karnatak), Mr. N. M. Mitra (Bangal), Mr. Chandrakar Sa da (Rajasthan), Mr. Kishore Hariharan (Assam), Rai Bahadur Veekataran Aiyar (Madras), Dewan Bahadur Ramaswami Sastri (Tamil Nad), M. Rameshwar Misra (Bihar), Mr. Verman Meghraj (Indi), Mr. Khanna (Jaipur), Mr. Subba Rao (Andhra), Mr. P. C. Jogalekar (Berar) and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vedantankur (nominated by the President).

Resolutions—Lucknow—1st. March 1942

IMMEDIATE GRANT OF FULL FREEDOM

The newly elected Working Committee met on the next morning, the 1st. March 1942, as also the All-India Committee.

The following resolutions were passed by the All-India Committee after prolonged discussions:—

"The Hindu Mahasabha had called upon the British Government to put into practice the war aims professed by England and the Allies that they had joined this titanic struggle for establishing the principle of freedom and democracy. The Hindu Mahasabha regrets that Britain has failed to convince the people of Hindustan of the sincerity of her intentions and takes this final opportunity of warning the British Government that the tragic reverses in the Far East can be prevented in Hindustan by England granting fullest political freedom to India and securing the wholehearted sympathy and co-operation of the Hindus.

"Of all the tragic events in the present war, the fall of Singapore affects most vitally the question of Indian defence. The only effective measure to counteract the defeatist shock and rouse the Indian people with proper spirit in this crisis is a bold and an unambiguous proclamation on the part of the British Government that India is granted full independence and co-partnership equal with Great Britain in the Indo-British Commonwealth and such a declaration must be immediately made by the British Government.

"The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha urges the British Government with Britain is fighting for India's independence, the better for both England and India.

"This All-India Committee demands the abolition of the India Office and of the India Council, the complete nationalisation of the Government of India on democratic lines, the concentration of political sovereignty in India and the transfer of Foreign Affairs and relations with the Indian States."

This resolution was proposed by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, seconded by Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth of Kotra and was carried unanimously.

CIVIL DEFENCE

"In view of the deplorable unpreparedness of India in matters of defence, the All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Hindu Sabhas throughout India and particularly in Provinces and Districts which are exposed to the danger of air raids or invasion by foreign powers to organise civil defence parties and to take all possible steps to raise and equip a National Militia for preventing the ravages caused by possible air attacks; anti-Hindu hoodlignism and internal commotion. The Hindu Mahasabha defence organisations should act in co-operation with the authorities and with the defence parties started by other political organisations. The Provincial Governments should bring about proper co-ordination between the civic and A. R. P. services and enlist public sympathy and co-operation and grant fullest recognition to the Mahasabha defence organisations and afford them facilities to organise and equip the Mahasabha volunteer forces. The Committee calls upon the Government to repeal the Arms Act and to provide the members of the defence organisations with arms so that they can form a real National Militia, able to withstand and cope with all possible internal emergencies."

This was moved by Mr. M. C. Chatterji and was passed unanimously.

REPEAL OF ARMS ACT

"In view of the fact that the Government has so far failed to organise adequate defence of India, the Hindu Mahasabha calls upon the Government to : (1) repeal the Arms Act so that every Indian should be able, without any difficulty, to secure rifles and to learn their use to shoot down invaders as a second line of defence and guerrilla warfare in support of the defence to be put up by the Government; (2) encourage and provide funds for the organisation of a National Militia so as to enable every able-bodied Indian to do his part in the defence of his country; (3) establish immediately factories for the manufacture of aeroplanes, motor cars and warships and to give help to the industrialisation of the country to bring about self-sufficiency in the matter of weapons for the defence of the country; and (4) provide serviceable and non-serviceable rifles with ammunition free of charge to schools and colleges as a preliminary for training of educated youths."

This was proposed by Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra, seconded by Pandit Ravenshaw Misra and Major F. Bardhan and was passed.

ANTI-NATIONAL SPEECHES

"From the speeches made and the statements issued by the prominent Congress leaders the Hindu Mahasabha apprehends that the Congress may accept some anti-democratic and anti-national agreement to placate the Muslims. The Hindu Mahasabha which is the only body to speak on behalf of the Hindus warns the Government that, if any such agreement is arrived at behind the back of the Hindu Mahasabha, it will be stoutly resisted by every possible means."

Proposed by Prof. Desai and seconded by Pandit Vedanikar and Rai Bahadur Mehr Chand Khanna, this was adopted unanimously.

STUDENT-CONTACT-MOVEMENT

"Resolved that the Hindu Mahasabha should launch a strong Hindu-Student-Contact-Movement and should establish, aid, or actively support the Hindu Students' movement. The Mahasabha should form a Committee which should see that the rights of Hindu students are not violated in any part of India."

Moved by A. K. Bajpai (U. P.), seconded by Nigam, and supported by Vaidyarnaj W. K. Dani (Akoth).

MIGRATION OF KAZAKS

"The All-India Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great concern the migration of several thousands of the Kazaks who are reported to have entered Kashmir with property looted from the adjoining territory. The Committee condemns the Government of India for maintaining them in India, and urges upon them that they should assist the Kashmir Government in repatriating Kazaks back to their own territory."

Proposed by V. G. Deshpande, and supported by Mr. Indira Prakash.

PAKISTAN SCHEME IN ASSAM

"This meeting of the All-India Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that a deep-laid design to reduce the majority strength of the

Hindus in Assam and convert it into a Muslim majority province is being carried on systematically and effectively by colonising the province with Muslim emigrants from outside and that the organised aggression of these Muslim emigrants have been endangering the life and property of the Hindus in Assam. This meeting views with great apprehension the recent inauguration of the land development scheme by the last Sadulshah ministry, which is really intended to abolish the "Line system" and to bring about the speedy realisation of the Muslim dream of "Pakistan" in the province of Assam. This meeting, therefore, warns the Assam Government that any attempt to modify or alter the "Line system" to the detriment of the interest of the Hindus in Assam will be resisted by the Hindu Mahasabha at all costs and calls upon the Assam Government to desist from pursuing such a suicidal policy at a time when complete cohesion among all sections of people is in their interest of fighting against the imminent foreign aggression."

Proposed by Mr. A. Lahiry and supported by Mr. P. Dawa, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. Kafi Ram Burman.

The Tamilnad Hindu Mahasabha Conference Third Session—Coimbatore—20th. June 1942

Presidential Address

Presiding over the third session of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha Conference which met at Coimbatore on the 20th June 1942, Dr. B. S. Moonje said:

"We are meeting under most tragic and humiliating circumstances. It is tragic because there is a fundamental change in the attitude of the British Government towards India and its future. We had not completely comprehended in all its implications the real inner meaning of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, when he used to say that the further devolution of power from the British to Indian hands must be subject to two stipulations—one was due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on the British by their historic connection with India and the other was that the constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in India's national life. By natural instinct, as it were, the Indian political opinion suspected, from the frequent repetitions of these two stipulations, progressive deterioration in the British sentiment towards India.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

"Lastly as matters developed, the Indian political opinion frankly declared that it read into these stipulations, the desire of the British to take back with one hand what they profess to give with the other and their cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India. But the cat was not out of the bag until, being cornered by the not very complimentary expression of American opinion, Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India with what are known as the War Cabinet's proposals. But the fundamental soul of the proposals which was carefully prepared as a bait to the Congress to swallow was the freedom to the provinces not to accede to the Indian Union if they so desired. In its quite naked form, it meant the partition of India into several smaller sovereign States, that is the Balkanisation of India, so that these several sovereign States may be kept constantly quarrelling among themselves, thus providing a ready excuse to the Britishers to keep the Indian army and therefore the finance in their hands for ever. Having thus sown the seed of dissensions and civil war, Mr. Amery, turning round, takes a somersault and openly says that the British system which we have developed in a homogeneous country is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India."

"The meaning of it all in plain words is that the Cripps' mission to India has assured the Muslims that the British Government as such is prepared to concede Pakistan to them if they want it and having done this, it has further strengthened the mentality of antagonism in the Moslems towards the Hindus, because it is the Hindus who are alone opposing Pakistan."

BALKANISATION OF INDIA

Referring to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's proposals for Hindu-Muslim unity, Dr. Moonje said:

"Our friend, Mr. Rajagopalachari, is and has been carrying on an intensive and fanatical propaganda for influencing the Hindus to concede Pakistan to the Muslims and thus agree to the partition of India. After Pakistan will follow, as might follow the day, Bangladesh, Eurasian, Christianistan, and so many other 'states' like them. Is it not Balkanisation of India? Is it not degrading and degrading India from the high pedestal of a powerful and respected nation to the insignificant position of a mere conglomeration of principalities, feared and respected by none and threatened and dominated by every powerful nation? Who can say that it is not humiliating to the Hindus? Where practically all the Muslims—men, whether in the Congress or in the Muslim League, or whether nationalists or communalists, are speaking with one determined voice in favour of Pakistan and partition of India into various sovereign States, is it not derogatory to the dignity and prestige of the Hindus that one occupying the eminent position in the community like Mr. Rajagopalachari should come out openly to support Pakistan and to preach against what is practically held unanimously by the entire Hindu community in India as an harbinguer of wreck and ruin? In fact, even his supporters admit that Mr. Rajagopalachari enjoys hardly any support in the rest of India except among Muslims." Practically all his colleagues in the Congress, including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad and others, are strongly opposed to him though not equally determined to risk the disfigurement of the Muslims by starting a counter-propaganda. The irony of the situation, however, is that Mr. Rajagopalachari is maintaining that his only fault is that he is emphasising what has been consistently and continuously preached by Mahatma Gandhi in the Congress and outside in respect of Hindu-Muslim unity.

SEPARATE NATION THEORY

"Here we as outsiders, must clearly see and analyse, as outsiders, as third persons, what has been actually said by Mahatma Gandhi and what are its clear implications. Mahatma (Gandhi) says, 'If the vast majority of the Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise and if they want to partition on that basis, they must have the partition unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari has been ignoring the most relevant and significant part of the last sentence, that is, 'Unless Hindus want to fight against such a division.' Mr. Rajagopalachari and a few Hindus of his way of thinking may not have the heart to fight for the integrity and solidarity of India, but from the experience he has been gaining in this propaganda tour of his, he must admit that the Hindus are determined to fight to the last drop of their blood to maintain the rational, religious and cultural solidarity of India and Indian Empire, that is, *Sarvabhoumatva* and *Ekatritityatva* of our Vedic prayers of the entire country, lying between the river Sindhu in the north and the sea in the south.

"Now I would like to deal with the whitewash propaganda of Mr. Rajagopalachari in favour of the Pakistan of the Muslim League. Mr. Rajagopalachari believes that Japan will invade India and conquer it and that the British Government will not be able to put up an efficient and successful defence. Thus, he argues, if Japan succeeds and conquers India, the British Government will go and Provincial Legislatures and their Administrations, National Government and Defence Minister and everything that they were negotiating for with Sir Stafford Cripps. In fact, he believes, that, if Japan succeeds, India will be made a slave much more than we are at present. He, therefore, wants to fight Japan and defend India; but he has not got confidence in him and in the Hindu community to which he belongs. He, therefore, wants to combine with the Muslims, Muslims will not unite with him unless their demand of Pakistan is accepted. Therefore, Mr. Rajagopalachari readily accepts their demand of Pakistan and is terribly annoyed with the Congress for having rejected his proposals and, in its place, accepted Babu Jagan Nath's proposals for rejecting Pakistan.

THE INVASION FEAR

"Now let us analyse his position and see how far he is right and where he is wrong. The very first point that strikes me as peculiarly significant is why

Mr. *Rajagopalachari*, the Hindu, alone should be so terribly unnerved at the prospective Japanese invasion. Why should Mr. *Amma*, the Mussalman, not be unnerved? On the other hand, he is perfectly calm, quiet and is maintaining his balance. If the danger is real, it should equally be a danger both to the Mussalman and to the Hindu. Because if, with the defeat and disappearance of the British the Independence will disappear, so also will be the case with Pakistan. Then why should Mr. *Amma*, who is so keen on Pakistan, remain so indifferent?

"Mr. *Rajagopalachari* believes that, if the Madras Government had been in his hand, he would have raised a well organised militia throughout the Province. Saying is easy than actually doing it. Who would allow him to raise a militia? Is there a National militia in Sind, or in the Punjab or in Bengal where the respective provincial Governments are in the hands of the peoples of the respective Provinces? And, what is more, all the three Prime Ministers in these Provinces are Moslems and they also want Pakistan. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that, if Mr. *Rajagopalachari* would be made the Prime Minister of Madras, he would raise a national militia all throughout the Province, even supposing that the Muslim friends of the Muslim League to whom he wants to concede Pakistan will be all co-operating with him. Where will he get the rifles and cartridges? Will the Viceroy allow him, even if there will be a National Government in the Centre in collusion with the Muslim League? The National Government will not be of the kind on which the Congress is insisting; because Sir *Stafford Cripps* and the British War Cabinet have set their face against it with fanatic determination.

INDIA'S DEFENCE PROBLEMS

"Mr. *Rajagopalachari* wants to defend India against the Japanese invasion. Sir *Stafford Cripps* says that 'this defence is a paramount duty and responsibility even if all the parties want it.' If the defence is not entrusted to the National Government, even of that kind which Congress is insisting upon, then what part of the defence will be left to it and to Mr. *Rajagopalachari*? What the Government wants from us is our money and labour. It does not want us to control and guide our Defence System.

"If such is the limited scope of Sir *Stafford Cripps*'s proposals regarding what he designates as the National Government, a high sounding but meaningless name, then where is the chance for Mr. *Rajagopalachari* to create a National militia and to defend India from Japanese invasion? This is all moonshine." Proceeding, Dr. Moonje referred at length to the system of guerrilla warfare and said that the Britishers were quite confident of themselves overwhelming and smothering the invasion of India by the short statured Japanese by matching the big-bodied Pathans and the tall Punjabi Mussulmans against them. They needed no military help from the civilian population as did the Russians and the Chinese. They only needed moral and military resources, that was, money, raw materials and labour which they expected the civil population of India should supply them profusely. If you could pray for the British victory whole day and night as Mahatma Gandhi advised, it would be an additional merit. Now the Mussalman knows it all and therefore is calm, quiet and composed and has not become panicky.

APPEAL TO HINDUS

Dr. Moonje appealed to the Hindus not to become panicky. Even if they conceded Pakistan as Mr. *Rajagopalachari* advised them, they would not have "Kaly round the Hindu Mahasabha and do as it tells you to do. The Hindu Mahasabha is your only saviour. Pay respect and reverence to Mahatma Gandhi, but listen only to the advice of the Hindu Mahasabha." Dr. Moonje said, "that in his desire to bring about Hindu-Muslim Unity, however noble and worthy it may be, the way he has adopted to bring it about needlessly cause utmost ruin possible to our Motherland and the Hindus. I would impress upon him the clear and definite expression of opinion of no less a person than Sir *Taj Bahadur Sapru* who, in his article in the *Twentieth Century* under the caption, 'Mr. *Amma* and the Bombay Conference', says, 'For the British generally to agree to the demand for dissection of India will be, I maintain, an act of black treachery to India.' Sir *Taj Bahadur Sapru* does not conceal the fact that, though he is born

a Hindu and a Brahmin; his whole culture is Persian, that is, Islamic; still he says that the dissection of India will be an act of black treachery if a Britisher were to agree to it. What have the Hindus to say? Have they not any religion and culture of their own and could not they be equally determined to save them from being smothered by Pakistan, in spite of the fact that a Hindu, Mr. Raja-gopalachari, is vehemently and fanatically supporting it?"

The Akhand Hindusthan Conference

Annual Session—Delhi—1st. February 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"The dangers of the hour must awaken the wisdom of all communities and interests, and ought to make us believe that we should not allow future ambition to frustrate the programme of present safety", declared Mr. K. M. Munshi, presiding over the Akhand Hindusthan Conference held at Delhi on the 1st February 1942.

Mr. Munshi continued: "What then is the way? At present, any hope of permanent settlement of the claims of the Muslims is wishful thinking. It is a fact, even the conditions which would enable the Nationalists to come together with mutual confidence do not exist. Any effort to solve the political deadlock in the Congress provinces will also, I am afraid, meet with failure. Unless the Congress participates in a National Government, pledged to war first, I do not see any possibility of responsible governments in the Congress Provinces." Criticising the Pakistan demand, Mr. Munshi observed: "The defence of the integrity of the country against external aggression and internal disruption must rule out any possibility of there being more than one Central Government in the country. But, in order to allay the fears of the Muslims, the Central Government can be left with only those powers necessary and incidental to Defence, External Affairs and upholding of the constitution, and no power except of an advisory character to interfere with such activities of the Provincial Governments as do not bear upon those Central activities. The religious and cultural freedom of every subject, whether Hindu or Muslim, can be secured by giving statutory recognition to fundamental rights relating to freedom in religious and cultural matters." But, proceeded Mr. Munshi, another proposal was being whispered about as a possible alternative to disruption, and that was to give 50 per cent representation to the Muslims and 50 per cent to the Hindus and others at the centre. "This fifty-fifty scheme is the more sinister aspect of Pakistan" Mr. Munshi asserted.

Mr. Munshi reviewed the changes in India since the last session of the conference, and pointed out that since the formation of the new Coalition Ministry in Bengal, none of the provinces in India was governed by a "party whose object was the disruption of India."

Visualising post-war conditions, Mr. Munshi said that after the war, Defence was bound to be internationalised by being placed in the hands of an effective World Federation. This would mean that the Indian Army, in external matters, like other allied armies, would be under a Regional War Council, helping to maintain international law and order.

Mr. Munshi adverted to "certain forms of non-co-operation in the provinces where responsible government is still functioning", and said this created not only an anomaly, but produced an undesirable effect on Hindu-Muslim relations. The Congress members in the Sind Assembly supported a War Ministry. In Bengal, it attended the Assembly on specific issues. Except in Sind, the Congress parties did not help or hinder Government. He urged that either the Congress parties in these provinces should be left to make their own coalitions and take charge of the Government or be asked to get out and make room for those who could do so. Either of these two courses would have a very sobering influence. Mr. Munshi, proceeding, observed: "Let us drop our timid, fugitive outlook on life. We are not slaves, nor are we the down-trodden of the earth. Let us fix our gaze steadfastly on our past,

which was great and the future which is glorious, and above all, live in the present as men. No one can initiate or conserve a race of 400 million men pledged to strenuous defence of all adverse conditions.

"The war opens to us a vista of immense possibilities. The war must end. A new international structure must arise on its ashes, which will end the era of greed and lust for exploitation of men by men. The moral order, for which India stood and stands, is an over-arching reality of life, which defies onslaughts. We have not raised the tower of our ambition on the foundation of other people's enslavement and why should we fear?"

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said: "Hindustan was not born to die. It did not live so long in order to be destroyed or destroyed. It would not have lived so far, had it not had a message to deliver. Let us, therefore, hold fast to its integrity, and to the culture" which is its splendorous heritage. Let us resist all that seeks its destruction."

Resolutions

"The Conference adopted the following resolution:

"This Akhand Bharat Conference believes in one indivisible united India, and strongly condemns the Pakistan scheme which aims at the vivisection of India, and declares unequivocally that such like anti-national and communal schemes will not be accepted under any circumstances. This Conference strongly appeals to the various communities that they should raise their united voice against the Pakistan scheme.

"This Conference is of opinion that in the future National Government of India, the religious freedom of all communities should be equally safeguarded and just treatment accorded to all, irrespective of race or religion."

"The Conference was addressed among others by Sir Gokul Chand Narang, Mahashe Krishna, Late Deshbandhu Gupta, Sardar Raghubir Singh and Prof. Indira, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

"The speakers declared that they could not tolerate division of India, and would sacrifice everything for safeguarding a united India, and if Swaraj was to be won, that would be won for Indians and for India, and no division like States, British India, or for Harijans, Hindus or Muslims could be accepted.

The Sikh Policy The Sikh All Parties Committee

CHIEF PROPOSALS REJECTED

The Sikh All-Parties Committee in a representation to Sir Stafford Cripps on the 3rd April 1942 declared that the proposals are unacceptable to them because: "Instead of maintaining and strengthening the integrity of India, specific provision has been made of separation of provinces and constitution of Pakistan and (2) the cause of Sikh community has been lamentably betrayed.

FOUGHT FOR ENGLAND

Ever since the British advent our community has fought for England in every battlefield of the empire, and this is our reward, that our position in the Punjab which England promised to hold in trust, and in which we occupied a predominant position has been finally liquidated.

Why should a province that fails to secure a majority of its legislature, in which a religious community enjoys statutory majority, be allowed to hold a plebiscite and be given the benefit of a bare majority? In fairness this right should have been conceded to communities who are in permanent minority in the legislature.

Further why should not the population of any area opposed to separation be given the right to record its verdict and to form an autonomous unit? We are sure you know that Punjab proper extended upto the banks of Jhelum excluding Jhang and Multan districts, and trans-Jhelum area was added by conquest of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and retained by the British for administrative convenience. It would be altogether unjust to allow extraneous trans-Jhelum

population which only accidentally came into the province to dominate the future of the Punjab proper.

PUNJAB POPULATION

We give below the figures which abundantly prove our contention:—

From boundary of Delhi to banks of Ravi river the population is divided as follows:—

| Muslims | Sikhs and other non-Muslims | From Delhi boundary to the banks of Jhelum river excluding Multan and |
|-----------|-----------------------------|---|
| 45,05,000 | ... | ... |
| 76,46,000 | ... | ... |
| 82,88,000 | ... | ... |
| 83,18,000 | ... | ... |

To this may be added the population of Sikh States of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kapurthala and Faridkot, which is about 26 lakhs. Of this the Muslims constitute barely 20 per cent and this reduces the ratio of Muslim population still further. We do not wish to labour the point any more. We have lost all hope of receiving any consideration. We shall resist however by all possible means separation of the Punjab from All-India Union. We shall never permit our motherland to be at the mercy of those who disown it."

Central Akali Dal's Statement

CHIEFS' PROPOSALS ANTI-NATIONAL

Sardar Kharak Singh, president of the Central Akali Dal, in a statement issued from Lahore on the 1st, April 1942, said that the proposals of the War Cabinet not only conceded to all intents and purposes the separatists' demand for partition of India but actually encouraged the idea of separatism by holding out a hope to every religious community that wherever they are even in a bare majority, Muslims can form a separate communal sovereign State. At present this idea of separatism has only a frail hold on some sections of the Muslim community but once this principle is agreed to be conceded, it is bound to spread throughout India and then, not to speak of one Pakistan, as many Pakistanis may be established as there are provinces or states in which any religious community is in majority. The acceptance of these proposals will, therefore, mean the complete frustration of the national movement in India.

This scheme, adds *Sardar Kharak Singh*, is so anti-national that it could never be acceptable to the nationalist minded Sikhs but it becomes all the more obnoxious and totally unacceptable as it does not provide for an effective safeguard of the rights of the Sikhs.

Communal Pact in the Punjab

Premier Explains Terms

The terms of the Pact which has been arrived at between *Sardar Baldev Singh*, leader of the United Punjab Party and *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan*, were announced by the Premier at a press conference held at Lahore on the 15th, June 1942.

The terms, which are embodied in a letter addressed by *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan* to *Sardar Baldev Singh*, relate to facilities for Jhatka, teaching of Gur-mukhi, legislation regarding religious matters, service under the Punjab Government and Sikh representation at the Centre. The terms are so formed as to apply equally to all communities in the Punjab.

DETAILS OF THE PACT

In connection with the question of Jhatka, *Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan* proposes, with the approval of the Cabinet, to issue instruction that in Government institutions where separate kitchens exist or can be provided for Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs, and where facilities exist for obtaining meat, every community should be free to cook and use meat slaughtered according to their own rites, subject only to such restriction as may be necessary to avoid injury to the feelings of the other communities.

As regards the teaching of Gurmukhi as second language in schools, Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan says that it will not be possible to give effect to this suggestion forthwith, but he agrees that there should be no objection in adopting and will, of course, apply to communities alike.

As for legislation relating to religious matters, Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan has agreed to set up a convention that in matters, which exclusively concern a particular community, that community alone should have the right to decide if the matter, when it comes before the House, should be proceeded with or not. It can be left to the members of that community to take a decision at all stages of such legislation.

As regards recruitment to the Services, Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan states that the Government has already fixed the proportion for various communities, including the Sikhs, who have been allotted ten per cent share. It is the duty of every Minister to see that no departure from this formula is contemplated.

As for Sikh representation at the Centre, the Premier has assured Sardar Baldev Singh that if and when an expansion or change in the present Executive Council is contemplated, the Sikh claim will, as hitherto, have his full sympathy and support. He shall also be glad to support the Sikh claim for due share in the Central Services.

PREMIER'S UNDERTAKINGS

Releasing the terms of the Pact for publication, Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan made statement welcoming and cordially reciprocating the gesture of goodwill made by Sardar Baldev Singh and endorsing his appeal for mutual understanding between the various communities. On behalf of his colleagues and himself, he gave a solemn assurance that the Government would not only welcome co-operation from all classes and parties in this behalf, but was determined to give or outside, for the duration of the war.

Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan recalled that, at the very outset of the war, he suggested the formation of All-Party Governments in all Provinces and offered to form one in Punjab. Unfortunately, the proposal did not commend itself to the major Indian political parties. "So far as I am concerned", said Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan, "I still welcome the co-operation of all groups in the Assembly, and, at any rate, we can still do a great deal by co-operating at least, in matters of common concern and interest, for instance, civil defence, internal security, creating a sense of confidence and security among the masses and checking and contradicting false and exaggerated report and rumours."

PLEA FOR AN ALL-PUNJAB FRONT

Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan appealed to all his Punjab fellow-citizens to follow the laudable lead given by Sardar Baldev Singh and said: "It is the duty of all patriotic citizens to help the Government by lending their unflinching support to all measures devised for securing and maintaining public peace and for the protection of life, property and honour of the people. It is the Government, which is primarily responsible for the safety and security of the person and property of the citizens and it has made adequate arrangements for the purpose. Voluntary help from those who have hitherto kept aloof, for one reason or other, will, however, add to the efficiency and efficacy of these measures, and is earnestly solicited. I beg of all parties, classes and communities to shed their suspicion and sink their differences. There is no time for political or communal controversies and rivalries. Let us unite and establish an All-Punjab front in the service of our country and our Province, and demonstrate to the world what a united Punjab can do to save humanity and its cherished ideals of freedom, justice and equality, from the evil forces of Fascist lust and aggression."

Elucidating his reference to controversial measures, the Premier said that it was primarily meant to apply to economic legislation. Any amendments, however, which might be necessary to the efficacy of the Act already passed or to stop any loophole found as a result of judicial decision or otherwise would not be banned. He emphasised that the intention was that no further controversial legislation would be sponsored by the Government.

GOVT. NOT CONCERNED WITH POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES

In reply to another question, the Premier made it clear that the Govern-

ment as such was not concerned with political controversies, and was not identified either with Pakistan or anti-Pakistan. So far as fair and *bonafide* political propaganda was concerned, everybody had the freedom to carry it on with due regard to law and order. If a conference in favour of Pakistan or against Pakistan were convened and addressed without any risk or danger to the peace of the Province, there could be no objection to it, but if there was risk of breaking of heads, it must be averted.

Amplifying his reference to that, the Premier said that this was nearly a restricted application of the resolution unanimously passed in 1937 by the United Conference on which all communities were represented. This did not, however, give anybody the right to slaughter an animal in a Government institution.

Among those present at the Conference were Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir *Chhotu Ram*, Revenue Minister, and *Malik Khizar Hyat Khan* Wivana, Minister for Public Works.

Sikh Leader's Statement

Sardar Baldev Singh, in a statement to the press, says that in view of the assurance given by the Premier and in view of the vital necessity of preserving the internal peace of the Province and facing the imminent danger of external aggression, he feels it his duty to appeal to all communities, and particularly the Sikhs, to co-operate with the Punjab Government at this critical juncture in establishing communal harmony, so that the peace of the Province may be secured and a united front be created for winning the war. As an earnest of the keen desire to create a united front, he offers his own and his colleagues' whole-hearted support and co-operation to the Premier and his Government in all that he may undertake in achieving this object.

The All India Nationalist League

Working Committee—Delhi—26th. February 1942

Resolutions

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League met at Windsor Place, Delhi, on the 26th February 1942 under the Presidency of Mr. *Jamnadass Mehta*, M. L. A. (Central). At the outset, Rao Raja Dr. *Shyam Behari Misra*, in view of recent developments, withdrew his resolution circulated in the last meeting held in October 1941, pertaining to the formation of a committee for framing the Indian Constitution.

The Working Committee discussed Mr. *Jinnah's* latest statement on Marshals Ching Kai-shek's farewell message to the Indian people and his criticism of the non-Party Conference resolution. After a prolonged discussion, the following resolutions were adopted.

The invitation from the Maharashtra through Mr. L. B. *Bhopalkar* to hold the second annual session of the All-India Nationalist League at Poona, was accepted and the Working Committee fixed July 31, August 1, and 2, 1942, as the dates for holding the second annual session of the League at Poona on the occasion of Lokmanya Tilak's Anniversary as the League is meant to represent the Tilak School of thought in advocating the principle of "Responsive Co-operation" in Indian politics.

Those present included Mr. *Atul Chandra Datta*, Mr. *Talchand Navroji*, Mr. L. B. *Bhopalkar*, R. B. *Mehr Chand Khanna*, Rao Raja Dr. *Shyam Behari Misra*, *Kunwar Gangand Sinha*, R. B. *Kunwar Gaur Narain*, Mr. *Chand Kavan Sarda*, Mr. R. D. *Jain* and Mr. *Ganapat Rai*. The Committee concluded its session late in the evening.

Muslim League Criticised

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League regrets that at the recent meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League held in Delhi, assertions were made and decisions taken which must be characterised as untrue in fact and unsound in principle. They can only lead to the postponement of the day of India's freedom and therefore of Muslim freedom.

The Committee rejects the insinuation made in the Muslim League resolution that the demand for the formation of a National Government for India during the war, is inspired by anything but the highest motive of patriotism in the interest of the people of India including Muslims. The Committee cannot accept the claim of the Muslim League that it represents the Muslims of India as a whole. This is clear from the fact that in four provinces of India out of eleven, viz., Sind, Punjab, Bengal and Orissa, the Muslim League's theory of two nations in India is repudiated by the existence and functioning of Coalition Governments which consist of Hindus, Muslims and other communities; that in the N. W. Frontier Province where the Muslims form the largest majority the Muslim League has failed and is incapable of forming a government pledged to the doctrine of Pakistan; and that in the remaining provinces there exists a strong volume of Muslim opinion organised to resist that reactionary doctrine. In the opinion of this Committee, therefore, the formation of a National Government represents the highest common agreement of Indian opinion on the best method of solving the political deadlock in the country, and strongly urges upon the British Government to give effect to it forthwith. The Committee welcomes the Farewell Message given to this country by Marshal *Chiang Kai-shek*, and thanks him for exhorting the British Government to expedite the transfer of real political power. The Committee further considers of India and a deplorable lapse from good taste. Mr. *Amirth*'s criticism of the Mahatma's message as detrimental to the best interest of India and a deplorable lapse from good taste.

CARANG'S VISIT TO INDIA

(a) The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League records its appreciation of the visit of Generalissimo and Madame *Ching Kai-shek* to this country as heralding a new link between India and China which are already connected by ties of culture and civilisation from ancient times and assures the people of China of India's whole-hearted support in all possible manner in their heroic resistance to the Imperialist greed of Japanese aggression, and wishes that China will emerge triumphant from the struggle. (b) The League cannot help deploiring the omission of the Government of India in not bringing about an interview between the distinguished visitors and Mr. *V. D. Savarkar*, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha.

Working Committee—Delhi—6th. April 1942

Cripps' proposals Unacceptable

The Working Committee of the All-India Nationalist League, held at Delhi on the 6th, April 1942, after a discussion lasting eight hours on the Cripps' proposals, adopted a memorandum to be presented to Sir *Stafford Cripps*. The Committee welcome the unequivocal declaration made regarding the future status of India. It embodies all the essentials of a free and independent country with the option of remaining a member and an equal partner with the other members of the British Commonwealth of nations. The committee, however, strongly object to the description of the future Indian State as a new Indian Union. India is not a union but single territorial unit with a uniform historical and cultural background. In framing the future constitution of India that fact of national unity should be the only basis, that unity is a reality to start with and not as aspiration to be achieved hereafter if possible. Dealing with the right of provinces to join the Indian Union, the Committee say that the various provinces are assumed to be natural territorial units entitled to the right of self-determination but India as a whole is trying to impose on this country its own views on the question of Indian unity. Indian disunity is the starting point in this proviso when quite contrary is the fact. India as a whole is not allowed to self-determine but it is left to the administrative provinces to decide whether they are part or parcel of India or not, and they are openly encouraged to believe that they have only to say no and they will be free to remain outside the Indian Union. This is a travesty of Indian self-determination and has given rise to profound misgiving in the minds of the Indian nationalists regarding the bona fides of the British War Cabinet in making such an offer to this country.

The vaunted principle of self-determination is, therefore, a perfect make-

believe and the scheme stands out as an ill-concealed attempt to pander to communal and religious intolerance at the expense of the unity of India. The Committee declare that the new proposals are the same for all practical purposes as the declaration of August, 1940. Their camouflaging under the mask of self-determination is so transparent that no nationalist will be taken in. They give a wholly false impression of being based on the principle of self-determination and virtually concede the fantastic doctrine of 'Pakistan', which under no circumstances will this country be prepared to tolerate. The Committee emphasise the one glaring omission, i. e., the failure to provide for the people of the Indian States in the scheme of self-government and assert that it has the dubious merit of turning administrative divisions in India into independent provinces on the one hand and of planning down on the other, 120 million States people for all time into a position not far removed from slavery. The All-India Nationalist League regrets that the scheme as it stands today, is unacceptable. As for a Defence control the committee suggest that the principle of an Indian being in charge of the Defence portfolio must be accepted without reservation and as a matter of principle it realises that the allied front in this war is one and united and once our national sentiment is respected by vesting the Defence portfolio in an Indian, the country would be prepared during the currency of the war to agree that the actual control may remain in the hands of his Majesty's Government, if simultaneously a representative of the Indian Government is to sit on the imperial War Cabinet as a full member.

MADRAS BACKWARD CLASSES' Conference

Fourth Session—Madras—31st. January 1942

CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

The fourth session of the Madras Backward Classes' Conference was held at Madras on the 31st. January 1942 at the Victoria Public Hall with Sir A. P. Patro in the chair. A large gathering was present on the occasion. Sir A. P. Patro said that the foremost duty of every Indian to-day was to co-operate fully with the Allied powers in the fight against Nazism and to help in defending India against aggressors. Japan was bound to go down in the end with her Axis partners. He urged the people not to believe false rumours spread by foolish people. Everything possible was being done to defend India, and he would affirm that the defence arrangements here were sound. As for the Indian political tangle, Sir A. P. Patro said there was "no irreconcilable difference between India and Britain after the declaration of August 1940." The present was not the occasion to bargain with Britain, engaged as she was in a life and death struggle. India wanted proof of goodwill and Great Britain had already assured the people of the goal of India. The defence of India ought to be India's first concern now. After the war, India might become freer and attain full Swaraj. Swaraj was not a thing to be conferred by another country; it must be worked out and established by the people themselves. The present times required unity and mutual co-operation to defeat the enemy and establish freedom for all suffering nations. Continuing, Sir A. P. Patro said that the backward classes should not quarrel with other communities. But they should work for a classless society. Caste, communal and racial spirit were great obstacles to the growth of nationalism in India and wisdom lay in combating these. The backward communities had a valuable contribution to make in the war by virtue of their military traditions and their technical skill. They should have, he said, one share in the recruitment to the various branches in the army, as well as in the fruits of victory. Sir A. P. Patro then emphasised the need for removing illiteracy through widespread diffusion of elementary education and adult education, and in this connection urged that the members of backward classes should be given all possible educational facilities by way of fee concessions, scholarships, meals for poor children, etc. The need for effective rural reconstruction work, including promotion of handicrafts and small industries, was very urgent. Attention should be

paid to the amelioration of the lot of the scheduled classes. It was a pity that nothing effective had yet been done for them. He wondered if the Hindu Mahabhabha included within the scope of its work this section of the Hindus. In his view, there was no need for "the mockery of a Hindu Mahabhabha", seeing that "the great Indian National Congress represented Indian feelings and sentiments" and was "a national organisation as far as it goes, and the only accredited organisation for India." The Muslim League spoke for the Muslims. Power must and would come, the speaker proceeded, when the people were united. If all of them came together on a basis of social justice and equality, Britain could no longer withhold favour from Indians. India might have a national government or a coalition government; but that would be unreal, so long as the bulk of the population comprising the Backward Class were neglected. The members of these communities should organise themselves, learn to rely on themselves, keep away from all political parties, and take a leaf from the Congress in the matter of organisation. "The task before them was great. The power of the dominant classes and of the British Bureaucracy and racial pride must disappear; a new synthesis must be effected. Quoting Gandhi, Sir A. P. Patil said that the message of "Back to Village" must be spread and implemented with all the force and vigour possible.

RESOLUTIONS

"The Conference then adopted a number of resolutions. An expression of loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor and support to His Majesty's Government was conveyed through the first resolution. The next resolution was one of condolence touching the death of Rao Bahadur M. S. Nagappa, sculpior. On the motion of Mr. S. Devasikhamani, the Conference adopted a resolution requesting the Government to give consideration to the demands put forward from time to time by the Conference. Mr. V. M. Ghatakachalam moved a resolution that the communal G. O. should be modified in view of the change in the conditions since it was first adopted. The resolution was adopted. Other resolutions passed by the Conference related to restoration and extension of fee concessions and other facilities for the educational advancement of the members of the backward classes; granting separate representation in the services to members of the communities. The last resolution requested the Government to at once devise measures for the relief of weavers through supplies at reasonable prices of yarn, through improved market facilities and through other measures for providing them employment. Mr. Ramaswami Nattar, addressing the gathering, said that the members of the Backward Classes should, as a first step to their social advance, shed caste and other distinctions in their own ranks and learn to stand united. They should promote inter-dining and inter-marriage with one another and get rid of all superstitions and out-of-date beliefs which retarded progress. Mr. Rangiah Naidu said that much of their social, educational and economic backwardness was traceable to the country's political subjection. He appealed to them to unite in working for India's liberation. In bringing the proceedings to a close, Sir A. P. Patil said that to reform themselves would be the surest means of reforming the whole society. "Do justice to those below you before you claim justice from those above"—this, he said, should be their guiding principle. With a vote of thanks the Conference terminated.

The A. I. Depressed Classes' Conference

Elgith Session—Meerut—1st, February 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"We stand for the country's independence, but at the same time we stand for our own freedom; we stand to end our social, religious and economic exploitation, and stand for equality in Hindu society", observed Mr. Jagtwan Ram, ex-Parliamentary Secretary, and Secretary, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee,

presiding over the eighth session of the All-India Depressed Classes' Conference held at Meerut on the 1st February 1942.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram regretted the adamant attitude of the British Government, which seemed to be in no mood to come to terms with the real representatives of the people. He said that the Congress had again extended a friendly hand to the Government, and it was to be seen how the Government responded.

Proceeding, Mr. Jagjivan Ram expressed the opinion that the minority communities had lost confidence in the major community, and it was for the community to restore that confidence. Therefore, the responsibility for solving the communal tangle fell on the majority community to a very great extent. "As for ourselves, the members of the Scheduled Castes, we assure our countrymen that our community will never stand in the way of a communal settlement by advancing unreasonable and unjust demands," he added.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram deprecated the attitude of the Caste Hindus towards the Scheduled Castes, in not allowing the members of the Scheduled Castes to secure representation on elective bodies even proportionate to their numerical strength. Therefore, the members of the Scheduled Castes legitimately and justifiably demanded statutory provision for their proportionate representation in all elective bodies of the country as well as in Government and semi-Government services in the future constitution of the country.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram regretted the non-inclusion of a member of the Scheduled Caste in the expanded Viceroy's Council, and said that the only reply which could be given to such an insult was to withdraw the Scheduled Castes representatives from the War Advisory Council and such other bodies.

The All India Kisan Conference

Sixth Session—Bilta (Panna)—30th May 1942

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

"There is no longer any question of helping Britain's war. It has now become the bounden duty of every Indian to defend his Motherland against Japanese aggression and to secure all possible help from England, America, China and Russia in organising armed resistance against the enemy". Thus observed Mr. Indulal Yagnik, presiding over the sixth session of the All-India Kisan Conference, which commenced at Bilta, about 18 miles from Panna, on the 30th May 1942. Mr. Yagnik added: "Let us realise the truth that no nation can secure or retain the priceless heritage of freedom that is not prepared to defend itself successfully on the battlefield". "There might be amongst us", he continued, "a few, who may be believing that Japan's desire is to liberate us. Let them take to heart Japan's ghastly record in China, Korea, Formosa, and other colonies that it has conquered. Japan is no philanthropist. Its one aim is to exploit and enslave India. The most narrow-minded patriot must therefore prepare to give a fitting answer to the challenge of the invader."

THE WAR EFFORT

Explaining the attitude of the Kisan Council towards the war, Mr. Yagnik said: "Hitler's attack on Russia in July last year and then Japan's declaration of war against Britain and America introduced new elements in the national and international situation. Russia, China, England and America are now allied together in a total war for the final destruction of the Axis Powers. While each of the Allied States is naturally inspired by the instinct of self-preservation, there is no doubt that they together represent principles of liberty and democracy in sharp contrast to the ruthless barbarism preached and practised by the Fascist Powers. Moreover, we of the Kisan Sabha, could not but identify ourselves wholeheartedly with the Soviet Union. We instinctively feel to-day that our hopes and aspirations and those of the toiling millions of the world, would receive a great setback if the Soviet light was extinguished from the surface of the earth."

Mr. Yagnik continued, "It is gratifying to note that these thoughts and feelings are shared by most parties and leaders of the country. Leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru agree even to-day with most Socialists, Labour and

Kisan workers in proclaiming their sympathy with the indivisible front of the United Allies and wishing a shattering defeat for the Axis Powers. We are all, of course, not unanimous of Britain's past mistakes and misgivings towards India. But these things should not be allowed to cloud our estimates of Indian freedom in the context of world conditions. It is these considerations shared by an overwhelming majority of the people of India that induced the Central Kisan Council in February last to revise its negative attitude towards war and exhorting the Kisans of India to align themselves on the side of Russia, China and the Allied progressive forces of the world.

RAJAGOPALACHARI'S FORESIGHT

Mr. Yagnik asserted that for a total war to be fought on a national scale a National Government was essential and referred in this connection to the Cripps Mission, which, he said, made it clear that the British Government was determined to act within the framework of the August Declaration. It also revealed the points of difference between the political parties: also that the "Congress demand for Cabinet responsibility at the Centre was unacceptable to the Muslim League." He added: "Mr. Rajagopalachari quickly diagnosed the cancer that was eating into the body politic of India and boldly came out with a remedy to forge national unity and establish a National Government in the country." "The unity of India," Mr. Yagnik went on to say "must surely rest not on mere geographical basis, but on the unity of heart and head of its people. We all passionately desire that all classes and communities should live together in voluntary and amicable partnership as members of an undivided family. But how shall we achieve our purpose by denying to any the right to partition the family state if they are determined to do so?"

Criticising the principle of non-violent non-co-operation of the Congress, Mr. Yagnik said: "However grim and impressive the method might sound in our ears, it will prove nothing short of an invitation to the aggressor to walk into the country, take possession of it and do what he liked with it. And the Japanese Fascists are shrewd enough to exploit this method for their own nefarious and predatory ends." "The people of India and particularly the peasantry," he declared, "must unequivocally repudiate this idealistic, but utterly futile doctrine which has proved completely inadequate to dislodge the British power from India during the last 20 years." Referring to the suggestion that British and Allied forces should be withdrawn from India at the present critical moment, Mr. Yagnik observed that this would not only amount to an invitation to Japan, but would bring about a counterweight anarchy. In this connection he referred to the Hut menace and observed, "People, who tacitly support the loose talk of welcoming anarchy and the withdrawal of armed forces would be brought to reason at the first sign of real danger to their interest."

"RAISE TRAINED SOLDIERS"

Mr. Yagnik pleaded for vigorous war effort and propaganda and urged the Government to raise at least five million trained soldiers by the end of this year. He said "Let not the want of up-to-date arms present an insuperable barrier. Raising units can be trained and equipped even with spades and crowbars" and will, why should the Government wait for an increased production of firearms to extend military and civil defence training to millions in the land? He called upon the Kisans to organise themselves on an anti-Fascist front, which should be created in every village and be broad-based and include only genuine anti-Fascists. He wanted the districts like circles or talukas to be equipped with strong sabhas and committees to protect Kisans' rights and interest in these areas and suggested a ten point programme for uniting various elements in the District Peoples' Defence Committees, comprising "fight against Fascism"; communal unity; relief to Kisans; unification and training of volunteers; demand for arms and home guard provision of food to people; grow more food campaign; preservation of peace and order; and formation of National Government."

"The Kisans were the real laborers and masters of the land, the natural guardians of its frontiers, and contributed the greatest man-power to the fighting forces of the State, concluded Mr. Yagnik. He wanted the Kisans to help them to their mental and moral rearmament and urged the Government to help them to do this by relieving them of pressing burdens, such as indebtedness, eviction from their lands, and other grievances.

"The Sabha, therefore, views with concern the evacuation policy that was pursued in practice without plan and without such principle in certain coastal and strategic areas where peoples in many villages of Chittagong, Noakhali, Tippera, Khulna, Jessore, 24 Parganas and some villages of Balasore were evacuated at 24 hours' notice from their hearths, leaving their crops and lands behind without any facility for their conveyance and resettlement in life and wherein many supposed-to-be threatened areas people were suddenly ordered to surrender their bicycles, boats, etc.

"The Sabha has also noted in some cases the order of the Government to give compensation to the people affected by such evacuation and 'denial' policy and in welcoming such measures, points out that such compensation should be fixed by tribunals with popular representatives, should be immediately available to the people affected and be adequate.

"The Sabha urges all its workers in all such areas, the resolution continues, 'where the evacuation or 'denial' policy is being enforced to stand by the people, explain to them the causes and needs of the same as necessary to secure for the people the compensation and relief as required and in all cases to see that such measures do not hit the people and thus cause in them resentment against the very measures and weaken their will to resist the invaders.

"The Sabha in this connection, directs its workers to see that in all cases where the military comes closer to the people as a result of the troops being placed in such areas a healthy relation is developed between the people and the troops and prevent untoward happenings."

NATIONAL GOVT. TO RESIST FASCISM

"The imperative necessity of establishing National Government at the Centre and the Provinces is stressed in a resolution on the political situation adopted by the Sabha. The resolution also lays down a programme of action to be followed by the Kisan Sabha in the light of the present situation.

The resolution exhorts the kisans of India "to maintain dignity of their man-hood" and save their Motherland from the bloody claws of Fascist hordes" and declares, "The aim which the Japanese Fascists pursue in common with their brothers—German Nazis and Italian Fascists—is the conquest and enslavement of all the countries and their people and the subjection of every country to a common Fascist enslavement and the crushing of every vestige of people's resistance everywhere."

After referring to the fate that has overtaken Singapore, Malaya and Burma, the resolution says that in order to prevent the same tragedy occurring in this country, the establishment of a National Government at the Centre and the Provinces on the basis of a Congress-League settlement is essential.

The resolution directs the kisans to "strive for national unity and put pressure on the Government to concede the national demand" and observes, "Armed resistance can be effectively organised only on the basis of national unity and under the leadership of a National Government. The Indian people should, therefore, refuse to take the present deadlock created by the failure of the Congress Alliance as a settled fact. That fact must be unsettled. Our chief political bodies must now resolutely turn their backs on politics of neutrality and passivity and must make renewed efforts to achieve national unity with a view to making our demand for National Government irresistible and mobilising for an all out resistance against Fascist aggression."

"The Sabha, therefore, calls upon the kisans", continues the resolution, "to carry on agitation urging the Government to establish National Government at the Centre and in the Provinces and finally to remove all restrictions imposed by the Arms Act; organise and permit the formation of coastal guards and guerrilla forces, take over all lands that are not used for food cultivation by big landlords and place them under Government control and place unoccupied lands at the disposal of the poor peasants and landless workers; and take over all stocks of grains and other necessities and sell them to co-operative stores and popular agencies." The resolution directs the kisans to develop and co-ordinate all measures of civil defence, organise co-operative stores and societies as central pivots of the new social order, strengthen the Kisan Sabha and carry on active anti-Fascist propaganda.

The Chamber of Princes

Annual Session—New Delhi—16th. March 1942

H. B. The Viceroy's Address

The annual session of the Chamber of Princes was held at New Delhi on the 16th March 1942. H. E. The Viceroy addressing the session said:—

During my tenure of office, over the Chamber of Your Highnesses assembled here to pleasure that I see so goodly a gathering of Your Highnesses demands that those in authority in this country should meet and take counsel for the common good.

A good attendance is also appropriate to the celebration, as it were, of the Chamber's coming of age. It is just over 21 years since the Duke of Connaught inaugurated here in Delhi by his late Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the close of whose long career of devoted public service is so fresh in our recollection. For myself, I will say only this. Few of us who are here to-day can bear in mind the eloquent words in which His Royal Highness spoke the purpose of this Chamber and the lofty ideals which he set before it.

One passage in that historic speech has struck me as peculiarly relevant to the circumstances in which we find ourselves to-day. He Royal Highness said: "I am very sure that in the availing support of the Indian Princes could always be counted upon, and recalled how" when most of his long life it has been demonstrated by the present 21 years ago.

In India, too we have the loss of old friends and colleagues to mourn. By the death of His Late Highness of Cutch the Prince singular charm of the Council in London, as well as at the Assembly of Cochín, Manipur, no doubt, Dhranagadhra, to whose bereaved families and States this Chamber upon whom their great responsibilities will now devolve. And in this category of new rulers of whom we look to carry on the high traditions of their ancestors, I would include the young Maharajas of Kolhapur and Bikaner to whom His Majesty's recognition has been accorded since the last meeting of this Chamber.

There is, however, one sphere in which, for the time being at least, the old order will not change nor give place to new. I refer to the circumstances, which, in which their Highnesses the Chamber and Pro-Chancellor of the Chamber are to continue in their place and the results would have been announced during our present session. A pro-Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor of events, elections would by now have taken place in the Chamber's Constitution, that the terms of office of all members of the Standing Committee, formally invited, with the result that the requisite proportion having signed to continue in office for a second term.

We have an English proverb which tells us that it is unwise to change horses in mid-stream. At this time we in India are crossing a very turbulent stream of this Chamber and of the States in general, if we lost the services of the two Princes and I do, indeed, feel that it would be regrettable, from the point of view of this Chamber.

to whom, if I may speak for Your Highnesses as well as for myself, we all owe so great a debt of gratitude. I do not need to tell you about the treasure-house of wisdom and experience which His Highness of Bikaner has acquired in the course of his long and most distinguished career.

As for His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib, I cannot praise too highly the cheerful alacrity with which he has responded to our incessant demands upon his time and patience. In fact, the necessity for his advice and support at headquarters has recurred so frequently that he must have come to look upon Delhi and Simla as a kind of second home. I think, therefore, that I shall be rightly interpreting the sense of opinion in this Chamber by conveying to both Their Highnesses an expression of our gratitude that in deference to the wishes of their Brother Princes, they have consented to continue in the performance of their duties as Chancellor and Pro-Chancellor.

PROBLEMS BEFORE INDIAN STATES

I shall refer later to the war situation and to the part played by the Princes in that connection. But in these critical times, it behoves us to remember factors which, though not directly connected with the present grave trend of events, are, nevertheless, of immense importance from the point of view of the Indian States. I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their own healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian Policy, which has yet to be evolved. I shall, therefore, speak as briefly as possible regarding three matters which, during the past year, have continued to engage the earnest attention of myself and my advisers—amongst whom I would include your distinguished Chancellor.

First, I regard it as my duty to repeat in as few words as possible what I have said in previous addresses to this Chamber regarding the absolute necessity, so far as the smaller States are concerned for some form of co-operative measures to secure a standard of administrative efficiency, which is beyond their individual resources. In my last address, I remarked that steps to this end had already been taken in many parts of India with visible, though not as yet spectacular, results. The last year has seen further and encouraging progress, but I regret to observe that the progress has been mainly apparent in one area only.

Elsewhere, there are schemes to this end under consideration; there are other large areas, comprising many States which, in my judgment, can certainly not afford to stand aloof in this matter, where no sign of this vital principle of co-operation has yet begun to emerge. It is my duty, therefore, to urge all concerned to press forward in this matter, and to realise that when I urged upon this Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert.

SAFEGUARDING STANDARDS OF ADMINISTRATION

Secondly, I should let Your Highnesses know that I have had under consideration a scheme designed for the safeguarding during the initial years of a young ruler's responsibilities, of standards achieved under periods of minority administration. A definite policy still remains to be formulated; but I have reached that preliminary conclusion that the object in view can best be achieved in a formal constitution, under which all State business would be transacted in a Council of Ministers, over which the ruler would normally preside and whose recommendations he would not disregard or override without good reason. So great are the powers and responsibilities to which rulers succeed at an early age, and so numerous the pitfalls which beset their footsteps, that no one who has the best interests of the States at heart could, in my opinion, take an exception to safeguards of this nature, designed as they are mainly for the purpose of inculcating into young Princes the habit of orderly and methodical disposal of business.

CIVIL LISTS AND PRIVY PURSES

Thirdly, and lastly, I should like to say that I was delighted to learn recently that, in spite of all other preoccupations, the vexed question of civil lists and privy purses has again been receiving the active attention of Your Highnesses. This problem, of deciding what proportion of a State's revenue can appropriately be earmarked for the use of the ruler and his family, and what precisely are the items which should legitimately come within the scope of privy purse expenditure,

is one of the greatest complexity and delicacy. The general principle that such distinctions ought to be made was unanimously accepted at the session of this Chamber in 1929, after a full debate on a resolution very eloquently moved by His Highness of Bikaner. Experience has, perhaps, since shown how difficult is the task of translating principle into practice. Nevertheless, it ought to be tackled with courage and resolution. I applaud, therefore, the foresight and statesmanship of those among Your Highnesses who are making such determined efforts in that direction. It would, indeed, be a notable achievement if those efforts were to lead to the formulation of some systematic plan likely to command itself to the rulers as a body and such as I or my successor could conveniently recommend for acceptance by this Chamber and thereafter by all individual States. I trust, therefore, that the endeavour will be energetically pursued and that, in order that we may not be at cross purposes in so vital a matter, the Chancellor and Your Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Adviser into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached.

PRINCES AND THE WAR EFFORT

I address myself now to the sternest topic of the war and all that it means to us. When I last addressed Your Highnesses, it was my privilege to acknowledge the inestimable value of the co-operation and generous support of the Indian States to the war effort of India as a whole. The last twelve months have seen the war reach the threshold of India and have added greatly to the demands for every kind of service and sacrifice made upon us all. The response of the States to these demands, which must become more insistent as the tempo of the struggle quickens, continues to be worthy of their great traditions; their contribution covers every field of India's war effort and embraces every form of service. Several of Your Highnesses have visited our Indian troops in different theatres of the war, visits which have been as highly appreciated by our officers and men as I am sure, they were instructive and encouraging to Your Highnesses. It is also a matter for special pride that the Princely Order includes some who have served, are serving, or are preparing to serve, as combatants with His Majesty's forces in the field. There is one particular case, which I think Your Highnesses would wish me to mention, namely, that of the elder son and heir of a member of this Chamber, who met an untimely death in the course of his duties as an officer of the Indian Air Force. To His Highness the Maharaja of Sikim, I would like to offer, on behalf of this Chamber as well as from myself, a sincere expression of our deepest sympathy.

UNSTINTED CONTRIBUTION

Apart from the personal services of rulers and members of their families, the man-power contribution of the States, whether to the Indian Army or their own State forces has been of the highest value; in money their support continues to be generous and unstinted; in material, be it aircraft, house accommodation, rolling stock, launches, the produce of their forests, mines and factories or the provision of comforts for the troops, they have done everything in their power to meet, and indeed to anticipate all of the many calls made on them. Whatever difficulties and dangers lie ahead, I am confident that the great measure of support which the Indian States have given so freely and so spontaneously will be maintained and even augmented.

CO-ORDINATION OF EFFORT WITH BRITISH INDIA

I referred, in my last address to Your Highnesses, to the efforts made to keep the Indian States in close touch with current events of importance, and expressed the hope that the steps taken to ensure the closest co-operation between the States and British India would be of mutual benefit. Since then the scope of the measures taken to achieve maximum co-ordination has steadily expanded. The most signal instance of this united front has been the participation of representative Princes in the deliberations of the National Defence Council, and I welcome this opportunity to express my deep appreciation of the readiness of those rulers, in spite of their many pressing preoccupations at this time to make long journeys to Delhi or Simla, in order to lend the prestige of their presence and the weight of their experience to this most important council of war. I sincerely trust that I may be able to count upon the continuation, at its future meetings, of the personal support, the need and the value of which will now be even greater than before.

I believe too that the representation which the States now enjoy on the Central Price Control Conference and Provincial Price, Supply and Transport Boards, as well as on the other organisations which I mentioned last year, and the informal discussions which some of Your Highnesses have had, and are about to have, with the Supply, Commerce and Civil Defence Members of my Council, will be of the greatest advantage not only to the States but to the whole of India.

CO-OPERATION IN CIVIL DEFENCE MEASURES

To associate the States even more closely with the Central Government, and to place readily and promptly at their disposal the fullest and most up-to-date information on economic, Civil Defence and other matters, direct correspondence between certain Departments of the Government of India and the larger States has been authorised and an officer has been added to the staff of the Civil Defence Department to deal solely with Civil Defence problems affecting the States. I trust that Your Highnesses will not fail to seek the advice of that Department on the measures which should be taken in your States to provide adequate protection for your subjects against the consequences of attacks from the air. While in some parts of the country that danger may still appear remote, faced, and the need for making timely and adequate preparations cannot be over-emphasised. I earnestly desire, therefore, to impress upon Your Highnesses the heavy responsibility which each State must shoulder and discharge in this matter, which so closely affects the safety of its people.

"I am aware that some of Your Highnesses have expressed some disappointment at the shortage of modern arms and equipment available for supply to Indian States Forces training units. Steps have been taken to make good this deficiency so far as the situation permits, but Your Highnesses will agree with me that it must be left to General Headquarters to decide how best such supplies of arms and equipment as are available can be utilised. Some of Your Highnesses have from time to time, expressed a desire that Indian States Forces units should be given a more active role than had in their judgment been allotted to them. The recent fighting in Malaya, culminating in the fall of Singapore and the loss of many of our valuable troops, including a number of units of the Indian States Forces will, I think, have convinced Your Highnesses that a regiment employed in such a role as guarding an aerodrome is rendering vitally important service and may at any moment find itself at grips with the enemy. I trust, therefore, that Your Highnesses will appreciate that all of your units serving with His Majesty's Forces, whatever role be allotted to them, are contributing with equal value to the common object.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

"When I addressed you in this Chamber last year, I said in referring to the different conditions of service obtaining in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army, that, "in uniformity, less simplicity and efficiency". Since then, several proposals of importance to that end have been made to States maintaining Indian States Forces and have been accepted, although in certain cases with some reluctance and delay. I fully realise that proposals designed to eliminate such differences as still exist between the conditions of service in the Indian States Forces and the Indian Army may not always be welcome, but I wish to assure Your Highnesses that they are made solely with a view to increasing the efficiency of the Indian States Forces and are intended to effect only for the duration of the war, after which the whole scheme under which those forces are embodied will come under review in the light of the experience gained. Meanwhile, in the present grave emergency I am confident that Your Highnesses will not hesitate to agree temporarily to forego, in the common interest, prerogatives and privileges, however greatly they may be valued, should they in any way impede India's war effort. I desire, in this connection, to mention particularly the commendable action of certain States in the Eastern States Agency in voluntarily delegating authority to the Resident to make decisions on their behalf in matters affecting the military situation, provided that such decisions are communitated to them immediately afterwards.

CONTINUOUS REINFORCEMENTS NECESSARY

"The flower of India's manhood is to be found to-day in the Indian Army and the Indian States Forces, but I need not remind Your Highnesses that a

constant stream of reinforcements must be maintained and that the need for augmenting our present forces is insistent. Above all, young men of best type are required to come forward and be trained to lead our troops; modern war demands a high degree of training and initiative from military leaders, and I hope that Your Highnesses will do everything in your power to ensure that institutions such as the Pre-Cadet School at Indore, which have been set up to enlarge the supply of potential officers, are fully supported. I trust also that Your Highnesses will not allow the need to maintain a reasonable margin of safety in regard to your local arrangements for internal security unduly to hamper the making of the utmost possible contribution to the forces which India requires to repel external aggression; regard to local arrangements for internal security is natural and prudent, but in the present emergency, the interests and safety of India as a whole demand that every able-bodied man and every unit that is not essentially required for the maintenance of internal tranquillity should be made available to resist and attack and finally to defeat the common enemy.

That final victory is only a matter of time I entertain no manner of doubt. But I would emphasise that the speed and success with which that goal will be attained, and in fact the very safety of India, her dignity and her standing in the eyes of the world, will in no small measure depend upon the attitude of her people to the threat of aggression. There has been peace in this land for so long a period that we had perhaps become too prone to believe that nothing could disturb it, too sceptical of the need for making sacrifices for its preservation. That peace is now rudely threatened, and it behoves us all, and not least Your Highnesses, who are the hereditary wardens of India's martial traditions, to show that India has the strength and determination to face and defeat the common enemy.

NATIONAL WAR FRONT

With that in view, I earnestly invite the support and co-operation of Your Highnesses in the National War Front. Your Highnesses will have read my message. The objects of the National War Front—which I believe will attract innumerable adherents throughout the length and breadth of India—are to maintain public morale, to eradicate all elements tending to undermine it; and in particular, writings and rumours likely to encourage a defeatist outlook; to inculcate faith, courage and endurance; and to consolidate the national will to offer united resistance to Nazism and Fascism in every shape or form, whether within or without the country, until their menace is finally overthrown. I trust that the National War Front will derive its strength and vitality from the patriotism of private citizens and public-spirited leaders. It will be their task not only to resist the insidious forces of evil, but to assume the initiative and to inculcate the principle that no form of defence is more effective than attack.

The indomitable Prime Minister of Great Britain has asked:—"What sort of people do our enemies think we are?" Our enemies shall learn if they have not learnt already to their cost, what kind of men this land of India breeds. India has vast material resources. She has mighty allies. She has a great soldier for her Commander-in-Chief. She has the loyalty and bravery of her sons who are heirs to the superb traditions of the Indian Army and who are already writing the first chapters of a glorious record for the Royal Indian Navy and the Indian Air Force.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS' MISSION

Within the last few days, India has received a message of new hope for all who look to see her take her rightful place among the free nations of the world. There is now coming to us across the world a Minister who, in Mr. Churchill's words, carries the full condempne of His Majesty's Government and will strive in their name to secure the necessary measure of assent to the conditions on which they are agreed. In Sir Stafford Cripps, India has a trusted friend on whose fairness she can rely, a statesman who has already carried out with conspicuous success one important mission in a distant land, and who is animated with a burning zeal for the defeat and final extinction of the aggressors and all their stand for. Your Highnesses can count on his readiness to give the fullest considerations to the views which you will doubtless lay before him, and I know that I can rely on you to give him a warm welcome and your whole-hearted co-operation in the discharge of his great responsibilities. For you know full well that on you, the representatives of Princely India, lies, as on us all, an obligation

to secure for India a triumphant and happy issue out of this, her testing time of trial and danger.

RESOLUTIONS—Second Day—New Delhi—17th, March 1942

LATE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT

"The Chamber adopted three resolutions to-day. One resolution recorded the Chamber's "profound sense of grief at the demise of the Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated this Chamber." The resolution requested the Viceroy to convey to Their Majesties the King and Queen the "deepest sympathies in their sad bereavement." The resolution was moved by the Chancellor, the *Jam Sahib*, who referred to the "ties of personal attachment which bind the Indian Princes to Their Majesties the King-Emperor and the Queen-Empress." The *Jam Sahib* also referred to the inaugural speech of the late Duke, and characterised it as "a hand-mark in our proceedings." The *Jam Sahib* said that that speech indicated "the high place which the Indian Princes and their treaties rightly occupy in the estimation of the illustrious House of Windsor." The *Jam Sahib* added: "To-day, we mourn this loss; let us all honour his memory by maintaining the high traditions and expectations with which, in the name of the King-Emperor, his late Royal Highness inaugurated this Chamber." The resolution was seconded by the *Maharaja of Bikaner*, who said that the Duke's death was a personal loss to him as he knew His late Royal Highness since his early days.

TRIBUTE TO DEPARTED RULERS

The second resolution placed on record the "heartfelt sorrow of the Chamber" on the death of the Rulers of Cochin, Manipur, Charkhari, Cutch and Dhruvadhara. The Chamber congratulated the Rulers of Cochin, Kolhapur, Manipur, Bijawar, Cutch and Dhruvadhara on their accession to their respective gads.

RESOLUTION ON THE WAR

"The Chamber of Princes next adopted an important resolution relating to the war. The resolution reiterated "the firm determination of the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India to continue to render every possible assistance to His Imperial Majesty and his Government for the successful prosecution of the war and for the defence of their Motherland, until final victory is achieved and the high principles of justice and sacredness of treaties and covenants are vindicated." The resolution was moved by the Chancellor the *Jam Sahib*, who asserted that the Princes were pledged to do all they could and were determined to spare nothing within their power for war effort. He said: "Difficulties and dangers will and may come. We are ready and willing to meet them." In fact, they are a part of the game in a gigantic struggle like the present." Speaking from personal testimony he paid a very warm tribute to the bravery of the Indian soldiers and declared: "Let them be assured that we follow their movements and heroic efforts with pride and affection and that their homes and families are our valued trust." Proceeding, the Chancellor said that the war had reached India, and apart from other consideration, "to-day, India calls, and God willing, the Indian Princes will not fail to respond and, should it be necessary they will defend their Motherland according to their best traditions." The resolution was supported by the rulers of *Patala, Rampur, Alandi* and *Alwar*, all of whom reiterated their faith in the final victory and declared their determination to make the maximum contribution to war effort in man, material and money. The *Maharaja of Patala* emphasised that no quarter should be shown to obstruction to war effort. The *Raja of Alandi* stressed the importance of a "Home Front."

The resolution was unanimously passed.

PRINCES AND CHIEFS' MISSION

"The resolution on Sir Stafford Cripps' visit and the attitude of the Princes to proposals for constitutional reform was moved by the Chancellor and carried unanimously. The *Jam Sahib*, moving the resolution, declared that the Prince's Order was not unmindful of the fact that in this local war, India, as much as other Allied countries, must put in its total effort so that speedy and final victory might be achieved. "We realise that such a total effort can only come through a whole-hearted collaboration of all the main elements that go to make the national life of this great sub-continent. If the integrity of the country is to be

fully safeguarded, it is essential that all parties should sink their differences and get together to organise all the available resources of India for defence."

The *Jam Sahab* explained that the Princes had, on several occasions, publicly associated themselves with the general desire to secure for India the fullest freedom and the highest status under the aegis of the British Crown *pari passu*. They had emphasised "and are emphasising again to-day that any scheme, to be acceptable to them, must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, engagements and Sanads." The Chancellor said that the India of the future, on which, "we have set our gaze and in which patriotic Indians of different classes, parties and interests can cheerfully offer their best in the service of the Motherland and in its defence, must inspire in them a sense of security, self-respect and pride, a spirit of common citizenship and of comradeship in arms essentially, as much for defeating the enemy to-day as for the working of any stable constitution in the future. For the achievement of this ideal, if it be necessary, theories of constitutional purism must yield to the peculiar needs of human element in India and to the exigency of the grave situation that faces us."

On behalf of the Chamber, the *Jam Sahab* declared that they should lend to the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government, the consideration to which they were entitled. He concluded: "Shall not the greatest gifts of Indian leaders be harnessed to the constructive work of the nation against the common enemy? Let us put our shoulders to the wheel to serve and save India to-day, without prejudice to the right of pressing out respective points of view in the ultimate constitution, which we shall ourselves frame on the basis of a free India."

The Maharaja of Bikaner, seconding the resolution, repudiated "the insinuation in certain quarters that they stand in the way of the constitutional advance of our country." His Highness cited his own efforts in 1917, in support of his contention that the Princely Order had urged a generous measure of constitutional reform for India. After quoting Gandhi's speech at the Second Round Table Conference, His Highness said that the scheme of Federation embodied in the Government of India Act 1935 differed in certain important aspects from the one to which they had originally agreed. The Government of India Act scheme "fell through, so far as the States were concerned, as in our opinion, it did not afford adequate and effective protection to the States in regard to their sovereignty, internal autonomy and their rights arising out of the treaties etc., to develop their resources and to improve the economic condition of their subjects." His Highness declared that the constitutional advance of British India should not be at the expense or to the detriment of the Indian States. He said that, subject to those reservations, the Princely Order would be prepared to make on this occasion too their fullest contribution.

The resolution was supported by the Rulers of Sangli, Mandi and Dewas (Jr.) and passed. The last resolution, which was also moved by the Chancellor, and was seconded by the Nawab of Rampur, related to the extension of time for appeals, etc., by the Ruler or the Government of a State in cases where the period of limitation expired during the continuation of the war.

The Viceroy promised to give due consideration to the resolution.

CHANCELLOR'S REVIEW OF CHAMBERS' ACTIVITIES

The Chancellor, in his review of the work done by the Chamber during last year, explained that much solid work was achieved in co-ordinating, and where needed, stimulating the war effort of the States. He quoted percentages to show the economic, educational and political progress of the Indian States. He claimed, for instance, that the general incidence of taxation in the States had been lower than in British India. Primary education was free in almost all the States, and the laws of the States which were members of the Chamber had been modelled generally on the lines of British Indian laws. Arrangements had also been made to examine the Viceroy's good offices to resolve the few points of doubt or difficulty involved in the application of British Indian Income-tax law to the Rulers and subjects of Indian States and certain questions relating to the resolutions on Courts of Arbitration.

A vote of thanks to the Chancellor was proposed by the Maharaja of Bikaner and supported by the Rulers of Patiala and Panna. It was carried. The proceedings of the Chamber then terminated.

Federation of Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Delhi—8th. March 1942

Presidential Address

Our experience of the Roger Mission to India has been none too happy and we have, therefore, to look at the reported American technical mission to explore the possibility of furthering the industrial progress of India with a bit of suspicion," declared Mr. G. D. Birla, addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

Mr. Birla, continuing, said that if Americans were given unrestricted facilities to establish industrial concern in India, albeit for war purposes, when Indians were denied such facilities they had seriously to consider the position. He urged the Federation to examine the question in all its bearings. He also drew attention to all the implications of the "scorched earth" policy in view of threatened enemy attacks. He also pleaded for a closer examination of the situation created by the acute problem of evacuees. In view of their urgency he asked the Federation to authorize the incoming President to take up these matters directly with the authorities concerned.

Sir Chintalal B. Mehta, President of the Federation, and Mr. D. Khattar endorsed Mr. Birla's views and the Federation gave permission to the incoming President to take up the questions with the authorities concerned.

Resolutions

EXPANSION OF KEY INDUSTRIES URGED

The Federation at its session to-day, passed a resolution in which, while recognising that some progress had been made by India in the expansion of certain existing industries and the establishment of some new industries for the supply of essential war requirements, the Federation deplored the absence of any initiative or planned effort on the part of the Government of India towards the establishment of any important defence or heavy industries. The Federation, therefore, declared that in view of the experience gained since the outbreak of the present hostilities regarding the dependence of this country on the import of its requirements in several important and vital spheres, the needs of India, both for its defence and continuance of normal life, demanded the establishment and expansion of defence industries, such as the manufacture of aircraft, automobiles, ships, tanks and munitions, as well as heavy and key industries such as locomotives, machinery and machine tools, heavy chemicals, etc.

The Federation urged upon Government the desirability of utilising India's sterling credit towards the purchase and transfer of necessary plant and machinery from the United Kingdom or under the Lend and Lease Act from the U. S. A. for the early fulfilment of these essential requirements for achieving a strong and self-reliant national economy as well as making India an arsenal of the east. The Federation urged that the fullest facilities should be given by the Government of India for the import of machinery, spare parts, machine tools and the necessary raw materials and for obtaining technical personnel from abroad for the establishment of such industries.

Mr. Gaganwarhari Mehta, moving the resolution, emphasised that the development of heavy and defence industries was essential not only from India's own standpoint but also that of the British Commonwealth. That indeed was the spirit in which the self-governing dominions were developing their resources and building up their industries. He quoted from statements made by Field-Marshal Smuts and Mr. Curtin and said that these recognised the supreme national necessity of self-sufficiency and contained no sermon against too rapid a pace of industrialisation, such as had been heard in India. Australia and Canada had made enormous strides since the war began.

EASTERN COUNCIL MUST BE REORGANISED

Discussing the obstacles in the way of industrialisation in India, Mr. Mehta quoted from a number of writers including Mr. Guy Loebeck, a member of the Roger Mission and Director of the Federation of British Industries, who, in an account of the Mission's work, said that "no steps have been taken to expand production as a result of the Mission's visit which are not essential for war

purposes and he saw to it that on the whole post-war interests of British industry are not likely to suffer so greatly as was at one time expected." That proved that even in the midst of a total war, British industrialists and exporters were thinking in terms of victory but of trade and future competition in the postwar period. The development of India's war potential as also of Australia to a certain extent had been retarded by this predominant motive of Britain and by over-centralisation of production. There had been established in Cairo another Middle East Supply Council which frankly announced its interest in post-war consideration of promoting British trade and was assisted in this purpose by the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation whose activity extended to India and tended to compete with Indian traders and exporters. Mr. Mehta contended that in view of the alteration in the Pacific situation the Eastern Group Council should be reorganised and converted into a department of production under the Government of India.

Sir *Rahmatullah Chinnoy*, seconding the resolution, referred to the doubts expressed by some speakers at yesterday's meeting regarding the exact scope and nature of the assistance and co-operation to be given by the proposed American Mission. These doubts and fears, he said, should be cleared "and if we get the necessary reassurance that no foreign vested interests would be created, but that America would facilitate the strengthening of industrial war effort under Indian management and control by giving the necessary technical help and supplying essential machinery, the assistance should be availed of."

Sir *Rahmatullah* referred, earlier in his speech, to certain observations made by persons actively in touch with the Eastern Group Supply Council, and said that these observations strengthened the fear that representatives of His Majesty's Government associated with the supply problems were to a certain extent obsessed by considerations of post-war effects of industrial potentialities. He, however, but to think of the future. The resolution, he urged, was mainly concerned with the future and suggested the lines on which future efforts should be directed. The resolution was supported by Mr. *D. Khattar* (Calcutta), and Mr. *Sankalchand G. Shah* (Bombay) and passed unanimously.

ADMINISTRATION OF INCOME-TAX AND E. P. TAX LAWS

The Federation passed a resolution noting with regret that the manner in which the income-tax and excess profits tax laws were being administered at present had caused and was causing great discontent among the Indian assesses all over India and urged that in order to redress the grievances of the assesses, action on the following lines be immediately taken by the Government:

1. That Indian assesses and European assesses be in every way treated in exactly the same manner.
2. That the Appellate Assistant Commissioners and the Appellate Tribunal be placed under the control of the Law Department of the Government of India or of the Federal Court instead of the Finance Department.
3. That the Central Department in Calcutta and Bombay be forthwith abolished.
4. That the Income-Tax Act and the Excess Profits Tax Act be in their application, interpreted according to the recognised judicial rule of interpretation, i. e., fiscal law should be interpreted in favour of the subject.
5. That explanations given by the assesses and statements of fact made by him be treated with due regard and be not twisted against the assesses and adverse inferences be not drawn from imagination or upon suspicion.
6. That no arbitrary action be taken about the registration of firms or about the separation or jointness of families.
7. That accounts audited by qualified auditors be normally accepted and assesses should not be harassed by calling for books of accounts, etc., and such explanations only as may be necessary for the assessment of income may be asked.
8. That a statement of total wealth be not demanded whether under Section 37 of the Indian Income-Tax Act or otherwise.

Sir *Abdul Halim Ghaznavi*, who moved the resolution, narrated how his efforts in the Central Legislative Assembly had not borne any fruit and detailed the number of hardships experienced by Indian assesses at the hands of the Central Department of Income-Tax in Calcutta and Bombay.

Pandit Jawanala of the East India Fute Association, Calcutta, who claimed to have intimate knowledge of the alleged arbitrary manner in which income-tax

authorities were behaving in Calcutta, declared that a wave of disgust and despair had been caused among the commercial community in Calcutta and expressed the opinion that unless immediate steps were taken to remedy the position, the situation was bound to assume an aggressive form more or less on the lines of the Beopari Mandal agitation in the Panjab.

Mr. M. A. Parikh and Mr. Kamgopal Gadhodia further supported the resolution.

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY IN INDIA OPPOSED

Vigorous opposition to any possible adopting of a "scorched earth" policy in India was voiced by Sir Purnshottamdas Thakurdas supporting a resolution recommending to the Government "to encourage by subsidies or otherwise the cultivation, in place of short staple cotton, of wheat, cereals and such other crops as are needed for internal consumption and are readily saleable".

Persons returning from Singapore and Malaya, said Sir Purnshottamdas, had spread reports regarding what had been done there presumably under the orders of the areas concerned. "I can understand 'scorched earth' policy in Russia where every factory belongs to the State. In India, where factories are put up by private capital and enterprise, I should like to put it bluntly: Do the Government expect that the masses and classes will contentedly look on when He had only touched upon the subject but he wished to bring home to the Government that unless they felt different of retaining India they must give protection and inspire confidence among middlemen and capitalists who had sunk their money and banded the material. If the Government's policy was such as would demolish confidence they had to thank themselves. The Government of India should beware and think seriously before adopting 'scorched earth' as a copy of what had been adopted in Russia and other countries.

PLANS FOR CULTIVATING FOOD GRAINS

Speaking of cotton, Sir Purnshottamdas referred to the efforts made by the Indian Central Cotton Committee to grow improved staple cotton in those areas which once were growing short staple cotton and said that as a result of those efforts very substantial progress had been made in Khairabad and C. P. and Berar. Referring to the present position in Bombay, he said that the Government of Bombay had definitely informed the trade that there was no likelihood of the Government giving any wagons for transport of short and fair staple cotton from the interior to Bombay. It was therefore most urgent that the cultivators should turn to growing foodstuffs. It was urgent also because of the acute and increasing scarcity of foodstuffs all over India. Taking rice alone, we used to import fifteen to twenty lakhs of tons and as far as he could see, there was no prospect of getting this next year. The question was, how was this quantity going to be replaced by us? Nature had not been kind to us this year and many areas had not done well at all in the matter of cultivation. There was not in his opinion sufficient food grains physically to go round to the vast population of the country.

In passing, he mentioned that in addition to the shortage of food grains, we had to send food grains abroad to the armies and to civil populations there. "No Indian would mind this, but the Federation should protest strongly that the policy of allowing the children of the soil to starve and enabling people outside to have a banquet should not be tolerated. We want to do our best to the civil population of an Allied country but not at the expense of our civil population. He warned the powers that be that, guided as they were in the provinces by Advisers to Government and in the absence of representatives of the people in most of the provinces, it would be wrong to overlook the danger they faced. They should conserve every man and of food grain in India until the next crop was harvested. If this warning was disregarded the Government themselves would regret it more than anyone else. Of course people would also suffer.

He referred to the situation in Delhi, where he was told that the distribution of food grains was very bad, although it was the seat of the Government. He wanted the Executive Council and the Viceroy to think of the problem seriously.

WAR RISKS INSURANCE

There was a nervousness among people who handled raw materials, said Sir Purnshottamdas, based on a letter issued by the Government of India informing

insurance companies that the war risk insurance policy did not cover the risk of seizure of goods by the enemy, while it covered the risk of bombing, etc. Those among officials and members of the European commercial community with whom he had discussed the matter agreed that it was common sense that insurance against damage by the enemy should include the risk of seizure. The resolution was passed. The session concluded.

A. I. Organisation of Industrial Employers

9th. Annual Meeting—Delhi—8th. March 1942

Presidential Address

"After a preliminary period of adaptation, Indian industry is now more fully geared to a war time economy than ever before, and it is enjoying, as is natural in the circumstances, a period of moderate prosperity," said Sir Surti Ram, President, All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers, speaking at the ninth annual meeting held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

The President proceeded: "There is a lot of facile and superficial talk about opportunities which the war has afforded for industrialisation but it does not appear to be fully realised that industrialisation is only possible when the requisite machinery is available. War has doubtless created new opportunities, but the Government of India have not devised adequate measures to meet the difficulties it has interposed in the way of import of machinery so indispensable a pre-requisite to the establishment of new industries. It is true that we have expended some of our consumer-industries to an appreciable extent; we can now feed the army that is said to march on its stomach. We can also clothe that army, but we cannot, I am sorry to say, yet equip that army with the weapons which it requires to fight with."

SERIOUS GAPS IN INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY

There are serious gaps in our industrial economy, gaps which limit our advance in industrialisation and which may, in fact, determine our survival as a nation. These gaps are capital industries, such as the manufacture of machinery and tools, of ships, of aircraft, of automobiles, of railway locomotives, of chemicals. Small pioneering efforts of private enterprise have been made with little encouragement from Government. I refer to the shipbuilding yard at Vizagapatnam, which hopes at first to turn out four ships of 10,000 tons a year and later on sixteen, to the aircraft assembly factory at Bangalore, which hopes, in due course, to produce all the types of planes required for the defence of India. Some foreign concerns have had, of course, assembly plants for automobiles, but we still do not and cannot produce a single internal combustion engine or tanks of any size, which count for so much in this war.

"Under the difficulties the country has had to face, she has done commendably, but a great deal of progress in the industrial sphere still remains to be made and the responsibility that rests on the Government, if our war effort is to be more substantial, is still quite considerable. The value of these industries is not confined merely to war time needs. Swords can easily be turned into ploughshares, the aircraft that may be produced will be useful in peace time for civil aviation, for faster communications; internal combustion engines now required for tanks etc., can be used in lorries, buses and tractors; ships which may now be used for the transport of troops and supplies may be employed for the shipment of our produce and manufactures in coastal and foreign trade. The transformation of a war time economy to peace-time civil needs requires only a slight readjustment."

LACK OF MILL-STORES AND SPARES

"Already the difficulty in replenishing our requirements of mill-stores, spares, renewals and tools is retarding the further expansion of our industries and may indeed prove a serious setback to our war effort, if satisfactory arrangements are not made by the Government for the import of these. If, therefore, the Government expects industry to maintain its level of production and to improve its output further, it would be necessary to provide adequate facilities for industry to obtain machinery, spares, tools, etc., either under the lease-and-lend arrangements or on cash basis."

"While our grievances against the Government for its acts of omission in this

matter is a serious one, industry itself is culpable for its neglect in not providing for such a contingency. I will give only one example. The cotton textile industry of the country is almost a century old, and the value of the stores, spares and machinery it now requires each year, runs into many crores of rupees, yet during all these years the industry has not thought fit to ensure its supplies within the country, either by itself establishing on a co-operative basis or by helping to bring into being subsidiary industries such as the manufacture of bobbins, beads, belling, shuttles, card cans, loom sundries, reeds, etc., leave alone machinery and spares. On the other hand, there is unfortunately, a prejudice against indigenous products. If the industry had done so, it would have now found itself independent of imported supplies, and, in an emergency like the present, would not have been placed in the position of being gravely inconvenienced for want of these stores."

The International Chamber of Commerce

13th. Annual Meeting—Delhi—8th. March 1942

Presidential Address

The danger of excessive dependence on export markets and the need for rapid industrialisation, with a view to creating a more balanced adjustment between industry and agriculture coupled with a conscious crop planning programme were stressed by *Sir Chuni Lal B. Mehta*, President, Indian National Committee, International Chamber of Commerce, at its 13th annual meeting held at Delhi on the 8th. March 1942.

Sir Chuni Lal said, "The wartime requirements of self-sufficiency in food and raw materials are bound to stimulate agriculture in most industrial States during this war and it is hardly likely that the war-expanded agriculture would be let down by their Statesmen after the return of peace. It is idle to hope, therefore, in my opinion, that India's traditional export trade in staple agricultural produce could be revived to anything like the pre-depression level of 1928-29 in the post-war years. It follows from this that rapid development of Indian industries with a view to creating alternative or additional markets for the traditional Indian export-able surpluses of raw materials, such as cotton and oils, within the country itself, has become more a matter of necessity than a matter of choice. I, therefore, strongly urge upon the Government of India the necessity to seize the present opportunity to stimulate the development of all kinds of industries, which would provide an assured market for most of our exportable surpluses of raw materials and agricultural products within the country itself. I am aware that there are many difficulties, such as the availability of machinery, skilled labour, etc. in the way of inaugurating a large-scale programme of industrial development during the war. But I am sure that a co-ordinated and strong lead by the Government of India, in consultation with industrialists would enable the country to take the maximum advantage of the situation created by the elimination of Japan and relative disappearance of foreign competition from the Indian market, to develop major and minor industries in the country."

Speaking of the necessity of a number of production adjustments in the country's internal structure, *Sir Chuni Lal* said that in view of the shrinkage of the export markets and increasing production of finer and higher quality piecegoods in India, efforts should be intensified to stimulate to the utmost possible extent, the production of long-staple cotton and to discourage the short staple growths. Similarly, the curtailment of the area under jute by substitution of rice would also be necessary to bring peace-time supply of jute more in accord with the reduced world demand, consequent on the serious decline in the value and volume of international trade in recent years. In his view, therefore, a conscious and deliberate crop planning would have to be an integral part of the programme of industrialisation with a view to minimising the hardship and the difficulties of the transition period.

The A. I. Muslim Chamber of Commerce

First Annual Meeting—Bombay—11th. March 1942

Presidential Address

"We must not be backward in contributing our full quota to the nation's defence measures and we must do everything by precept and example to sustain our spirits and keep our morale high", said *Sir Sultan Chinnoy* presiding over the

first annual general meeting of the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry held at Bombay on the 11th, March 1942.

Sir Sultan made it clear that the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce was founded in no spirit of rivalry to any other organisation. It was to supplement India's commercial activities as a whole and to strengthen and foster them that the institution had been formed.

A people's happiness in the last analysis, said Sir Sultan, depended not so much on their commercial prosperity. Hunger was among the greatest motive forces of life and any effort calculated to raise the standard of the people and to bring back to India again some of her ancient prosperity and greatness should be welcomed by all patriotic Indians. Industrial advance must go hand in hand with political progress. In a sense it should precede it, for without industrial organisation political freedom was a poor thing which could not be fully enjoyed. He said that it was the intention of the Chamber at an early date to appoint a Muslim Industrial Commission to investigate the resources to the best advantage.

Referring to the war, Sir Sultan said that recent developments in the Far East and in Burma had greatly increased our own peril. "The war is at our very doors and while I have no intention of saying anything alarmist I think we should indulge in very dangerous complacency if we do not realise that at any moment now the enemy may strike at our ports and cities. Let us be realists and face this eventually calmly and with clear minds".

After emphasising the need for contributing fully to the nation's defence, Sir Sultan said: "That is necessary if we are to emerge successfully through the crisis which faces us. None of us expect that we can survive the ordeal unscathed. That is a fact which businessmen in other sections of the community fully recognise." Sir Sultan Chinoy endorsed the views expressed by Sir Feroz Khan Noon in regard to the application of the policy of "scorched earth" in India. He said that while the business community was willing to sacrifice much for the successful prosecution of the war, at the same time it expected the careful avoidance on the part of the Government of "senseless sacrifices" which were calculated to ruin irreparably the country's industrial structure and spell unhappiness and poverty for many millions of innocent citizens.

Turning to the political situation in India, Sir Sultan said that prosperity, political or commercial, could only flourish in an atmosphere of goodwill and contentment. Therefore it was in the interests of businessmen, Muslims and Hindus, no less than in the interests of India's people, to help in restoring communal amity without which political and even industrial progress would be difficult. He declared that the Muslim Chamber of Commerce would use its good offices for achieving co-operation and co-ordination.

The A. I. Trade Union Congress

19th. Session—8th. February 1942

PT. NEHRU'S OPENING ADDRESS

The 19th session of the all-India Trade Union Congress commenced at Cawnpore on the 8th. February 1942 under the presidency of Mr. V. K. Kelappa. About 200 delegates from almost all the provinces and representing different affiliated labour organisations and trade unions participated in it.

"We cannot shut our eyes to the bloodshed that is going on all over the world, and to the loss of human lives which is taking place on account of the present war," observed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru opening the 19th session of the all-India Trade Union Congress. Pandit Nehru said India was not responsible for the good of any other country. The first concern of Indians was to see that their country was free.

Pandit Nehru referred to a slogan which he had heard being raised, that this was a people's war and the 'workers of the world should unite.' He added that this was not the slogan of kisans and mazdoors of this country. He pointed out that if the mazdoors of the world would have united, the world's map would have been different. They should first fight for the freedom of their own country.

India's premier organization had rightly expressed its sympathies towards other countries like China and Russia, but now the first question before them was the freedom of India. And India would not yield to British imperialism. Proceeded further Pandit Nehru said that in case India was free, she would have decided by her own will to move side by side with Britain. But at this stage the country had no other alternative but to fight with all those who ever tried to keep her in slavery. He added that he totally disliked the German rule and Nazism. Britain had made India incapable of any defence. In the event of India being attacked by any other foreign country she would continue to resist. She was fated to oppose all until she was free.

Pandit Nehru further pointed out that India would have developed industrially if she was free but the British Government never allowed her to industrialize and placed handicaps in the work of the National Planning Committee of which he was the president.

In conclusion, he paid tributes to Calcutta for its contribution in the Satyagraha movement. He urged the Trade Union Congress to take decision on matters which affected the working class. He was of the opinion that any decision taken against the will of the country would create divisions and prove disastrous.

The session of the Congress was attended by prominent delegates from all the provinces including Mr. N. M. Joshi, Mr. V. G. Gir, Mr. Bankim Mukherjee, Mr. Ashok Mehta and others. Dr. P. P. Pillai of the Indian branch of the International Labour Office and Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya were present by special invitation.

We are meeting at a time when the whole world is in flames. The present world conflagration is only a culmination of man's stupid greed and avarice, declared Pandit Balkrishna Sharma, chairman, reception committee of the all-India Trade Union Congress, welcoming the delegates to the conference.

Continuing, he said that a glimpse of the development of trade union movement in India will convince any impartial observer that the capitalist classes as such have always opposed vehemently even the most humane reforms in the conditions of work of the factory workers. A rapid survey of the legislative proposals and the manner in which they were received by the employers will convince anybody that something much more than mere legislation was required to set right the various problems that faced society. The existence of so many associations of employers, their sudden growth after the trade union movement in India came to its own was a clear indication of the spirit of deep-rooted antagonism between the employers and the workers. Had the employers been more circumspect to raise the wages of the workers in proportion to the rise in prices after the great war of 1914-18 the history of trade unionism in India would have been different.

It is necessary, therefore, that the capitalist and for our purpose the Indian capitalist should re-adjust his sense of values. It will not do to remain in opposition to trade unionism any longer. Why, at the end of this war, he may find that his capitalist mode of life has not only outgrown its usefulness but has become a positive menace to human progress.

Let the Indian workers learn a lesson from the present world developments and it would be wise and proper for the capitalists to begin to think in new terms in relation to his attitude towards his workers.

Continuing, Pandit Balkrishna counselled the mazdoors and labour workers to concentrate their efforts in the direction of solid organisational activities. They had, he said, spent much of their time and energies on agitational channels. Bitterness in thought and speeches had taken them nowhere. They should therefore stop swearing at the capitalist, and if he does not change time will throw him overboard.

Concluding, he said that he felt like going whole-hog with Britain in this war. But the blindness of the British statesmen had left them no alternative but to stick to the Bombay resolution of the all-India Congress Committee.

DR. PILLAI'S SPEECH

Speaking at the opening session of the all-India Trade Union Congress, Dr. P. P. Pillai, director of the Indian branch of the international Labour Office, who was present by special invitation, emphasised the critical nature of the present times, outlined the important part Indian labour had to play in achieving victory

for democracy and the significant contribution that I. L. O. was making in the difficult sphere of post-war social reconstruction.

Dr. Pillai said that the rude impact of war and an objective view of its developments in the Malayan and Burman theatres compelled Indian labour to take stock at once of the situation and to define the ultimate principles and objects for which it stands. The totalitarian powers were challenging the very principle of democracy, the Nazis and their criminal collaborators were clearly out for world domination and they had no place in their scheme of things for independent nationalities. This will not suit India or Indian labour.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Workers are not anti-British or anti-any-other-nation. But they are anti-Imperialism under whatever name it may go. They are against all kinds of Imperialism be it the authoritarian form of the British or totalitarian form of the German. Nor does imperialism change its character, if it comes from the East instead of the West. In other words, Indian workers who are a subject people cannot prefer one kind of Imperialism to another said Mr. V. R. Kalappa, presiding over the session.

"What we are mainly concerned with is the foreign policy and foreign policy alone of the belligerent countries. One may say that foreign policy reflects the character of a Government. This may be partially true. But history shows that a foreign policy leading to aggression has not been confined to any particular form of Government. We are, therefore, concerned with the policy of aggression from whatever quarter it may emanate and not with the peoples or their Governments. All talk of anti-Fascist front will lead us nowhere."

"The non-existence of political strikes on war issue is interpreted to mean loyalty of the Indian working class to the British Imperialism and support to war efforts. It is true that the workers engaged in munition factories, production of war material and transport services have not laid down the tools. But they are working to support war efforts but for their living. Neither Government nor votaries of Imperialism under the cloak of anti-Fascism are justified in mistreating the poor workers who sell their labour which is their only possession just to eke out their existence.

"In these circumstances there was no justification whatever for some of our comrades to break away and start a rival organisation under the guise of anti-Fascist front, so soon after unity was achieved after ten years of hard struggle. In order to avoid future splits unity was based on some sound democratic principles that all political questions as well as questions of strikes and affiliation with any foreign organisation be decided by three-fourths majority. A decision by three-fourths majority makes it impossible for any particular section or group to get any resolution passed through a snap vote. Nor can the Congress be swamped by any one union however large its membership may be, as representation is not in direct proportion to numerical strength but graduated. Nor can workers in any particular industry dominate the organisation as representation is on trade group basis which restricts the maximum number of members on the General Council to eight for each group of Industries such as Railways, Shipping, Cotton Textile, Mining, Engineering etc. Similarly the number of delegates also are restricted on a graduated scale, without depriving small unions representation.

RECRUITING SERGEANT

"It has also been complained by some that the A. I. C. U. O. has not given a lead on War issue. What other lead is possible under the existing circumstances than merely state the position of the organised workers and leave it there? The critics certainly do not mean a lead for political strike. Do they, then mean that the Trade Union Congress should play the veritable role of a recruiting sergeant and convert all the affiliated unions into recruiting depots?

It is contended that by supporting war efforts of the British, Fascism could be destroyed. Socialism would be established in Great Britain and it would follow suit in India. This prospect is extremely alluring. Nazis came to power only in 1933. What prevented Great Britain from establishing Socialism before that date?

The prospect of establishment of Socialism in all the countries of Europe including Germany and Italy is also held out. To say that by defeating Herr Hitler, Nazism or Fascism will be wiped out and Socialism established is to go

even beyond the Atlantic Charter which has been drawn as the war aim of the Democrats. But the pro-British propagandists can afford to promise what their masters have not contemplated as they (former) are not required to deliver the goods.

RELEASED PRISONERS

Recently some political prisoners, mostly convicted for offering Satyagraha, have been released. But the non-release of the detainees and other political prisoners convicted for their alleged or professed leanings towards Socialism or Communism is thoroughly unwarranted by circumstances and morally unjustified. Most of the Labour Leaders have been convicted, though under the Defence of India Act for their normal trade union activities. The position of the detainees is even worse. If there is any unchallengeable evidence against the detainees why does not the Government place them on trial? Is it not merely for their ideology, the detainees and other political prisoners are made to lose their liberty and sacrifice their all.

Second Day—Resolutions—Cawnpur—9th. February 1942

ATTITUDE TO WAR

The session of the Congress concluded on the next day after adopting a number of resolutions including the recognition of the demand for Trade Unions and Factory committees, release of political prisoners, condemning repression in Bengal, appealing to workers not to be panic-stricken during an air raid, demanding an increase in basic wages and grant of dearness allowance, disapproving the policy adopted by the Government by introducing and enforcing ordinances affecting labour without consulting representatives of labour.

Both the resolutions on attitude to war, one sponsored by the Communists offering unconditional support in the war effort and the other moved by Mr. Mrinal Kant Bose, expressing the opinion that in view of the situation created by the aggression against Russia, immediate transfer of power to the people is essential, to enable the workers of India to take part enthusiastically and effectively in the defence of India, were lost as they failed to secure a three-fourths majority as required under the constitution for making any change in the policy of the All-India Trade Union Congress.

Mr. Bankim Mukerji, who moved the resolution urging support to the war effort, dwelt at length on the changed situation and pointed out that the war had changed its character and had ceased to be an imperialist one. It had become a people's war, he said.

Mr. N. M. Joshi, supporting Mr. Mrinal Kant Bose's resolution, said that in case they supported the war effort unconditionally it would not carry them far. No help could be effectively and enthusiastically given until India was free. Mr. V. R. Kalyappa, at the end of the discussions in his speech, said that he could quite agree with his Communist friends that it was a people's war for Russia, but it could never be a people's war for India. By adopting the resolution supporting war effort, they could only give moral help. No substantial help could be possible as long as this country was a slave. On votes being taken, both the resolutions were lost. The Congress then terminated.

The All India Manufacturers' Conference

Second Session—Poona—21st. March 1942

Welcome Address

The second session of the All India Manufacturers' Conference was held in Poona at the specially erected and decorated pandal on the grounds of the Tilak Smarak Mandir on the 21st. March 1942, Sir M. Visvesvaraya presided and Mr. G. V. Purnani, the Chairman of the Maharashtra Industrial Association, welcomed the delegates, in the course of which he said:—

"On behalf of the Maharashtra Industrial Association, which is the Regional Council of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation for the ten districts of Maharashtra, I cordially welcome you to this second session of the All-India Manufacturers' Conference. I need hardly say anything to you about the city of Poona where this conference is holding its session. This historical city, once the capital of the Peshwas, is hallowed by the association of the Late Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade, Lok. Bal Gangadhar Tilak and the Hon. Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale who rendered invaluable services to India's national renaissance.

"The reason that seems to have weighed with the Central Committee of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation to hold its second annual session in Maharashtra is, that we have been able to set up here a Regional Council to carry on the work of the Organisation in this part of the country and ours is probably the only regional body that has so far been officially affiliated to it. Our enthusiasm in this matter, I must admit, is indeed due to our consciousness about the backward industrial condition of our region and the consequent urge to do something that will help the province to rapidly industrialise itself. When we attended the first conference in Bombay last year, we found that the programme which it outlined under the able guidance of Sir M. Visvesvaraya was such which even if partially put into practice was sure to create the much needed industrial impetus among the people which ultimately would bring about industrial uplift of the country.

"In this connection I should like to observe that India's body economic will not be well developed unless proper attention is paid to the industrial growth of its component regional units. The development of one limb at the neglect of the growth of the other would not make a healthy and a strong body. The same is the case with the sound industrial development of a sub-continent like India. We from the various provinces, therefore, should strive our utmost to develop our respective regions, keeping in view the ideal of the proportionate and all round development of India's body economic. This, of course, presupposes harmonious working and co-ordination of efforts among the various regions and it is the function of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation to strive to this end.

Presidential Address

Sir M. Visvesvaraya in delivering his presidential address observed:—
"The foremost topic which colours all our thoughts today is the war. Enemy activities have already extended to the borders of this country. I am sure it is the ardent wish of all who have assembled at this Conference that at a critical time like this, India should render all the help it is in her power to give, to enable the Allies to win the war.

"As this country has in the past neglected the production of armament machinery and has also taken no precautions to develop the military capacity of its people, we are today exposed to the dangers of foreign invasion. Before the war, Government were placing orders for goods required in India with German or American firms whenever England herself could not supply them and now since the commencement of the war and after the close of deliberations of the Kasturba Group War Supply Conference, the tendency has been to obtain the necessary raw and semi-raw materials required for the war from this country and to place orders for all heavy armament machinery, motor trucks, aero-engines, etc., which require capacity and skill, with the other countries of the Empire or with the United States of America. It is probably not widely known that many of the manufacturing even in those countries, who have come forward to execute the orders, have admitted that they did not know the job themselves but had to learn it after accepting the orders.

"We are informed that an American mission is coming out to this country in connection with the rapid development of munitions production. It is hoped that the Government will soon acquaint the country with the precise scope and functions of this technical mission. The Indian industrialists are naturally anxious to know whether opportunities will be given to them to develop heavy armament industries with the help of this mission.

"Financial prosperity in Great Britain and America, depends largely on the systematic and continuous working of numerous business and financial organisations, operated by skilled groups of people with the co-operation and encouragement of Government. There is no organisation worth the name in this country to help industrial development. The attention given by the Central Government is casual and fragmentary. The Provincial Governments which are supposed to be entrusted with this duty, have no resources and many of them have shown no will.

"The public should wake up to this perilous state of things, and our main lines of development should in future, be (1) to encourage the starting and working of industries of every kind—small, medium and large scale, either as owners' concerns, partnership concerns or joint-stock companies; (2) to create in each region or area an efficient industrial organisation to enable new occupations and new units of work to spring up speedily; (3) to provide institutions, agencies, facilities and conditions for training a large proportion of the population for industrial life; and (4) to start preparing the country for post-war reconstruction in which industries must necessarily play an important part."

Resolutions

The following resolutions were adopted unanimously by the Conference.

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

In as much as the security and economic prosperity of the country depend to a very considerable extent upon sound industrial development, this Conference strongly urges upon the Government of India to institute, without delay, a well-planned and dynamic industrial policy calculated to lead to the rapid establishment of new industries and the progressive expansion of existing ones.

"With a view to implement such a policy, this Conference recommends to the Government to take, amongst others, the following active measures:—

- (1) to urge upon the Provincial Governments to bring about the establishment of in each Province, of at least one heavy or key industry, that may be found suitable to its economic resources and conditions, in addition to such other industries that may be existing already;
- (2) to definite guarantee of protection by (a) adequate tariffs on competing imports and (b) grant of subsidies, exemptions, etc., to existing industries and to those that may be started hereafter;
- (3) to give freely import licences, essentially and priority certificates, and otherwise give assistance for importing from abroad industrial plant, machinery and other essential materials so far as they do not materially interfere with the War effort;
- (4) to direct all Government and semi-Government Departments to continue to purchase even after the War, only indigenous manufactures;
- (5) to exercise, to the same extent as is done by other progressive Governments, strict control over all concerns owned and managed by non-Indians whose activities are detrimental to the economic interests of the country.

STATISTICS

This Conference is of opinion that paucity of data about economic activities in general and industrial development, in particular, makes it extremely difficult to arrive at a correct appreciation of the actual and potential resources of this country. The Conference, therefore, strongly urges upon Government, (1) to re-organise and widen the field of activities of the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics on lines similar to those of the Bureau and Departments of Statistics in industrially advanced countries; (2) to introduce the necessary legislation making it obligatory on all industrial and commercial establishments to supply relevant statistical information to the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics; and (3) to issue, in an intelligible form, timely reports of statistics so collected.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

In the opinion of this Conference the development of industries, especially small and medium-scale ones, in this country is retarded not so much from lack of capital as through lack of adequate financing organisation. With a view to the speedy establishment of new industries and to mitigate the difficulties of existing ones, this Conference urges upon the Government:—

- (1) to establish Central and Provincial Industrial Funds for providing long term finance to industries on the lines similar to those obtaining in industrially advanced countries;
- (2) to amend the Insurance Act of 1938 as to give more latitude to Life Assurance companies in the matter of investments of their funds and thereby enable them to invest in industrial enterprises a larger proportion of their funds than has been possible hitherto.

SEPARATION OF PORTFOLIOS FOR INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE

In view of the deplorable industrial backwardness of the country, an immediate

and radical change is called for in the Government's Administrative machinery concerned with industries. This Conference, therefore, urges upon the Government to separate the portfolio of Industries from that of Commerce and place the Department of Industries under a separate non-official Indian Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, who should be charged with the duty of initiating and putting into operation a comprehensive and country-wide plan of industrialisation and co-ordinating the activities of the various Provincial Departments of Industries.

ECONOMIC COUNCILS

This Conference is of opinion that Economic Councils composed of representatives of businessmen, industrialists and economists, assisted by adequate executive staff, should be established, both at the Centre as well as in the Provinces to formulate, advise upon and influence the economic policies and activities of Government.

WAR RISK INSURANCE AND COMPENSATION

In view of the imminent danger to which this country is exposed as a result of war and the likelihood of considerable damage that might be done to industrial property not covered by the existing War Risk Insurance Scheme, this Conference urges upon the Government to issue forthwith an ordinance providing cover for such damage to all industrial establishments by a comprehensive Government War Insurance Scheme with provision for adequate and early payment of at least a part of the necessary compensation.

APPEAL FOR PUBLIC CO-OPERATION

Affirming its belief that rapid and comprehensive industrialisation is the only effective means of attaining economic prosperity and national security of this country, this Conference appeals to all trade and commercial organisations, all leaders of national movements, the Press and all citizens interested in the welfare of the country to take part and help in the constructive work of industrialisation in the following directions:—

- (1) to mobilise available capital, talent and material resources in each region for its industrial development in the first instance, and also to take part in similar work in wider spheres wherever possible;
- (2) to collect industrial statistics and carry out surveys of natural resources and other factors of production by regions;
- (3) On the basis of information so collected, to prepare a plan for the rapid development of existing industries and the establishment of new ones;
- (4) to disseminate correct information about the Government's industrial policies and organise effective public opinion thereon;
- (5) to help in the removal of grievances of industries;
- (6) to popularise the use of Swadeshi products through industrial museums, exhibitions and other forms of propaganda;
- (7) to review, annually and, wherever possible once every quarter, the work done and progress achieved in advancing the cause of industrialisation in each region.

The Conference is of opinion that to carry out this programme, representative Regional Bodies should be organised wherever possible, on lines similar to those indicated in the Constitution of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation.

India Debate in Parliament

H. of Commons—London—24th. February 1942

Sir George Schuster's Suggestion

The future of India figured prominently in the House of Commons debate held on the 24th February 1942.

Sir George Schuster (Liberal National) said that there must be a sound suspension of political and personal controversies", he declared. "We have to say to the Nationalists: 'Set aside these things, and during the war unite and face the common peril.' But how can we expect them to respond to this? How can we convince them that we are honest in our intentions to work during the war for the political freedom they desire? The way forward was not so simple as England seemed to think (cheers). It is all very well to say 'Promise Dominion Status by a certain date,' That provides a satisfactory answer to none of the questions. 'I say, if India can build up her own essential unity, nothing on earth can prevent her having independence if she wants it', continued Sir George. "and it is our duty to do everything we can to build up her strength and unity. She will see that it is to her advantage to remain linked to our group. Merely to promise Dominion Status on a certain date, is not going to make England's amends or solve the Indian problem."

Sir George Schuster read a personal letter from Mr. Jinnah, Leader of the Muslim League, which ran as follows: "Let me impress on you that the partition of India demand, the Muslim idea, is not only a political reality—it is our creed and our article of faith. We shall not rest content until we have achieved our goal. We shall not agree to submit to an Indian united Central Government and be treated as an Indian minority under the heel of a permanent Hindu majority, which virtually means Hindu Raj."

Sir George added that one might deeply disagree with that attitude, but one could not ignore it. These were fundamental questions which could not be settled by any easy formula, and could not be set aside or reconciled during the war. "What we ought to do is to get a strong National Government to work during the war and convince India that we are determined to play our part in establishing her freedom."

"The British Government has tried and I believe, honestly, to do what was possible under war conditions", proceeded Sir George Schuster. "The British Government said that they could not, pending an agreement, set up a new constitution, but they desired, within the framework of the existing constitution, to set up an Executive Government which was really representative of the Indian people. It was a great advance which was made last year, but that was not enough. Many political leaders would not join as members of the Executive Council. They regarded it as subordinate to the Viceroy and not as a new Indian Cabinet. Sir George Schuster, however, urged that another effort be made. Had they not a special opportunity now? Here, in the British Government, an important step had been taken. The urgency of the war had justified an exceptional procedure in the formation of a Government. Would not the urgency justify a similar procedure in India? He suggested the setting up of a small War Cabinet, consisting of the Viceroy and Ministers without portfolio, charged with the general direction of the war, leaving departmental responsibility unchanged to the existing Council."

Sir George Schuster continued: "Surely, there is some hope that the main political leaders would join such a Cabinet. It would have an entirely new significance. To join it would give a real share of power, and yet in no way commit them as regards the form of the final constitution of India. Such a plan would face up to the urgent realities of to-day and the vital need for co-operation in the war effort of the British, the Muslims and the Hindus."

Sir Alfred Knox (Conservative) asked if Sir George had any idea whether leading Muslims would agree to this, and if they would not agree, would it not put the British Government in another false position.

Sir George replied that he had no knowledge what leading Muslims would do. Sir George Schuster continued: "It is futile to expect that you could lay down any final form of constitution which would receive in advance the approval of Muslims and Hindus. If only a start could be made, the whole controversy might

be lessened in favour of co-operation for the common purpose and gradually a constitutional basis for permanent co-operation could be evolved. "It is no use saying that India is already behind the war and basing the statement on the evidence of the flow of recruits or the work of war factories or on the lack of response to nationalist political agitation. What do these things mean? A million men in the army out of 400 millions! Indians have always been ready to take work when work is available at reasonable wages. That is not the spirit of energy and sacrifice; that is not the spirit of national unity which will see India through the war. They must have the spirit of energy and sacrifice which inspired China and Russia—the spirit which carried on even to the point of the destruction of their cherished homes if that was the only way to defeat the enemy. It is blindness to expect such a spirit, unless you had a real National Government leading it."

H. of Commons—Second Day—25th February 1942

Sir Stafford Cripps' Reply

On the next day, the 25th, February, after Mr. Pethwick Lawrence (Labour), had stated that the debate had emphasised the essential unity of the nation, Sir Stafford Cripps rose to reply.

Replying to the debate, Sir Stafford made his first speech as the new Leader of the House. "In all sincerity, I am most anxious to make the criticism, and co-operation of the Members of Parliament fruitful from the view of our joint effort to win the war," said Stafford. "I shall regard my position as Leader of the House as having for its object the interpretation of the views of the House to the War Cabinet (Hear, hear), and also the views of the War Cabinet to the House."

But there is one matter which all members of the House will bear in mind. We have to work out our solutions together and both sides or all views and opinions must compromise in the eventual working of our common policy, and action which is to be put into operation. There are some who wish for rapid and violent progress, some perhaps even in the Cabinet itself and they cannot have all they wish. But no more can those who desire to remain static have their wish either (Cheers). One side must go forward just as the other must hold itself back if we are to march forward along the common front. I have been in the past a critic myself of many things and Governments and I fully appreciate that both critics and supporters alike are out to help to win this war and to make each one in his own way, that contribution which he best feels able to make to the united war effort."

Sir Stafford, continuing, said: "Perhaps it may be that with a totalitarian Parliament, the conduct of the war might be easier for those who are in charge of it. But we are fighting for something different from totalitarianism and for something that we believe to be better. If, however, we are determined to preserve and use to the full our machinery of democracy, we must not be afraid to examine its workings (Hear, hear), with a view to creating from it a machine of maximum efficiency for our purpose, whether that purpose be victory in the present or reconstruction in the future. We must no more allow deficiencies or antiquated methods to interfere with our democratic machine than we must with our military machine and I am certain we can make this House of Commons an even greater and more inspiring body for the people of this country than it has ever been in its history if we are prepared to adapt our methods and our mentality to the urgent needs of the present times."

Sir Stafford continued, "The Prime Minister, in opening this debate, had stressed the darkness in the present stage of the war. Despite the gallantry of the many Allies who are helping us to-day in the Far East—the Dutch, the Chinese and the Americans—it is rightly stressed that the added onslaught of the Japanese to the already enormous effort of Germany and her satellite Powers has cast upon us a burden that is heavier than any which we have yet borne. It is not the last straw. And it will not break the back of the British people (Cheers). We are no less confident to-day of our ultimate victory but for weeks, it may be for months, we shall pass through times of acute anxiety and difficulty. And it is because of this present state of affairs and the prospect of the coming months that we must brace ourselves in that effort for victory."

Sir Stafford proceeded, "Now the great majority of the people of this country have been working their hardest in their various spheres to give every help they could. But there still remains a minority of people who appear to regard their

personal interests in a manner which is not consonant with the totality of effort which is required if we are to come through the present difficulties with success.

"The Government propose to take such measures as may be necessary to prevent abuse of the wishes of the majority of the people by any small or selfish group. Such incidents as dog racing and boxing displays amongst them are completely out of accord (loud cheers) with the true spirit and determination of the people in this crisis of their history and steps will be taken to see that such and similar activities are no longer allowed to impede the solid and serious intention of the country to achieve victory. Personal extravagance must be eliminated together with every other form of wastage, small or large, and all unnecessary expenditure. In the realm of war effort itself, no person can be allowed to stand in the way of efficiency or sacrifices of production and we must, without regard to the interests of individuals, lay up the tempo of our war effort on every side.

"A number of members have commented in this regard on the presentation of some news on the wireless, and have stressed the need for giving the public as true a picture of the events as possible whilst, of course, guarding against disclosure of facts which would be of assistance to the enemy in the prosecution of the war.

"The Government are wholly in accord with the necessity for presenting a true picture to the people, because they are confident that the people of this country are firm and courageous enough to face facts, however unpleasant they may be. At the same time, the House will, of course, realise that care must be taken not to create an atmosphere of undiluted depression when events are temporarily against us. We must stress, throughout, our absolute conviction of our ultimate success provided everyone of us plays our part in the achievement. I will discuss with the Minister for Information the question as to what improvements can be made in the presentation of home news as it is now sent out over the wireless.

(Cheers). "I now come to the question which has vexed the minds of members from all sides of the House—the question of India. The Government are as much concerned, as is everybody else, with the whole question of the unity, and strength of India in the face of the dangers which now threaten that country, and they very fully realise that it is important that this country should do its utmost, in the present circumstances, to make a full contribution towards that unity. I think, however, that it would not be profitable to debate so important and vital a question now in a partial manner. The Government hope that such a debate will be possible very shortly upon the basis of a Government decision in the matter.

"The question of Colonial policy has also been raised. I am sure the new Colonial Secretary will reconsider the methods of colonial administration and the policies of the colonial empire.

"Two further points about India were raised with which I should like to deal," went on Sir Stafford. "The first is the question whether the training of Indian troops has been adequate and the second whether industrial development has been adequate. So far as the question of troops is concerned, manpower is available in India and training facilities are available too. Difficulty has risen over the question of equipment and as soon as that can be supplied, the number of troops can be increased.

"The question of industrial development is one which Government regard as of great importance and, although there are difficulties in view of the great effort in production that has to be made in this country and in other parts of the Commonwealth, I will enquire into the matter with a view to seeing whether something is necessary to be done to expedite that development.

Sir Stafford Cripps dealt with the position in Malaya and said that it had been suggested that it was not right to send troops there at the last minute in order to try and save the situation. "Had facts turned out otherwise, and had those troops not been sent, I wonder what would have been said in the House. (Cheers). "There would have been universal condemnation of the Government for not making an attempt to save that most valuable base in the Pacific. Another question which has been raised is that of policy as to the continued use of heavy bombers and the bombing of Germany. This Policy was initiated at a time when we were fighting alone against the combined forces of Germany and Italy. It then seemed that it was the most effective way in which we, acting alone, could take the initiative against the enemy. (Cheers) Since that time, we have had an enormous accession of support from the Russian armies who, according to the latest news, have had yet another victory over the Germans (Cheers), and also from the great potential strength of the United States.

"Naturally, in such circumstances, the original policy has come under

review, and it is indeed kept constantly under review. Government are fully aware of other uses to which our resources could be put and the moment they arrive at a decision that circumstances warrant a change, a change in policy will be made. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether there is that degree of co-ordination of the three Services through the Chiefs of Staff in the field which is satisfactory at the present time. No doubt as long as there are three Services there will be occasions when it may appear that co-ordination has not been 100 per cent but every effort is being made and is continually made to improve that co-ordination. In the Libyan campaign, probably a higher degree of co-ordination than ever before has been reached between the Army and the Air Force. Everything possible will be done to increase that active co-operation."

Sir Stafford Cripps referred to the question raised by Sir Percy Harris about making public news regarding the Japanese treatment of civilians in Hongkong and Malaya. "I think anyone who has followed the course of the Sino-Japanese war for the last four and a half years (Cheers) should have no doubt as to the sort of people against whom we are fighting in the Far East," said Sir Stafford. "But so far as the rumours to which Sir Percy Harris referred are concerned he will realise that there are in this country many hundreds of thousands of people who are intimately affected as regards the conditions through their relations and friends and it would neither be right nor kind to give any publicity to any such rumours until they can be completely substantiated. The Government have, therefore, considered it right to encourage in any way dissemination of those rumours. Moreover, we hope that whatever the conduct of the Japanese may have been in the past, they may show themselves now more humane and decent in their behaviour to the captured populations and prisoners."

Dealing with production, Sir Stafford Cripps said: "The Government are fully conscious of the most valuable part that the skill of the workers can play in assisting the management and they have already, in some cases, taken steps by setting up Workshop Committees in order to release this valuable co-operation. They are anxious that this co-operation should be encouraged to its fullest extent throughout every industry in the country."

Discussing the points raised by members about Cabinet reorganisation, Sir Stafford said the new War Minister, Sir James Clegg, would sit in the House of Commons as soon as a seat could be found for him (Cheers). The new Minister of State, Captain Lytton, would exercise the function of supervision, co-ordination and the giving of vigorous initiative over the whole field of production. Regarding the relationship between himself and Mr. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, Sir Stafford Cripps said that he would deal with all matters concerning the business of the House and Mr. Attlee would, in the absence of the Prime Minister, answer all other questions addressed to the Prime Minister. The War Cabinet exercised the fullest power of deliberation and members of the Cabinet had every opportunity of forming independent views upon any question of strategic importance or any other question prior to the taking of decisions. As the Prime Minister had said, the responsibility was a joint and a real responsibility. "The Prime Minister, as the Minister for defence," continued Sir Stafford Cripps, "operates under the authority of the War Cabinet and the Defence Committee and in every case the official decision is that of the War Cabinet itself". It was the intention of the Government to continue the Department Reconstitution but the precise arrangements as to the responsibility for its direction had not yet been decided by the Government.

Concluding, Sir Stafford said, "We are now passing through a period of difficulty and anxiety, to which there probably has been no equal in our history. We shall not be borne down by those difficulties or worn out by those anxieties (Cheers), because we are all constant and determined in our purpose to win through. In the hard months that lie ahead, the House can, and will, I am sure, give to the people of this country a great lead in determination, freedom and constancy of purpose." (Cheers).

The debate concluded and the House adjourned.

H. of Commons—London—14th. March 1942

Cabinet Plan for Indian settlement
Mr. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT

The following official statement on India was made in the House of Commons by Mr. Churchill on the 14th. March. 1942:—

"The crisis in the affairs of India arising out of the Japanese advance has made Britain wish to rally all the forces of Indian life to guard their land from the menace of the invader."

"In August 1940, a statement was made about the aims and policy which we are pursuing in India. This amounted in short to a promise that, as soon as possible after the war, India should attain Dominion Status in full freedom and equality with this country and other Dominions under a constitution to be framed by Indians by agreement amongst themselves and acceptable to the main elements in the Indian national life. This was, of course, subject to the fulfilment of our obligations for the protection of minorities, including the Depressed Classes, and our treaty obligations to the Indian States and to a settlement of certain lesser matters arising out of our long association with the fortunes of the Indian sub-continent."

"However, in order to clothe these general declarations with precision and to convince all classes, races and creeds in India of our sincere resolve, the War Cabinet have agreed unitedly upon conclusions for present and future action which, if accepted by India as a whole, would avoid the alternative dangers, either that the resistance of a powerful minority might impose an indignant veto upon the wishes of the majority, or that a majority decision might be taken, which would be resisted to a point destructive of internal harmony and fatal to the setting up of a new constitution."

"We had thought of setting forth immediately the terms of this attempt by a constitutional route to aid India in the realisation of full self-government. We are, however, apprehensive that to make a public announcement at such a moment as this might do more harm than good. We must first assure ourselves that our scheme would win a reasonable and practical measure of acceptance and thus promote concentration of all thoughts and energies upon the defence of the native soil. We should all serve the common cause if we made a declaration which would be rejected by the essential elements in the Indian world and which would provoke fierce constitutional and communal disputes at a moment when the enemy is at the gates of India."

"Accordingly we propose to send a Member of the War Cabinet to India to satisfy himself on the spot by personal consultation that the conclusions upon which we are agreed and which we believe represent a just and final solution, will achieve their purpose. The Lord Privy Seal and the Leader of the House, Sir Stafford Cripps, has volunteered to undertake this task. He carries with him the full confidence of His Majesty's Government and he will strive in their name, to procure the necessary measure of assent, not only from the Hindu majority, but also from those great minorities amongst which the Muslims are most numerous and on many grounds pre-eminent."

"The Lord Privy Seal will at the same time consult with the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief on the military situation, bearing always in mind the paramount responsibility of His Majesty's Government, by every means in their power, to shield the people of India from the perils which now beset them. We must remember that India has a great part to play in the world struggle for freedom and that her helping hand must be extended in loyal comradeship to the valiant Chinese people, who have fought alone so long. We must remember also that India is one of the bases from which the strongest counter-blow must be struck at the advance of tyranny and aggression."

"Sir Stafford Cripps will set out as soon as convenient and suitable arrangements can be made. He will command in his task the heartfelt good wishes of all parts of the House, and meanwhile no words will be spoken or debates held here or in India which would add to the burden he has assumed in his mission or lessen the prospects of good result. During Sir Stafford Cripps' absence from Parliament, his duties as Leader will be discharged by the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden."

H. of Commons—London—28th. April 1942

Cripps Explains Breakdown of Indian Negotiations

MR. AMERY'S REPLY

In the House of Commons, on the 28th. April 1942. Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal opened the debate on his mission to India (See p. 267). The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, winding up the debate said: A

just tribute has been paid to Sir *Stafford Cripps* for conspicuous ability and sincerity, and not the least, the good temper with which he discharged his difficult mission. No more fitting ambassador could have been sent, not only because of his position as a member of the War Cabinet but also because his sending marked in a peculiar degree the unity of outlook and policy with regard to India, which has been reached by the Government, and I might add, which has been reached by Parliament and public opinion in this country. I say 'advisedly' reached, because the mission and the unanimous policy for which Sir *Stafford Cripps* endeavoured to secure acceptance were not sudden improvisations to meet a critical external situation, the deathbed repentance of an unregenerate imperialist. They were the natural, and indeed, the inevitable culmination of the steady development during these last few years of thought and feeling about India and India's political aspirations. The Act of 1935, which was fiercely contested by us at the time, was a great piece of constructive statesmanship which might by now have carried India far on the road towards complete freedom, if it could have been implemented.

But we have all along, since then, moved beyond it. We no longer think in terms of India's progressive advance towards full control of her own destiny by stages decided here and under the Constitution laid down by this House. We think instead in terms of India's inherent right to that freedom under a Constitution of her own devising. It is because Indian leaders have, I think, not fully realised hitherto, or not fully believed in this change in our outlook and in its bearing upon their relations both to ourselves and to each other, that mission of Sir *Stafford Cripps* has, I believe, been of such permanent for the future whatever its immediate outcome. The primary task assigned to Sir *Stafford Cripps* was to remove all doubts as to the sincerity of our purpose.

We had already declared, at the very outset, almost of the career of the present Government, that we wished India to attain the some full freedom as is enjoyed by the Dominions and for that matter, by ourselves, and to do so as soon as possible after the war under a Constitution of Indian devising. That pledge was subject only to stipulations. One stipulation was that the Constitution should provide for the due fulfilment of the obligations imposed on us by our historic connection with India. The other was that the Constitution should carry with it the acceptance of the principal elements in national life. Indian political opinion was not prepared to believe that we really meant what we said. It read into the stipulation about the obligations, an intention to superimpose on the Constitution, conditions and safeguards, which would, in effect, make it no longer the Constitution of a free country, to take back with one hand what he professed to give with the other. Again, it read into the stipulation about agreement a cynical acquiescence in the indefinite continuance of disagreement and consequently of the present regime in India.

The full meaning of Dominion Independence was set out in the Preamble in terms taken from the famous Balfour Declaration of 1926. Moreover, Sir *Stafford Cripps* has already pointed out the provision in Section C, for settling by treaty all matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands and not only emphasised Indian equality of status, but expressly laid down that terms of the treaty should not restrict the power of the future Indian Union to decide its relationship to the rest of the Empire; in other words, to restrict its *de facto* power to secede from the Commonwealth. How could we have gone further than that?

Again, in order to meet the charge that we deliberately wished to postpone a settlement we put forward two suggestions. One was that failing previous agreement between the leaders of Indian opinion and the principal communities on some other form of constitution-making body we would set up one defined in Section D of the Draft Declaration immediately on the cessation of hostilities. The other point is to answer the charge that we were giving minorities and more particularly the Muslim element, a veto on all progress. There was only one way of making the Muslim element—known as Sir *G. Schuster* called it—and that was to tell the majority that they were free to go ahead and achieve full freedom without waiting for the minority. It was made equally clear to the Muslim minority—an element, I might add, of over ninety million people—that if they could not find the Constitution of the new Indian Union acceptable to themselves either at the outset or upon further reconsideration, they were not to be denied the prospect of an equal freedom. In this respect, we were only following the familiar Dominion precedent.

The Canadian Federation was originally formed by four only of the present Provinces. The others joined in the next few years. On the other hand, Newfoundland has always remained outside. The Australian Commonwealth and the South African Union afford similar examples of making special conditions for entering, or else standing out altogether. In the case of the India Act of 1935, it left the States free to stay out, but provided for the admission of a minimum number of States before the Federal provisions of the Act came into force. This restrictive provision also was practically waived in the draft Declaration.

Our ideal undoubtedly remains an united All-India, including States as well as British India, sufficiently united at any rate, to present a common front to the outside world. The unity which we have given India, the unity of law, of administrative procedure, of economic and transport policy, is an achievement of which we have every right to be proud, but we would sooner see India, divided and free than keep her various elements for ever against us and against each other under a cease of impotent frustration.

The practical arguments for unity are undoubtedly overwhelming. I have little doubt that they would prevail if it were not for the deep-seated fear of the Muslims to which the Member for Horsham, *Earl Winterton*, eloquently referred, that their distinctive culture and way of life would be at the mercy of the permanent Hindu majority. The root of that fear which, as the Member for Aylesbury, *Sir S. Reed*, said we must banish, lies largely, I believe, in the assumption so often made that unity implies a Central Executive on the British model, an Executive responsible in theory to a parliamentary majority but responsible, perhaps in fact to a party caucus behind the majority. Yet our British system, which we have developed in homogeneous country, is not necessarily the best suited to so complex a structure as that of India. There is no sealed pattern of freedom. The United States, Switzerland, the former German-Austro-Hungarian Federation and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may all supply useful precedents for Indian statesmanship to study.

What, indeed, is needed, perhaps even more than new constitutional methods, is a new spirit of compromise. It is by making Indian statesmen conscious that the solution of the problem is their own undivided responsibility and not ours, that both the right methods and the right spirit are most likely to emerge. Our main concern was to indicate a solution for the future, which left no doubt as to our own intentions, and we struck as fair a balance between the contending points of view as it was possible to attain. We did so because it was only in the light of a solution recognised as essentially sincere and fair, even if not wholly acceptable to any one section, that there could be any hope of co-operation in the present of Indian political leaders, either with ourselves or with each other to face the crisis in front of India. Even so, it could only be a question of co-operation, effective participation and active and constructive help—to quote the language of the draft Declaration—within the existing Constitution. It could not be a question of control free from the ultimate responsibility of Parliament here, exercised there through the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. It could not be that both for practical reasons, which have been given in connection with Defence by my Right Honourable friend but above all, for the reason that there was no agreement as to who should exercise that control.

The demand for National Government put forward by the Congress has been repeated in more than one speech in this House. But such a National Government would have been responsible in the last resort neither to Parliament here under the existing Constitution, nor to an agreed, and what the Member for Walsall called, a fairly-balanced Constitution in India, but only to its own majority—a majority presumably of the Congress or, at any rate, of the Hindus. That demand whether made by *Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru* and his colleagues, or by the Congress was the one thing which the Muslims and other minorities were determined, at all costs, to reject. They were and are convinced that such a Government would, in fact, prejudice the whole future situation to their detriment. There was, therefore, never any question in our view of conceding that demand, because it was, in fact, if not in intention, a demand which precluded all agreed co-operation in India.

Mr. Davies: Is not the Right Honourable Gentleman aware of the resolution passed by the Indian Congress at Poona, where absolute assurance was given on the very point with which he is dealing—that the minorities would certainly be considered?

Mr. Amery: The minorities, unfortunately, did not accept the resolution.

Within the limits of the ultimate responsibility of the Viceroy and Parliament, who in the matter are in a sense trustees for the future Constitution of India, Sir Stafford Cripps was given the widest latitude. Indeed, as the House will have appreciated from the White Paper and from his own speech, he went to the utmost length in order to meet the wishes of the Congress. There was no more that he could offer.

Sir Stafford Cripps has given the House a full and most lucid account of his negotiations and of the reason for their breakdown. I will not cover the ground again. There is only one point I would add, but it is perhaps a most significant and illuminating point in the whole story. Sir Stafford Cripps flew many thousands of miles to meet Indian leaders, in order to arrive at an agreement with them. Indian leaders in Delhi moved not one step to meet each other, either without him or in his presence.

They made no attempt to reach an agreement among themselves. The Congress demand for National Government was declared by its President to be the unanimous demand of the Indian people. Why then was no attempt made to afford evidence of the unanimity by bringing forward, in concert with the Muslim League and other parties, an agreed proposal? For the simple reason that it could not have been done. That is an aspect of the situation which we must face. We do not do so for the purpose of imputing blame to any Indian section. The Member for Walshall very truly said that it was by no means an easy matter for men, whose life had been concentrated in opposition to each other, to come to a speedy agreement. Even in this House we had to be at war for many months before a National Government was secured. We have got to face this aspect, however, in order to realise why it was impossible for Sir Stafford Cripps to meet the demand for a so-called National Government.

While the Cripps Mission failed on its immediate object in the wider sense, I believe, it has been very far from failure. It has been, if I may adopt an epitaph of his own, the epilogue of an old chapter in which contending elements in India have attempted to attain their ends by belabouring His Majesty's Government and also the prologue of a new chapter in which Indians are beginning to realise that the key India's problems is in their own hands. Since Sir Stafford Cripps left India, Mr. Gandhi has summed up the point quoted by Sir Stafford Cripps in a striking passage, in which he has declared that the attainment of Independence was impossible until Indians have themselves solved the communal trouble. The Declaration is, I think, a sufficient answer to the speeches which have been made suggesting that it is we who have exaggerated, if not invented, the communal issue.

Mr. Davies (Merthyr Tydfil): Is Government accepting all that Mr. Gandhi says?

Mr. Amery: I do, because he says what I have spent two years in saying. Even more important as evidence of the new approach are the resolutions which were passed at the statesmanlike invitation of Mr. Rajagopalachari, ex-Premier of Madras, by the Congress members of the Madras Legislature. By the first of these resolutions the All-India Congress was urged to waive its objection to the Muslim League's claim for separation, it eventually persisted in, for the sake of removing every obstacle from the way of establishing a National administration. By the second, the National All-India Congress Committee was requested to permit an approach to the Muslim League, with a view to the re-establishment of Popular Government in the Madras Province. It would appear that this patriotic and courageous declaration has met with the disapproval of the Congress President and Pandit Nehru. It may be that their attitude will be sustained by the All-India Committee, which is to meet in the next few days. It would never have been taken but for the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Mr. Davies: How many were present when the resolution was passed? Only 32 out of 206 passed that resolution.

Mr. Amery: No Thirty-nine out of 42 of them. At any rate, will any body suggest that it was an undesirable resolution, or that the desire on the part of the Congress members to come to reasonable terms with their Muslim colleagues to re-establish a free Government in their Province first and make progress with a free Government of India was wrong? If only three had supported, I should honour them for doing so.

It has been asked what is precisely meant by the withdrawal of the Draft Declaration. What we have certainly not withdrawn is our main object and purpose, namely, that India should, as soon as possible, obtain full freedom under

constitutional arrangements of her own devising and suited to her own peculiar conditions. On the other hand the particular method which we suggest for arriving at a constitutional settlement, more particularly the present provincial basis both of setting up a constitution-making assembly and for non-accession, is not meeting with sufficient support for us to press it further. It may be that alternative methods might arise which might form a better basis for the definition of boundaries and might give representation for smaller elements, such as Sikhs, whose natural aspirations we appreciate. It is for Indians the particular proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps, in order to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of the Congress as well as the other political parties have, of course, lapsed, but the Viceroy will, no doubt, always be willing to consider practical suggestions within the frame-work of Section (E) of the Draft Declaration put forward by responsible party leaders, more particularly if put forward as the Member for Ince, Mr. G. Macdonald, suggested jointly and based on a broad measure of agreement. It is, indeed, upon the agreement and initiative of Indian party leaders that any further advance must depend. The Member for Walsall raised the question of the desirability of re-establishing Self-Government in those Provinces in which the Congress has refused to carry on. That, of course, is most desirable. It would have been a natural consequence of the success of the Cripps Mission. The door is open now and remains open.

Mr. Macdonald asked what exactly did 'the door remains open' mean. Suppose the Congress Party in those very Provinces agreed themselves to carry on Self-Government, would the British Government agree? Mr. Amery: Yes, if in any of those Provinces the Congress Party are prepared to assume the responsibilities of Government and give that help to the prosecution of the war, which they have declared they wished to give, we are only too ready to let them resume office under those conditions.

Meanwhile, the Government of India must get on with the immediate task before it. I must make it quite clear that our anxiety to secure a wider measure of active co-operation from the political parties in India by sending out Sir Stafford Cripps in no way implies any lack of confidence in the ability or energy of the Executive Government of India. On the contrary, His Majesty's Government have the most complete confidence in the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, who has handled continuously a difficult situation with prudent wisdom, and whose vigorous initiative has been invaluable in everything bearing on the conduct of the war. That confidence extends no less to the existing Executive Council. The Indian members, who form the majority of that Council, are men of high ability and experience in active politics, in administration and business. Their patriotic willingness to stand aside for others who might command a greater measure of organised political support is something that we have sincerely appreciated, as they, I feel sure, recognise the value we attach to their continued service to India at this critical time.

What I have said of the Indian members applies equally to the European members and, indeed to the whole of the administrative service. Indian and British, which have wrestled so ably with the innumerable problems carried by war conditions.

The member for Ince and the Member for South-East Leeds, Major Minier, have made the suggestion that the work of the India Office might be transferred to the Dominions Office. I think that suggestion is based upon a very insufficient realisation of the work of the India Office. The main work of the India Office does not consist in controlling, restricting and interfering with India. Its main work is that of an agency in this country on behalf of the Government. The Government of India have in peace, and even more in war, a great army to maintain, part of it directly drawn from this country and largely equipped from this country. In order to secure from the Government of this country and to give what India needs, she requires a very considerable military staff.

India has neighbours which made the foreign policy of this country a matter of vital interest to her. From that point of view, again, she has to have considerable staff here to keep in touch with the Foreign Office and see that India's interests are not neglected. Further, there is a vast range of economic problems which vitally concern India and with regard to which it is important to her to see that the policy of this country does not neglect Indian interests. All these matters, if India were a Self-Governing Dominion, would still have to be carried on, but carried on by an enlarged High Commissioner's Office, like the Offices of Australia

House and Canada House. But as long as the ultimate responsibility in these matters rests with the Secretary of State they must be conducted under his immediate eye, and he is still what the High Commissioners for Dominions are in that sphere, at any rate the chief agent and the representative of the Government of India and of the interests of India.

Mr. Gordon MacDonald : This is a very important point. Is this being put forward as a conclusive argument? are we to understand that the High Commissioner should not do what is now being done by the Secretary of State? Would it not be right to remove the root cause of all the trouble, mistrust and suspicion, and so give an indication of our sincerity?

Mr. Amery : The reason is that the Dominions Office, which deals with only diplomatic and not administrative problems, could handle the problem of India if other matters were handed over to representatives of the Indian Dominion Government. Meanwhile, to make an unreal pretence of the administration impossible that we would fail to impress any one.

Major Milner : Has not India a High Commissioner here?

Mr. Amery : Yes, for those economic purposes which are entirely within the discretion of the Government and Legislature of India, and they cover a wide field, but they do not cover the field of those matters which must, for the time being, still be the responsibility of the Secretary of State.

To come back to India : We rely also no less upon the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Archibald Wavell, and upon all ranks in the fighting services of India. The Indian Army has a great tradition of which those serving in it are justly proud. In this war it has won new glory upon many a hard fought field. Side by side with it, its record has been shared by the troops which the Indian Princes have, with their accustomed loyalty, placed unreservedly at the disposal of the Government of India. India's younger services, the Royal Indian Navy and the Royal Indian Air Force, have already proved their quality and earned high commendation from all whom they have served. It is upon these trained and properly equipped services, together with their old British and newer Allied comrades in arms that India must rely for her defence whether on her outer marches or in the case of a total invasion. In the latter event, the army can undoubtedly receive great help from the general body of the population.

The steadiness of the public in the face of danger and its eagerness to co-operate with the military authorities in every way including the whole field of civil defence, and to secure all information and in guerrilla operations—all these things can be invaluable aid to the operation of the regular troops. We are glad to believe that Indian political leaders are anxious to give that aid, even if they are not prepared to co-operate on the lines which, in our opinion, would give the best results. All the same, it is to the trained officers and men of her regular forces and their effective and adequate equipment that India must look for her security now and in the years to come. These were matters into which the Lord Privy Seal also looked during his visit to India and the information and the suggestions he has brought back will be of the greatest value to us.

House of Lords—London—3rd, February 1942

Meet Congress Hall-way

LORD FARRINGTON'S SPEECH

The situation in India was debated in the House of Lords on the 3rd, February 1942 when Lord Farrington (Labour) drew the attention of the Government to what he called one of the most urgent problems of the present time. He complained of complacency, and said that the situation was daily becoming more critical but nothing was being done to meet it.

Turning to the negotiations between the Viceroy and the Indian leaders, Lord Farrington deplored the fact that His Majesty's Government should have thought fit to declare war on behalf of India without consulting the leaders of Indian public opinion. This, he believed, to be one of the most disastrous of many unfortunate steps taken in regard to India since the outbreak of the war. A series of concessions had been offered by the Viceroy, who finally increased the size of his Council, giving the majority to Indian Members. But this offer still seemed insufficient to the Congress Party, for the very good reason, as the

Congress Party had said in effect, that Indians could not be expected to fight for other people's freedom when it was denied to themselves.

It was, Lord Faringdon said, one of the complaints of Indians that industrialisation of their country had been handicapped by the jealousy of English industrialists. India had paid handsome dividends for anything done for her by Britain and in addition to interest on something like a thousand millions sterling invested in India, that country paid annually something in the neighbourhood of £38 million sterling to this country. It was a substantial sum. Britain was under a considerable obligation to India.

Lord Faringdon referred to the appalling poverty in India, and said that nevertheless Britain had been responsible for what progress there was in India and for her education and instruction in the art of government, and it was a commitment to us that Indians should wish to model their political institutions on those of Britain.

It seemed very unfortunate, Lord Faringdon added, that His Majesty's Government had not been able to make the promise of self-government for India more concrete. Unhappily, usefulness which the Atlantic Charter might have had in India was completely ruined by the statement by the Prime Minister that it did not apply to India.

Lord Faringdon said that he wished to suggest some practical steps towards ending the present deadlock, the danger of which became so pressing in the past few months, underlined by the situation in Malaya, from where one heard that the people of the country took little interest in the war.

Lord Faringdon then referred to the former Premier of Burma, U Saw, who spoke to him of the extremely difficult position he (U Saw) would have to face if he returned to his country without some concession. "Evidently, he was unable to take home at least some satisfaction of his moderate demands. He is now accused of plotting with the Japanese. We are not given details. It is clear, however, that it would be the obvious thing for Japanese statesmen to approach disgruntled Burmese statesmen, particularly one in the outstanding position of Prime Minister. Whether he did a deal, or was in the process of doing a deal with the Japanese, we have not been told, but to call him a fifth columnist misses the fundamental issue, which is that we have failed to gain the affections and support of these peoples."

"The first of my suggestion," Lord Faringdon said, "is that the Government should state unequivocally that it is their intention to give India self-government not at any future date, but now. It would seem that there are persons with whom Indian leaders would negotiate. Let these persons and the Government be prepared to completely Indianise the Viceroy's Council, including Foreign Affairs and Defence. Let them be prepared to treat such a council as a Provisional Government, and let it be part of the duty of that newly elected Council to take the necessary steps for the calling of a Constituent Assembly or a constitution making conference. Finally, I would suggest that the Government should say that when this Assembly had reached a decision, the results of this Indian Constitution-making would be introduced into Parliament as a Government measure, to be passed through Parliament within at most three years after the termination of the war."

Lord Faringdon said that the Government had declared that if the two principal parties in India would come to a settlement, the Government would ratify that settlement. But that was a somewhat unfair attitude. The Muslim League which claimed to speak for Muslims had put on paper demands which clearly could never be accepted by the Congress. But the Muslim League in fact did not speak for the Muslims of India and it was important that people in Britain should realise that, and should not prevent an Indian settlement by playing into the hands of the Muslim extremists. It seemed that the Muslim League could not represent a majority of the Muslims in India, and its present plan for the partition of India seemed to him to be not only impractical, but definitely retrograde.

Lord Faringdon concluded by referring to the statement by Pandit Nehru on January 23, which seemed to him to be "a declaration of absolutely primary importance, which His Majesty's Government should meet half way."

The *Managers of News*, Leader of the Liberal Party, said that he could not help feeling that Lord Faringdon overstated the matter somewhat when he treated the Congress Party as the real representatives of India. Nevertheless, the demands of the Congress had not been prepared for engaging in any form of negotiation which could be described as such.

The Marquis did not think it possible to blame the Viceroy for having started

a series of conversations between all the different parties, because if the Muslim League were taken as representing the extreme Right then the Congress could be said to represent the other side. More sober feeling had been expressed in Bombay.

As to the demand that the Government should make a statement, he said that the powers of the Government in making statements were extremely limited as no Ministry could pledge a future Government or Parliament by saying that a constitutional change could take place at a particular time. All that the Government could do was to say what they were prepared to do so long as they existed. The Marquis thought that the most hopeful line of advance was by extension of the powers of the Indian provinces and imitation of the duties and functions of the Central Government as far as possible.

The speaker thought it was the desire of the Congress that suffrage should be universal, and hoped the Government would go as far as they possibly could to satisfy the real opinion of India and take action as soon as possible. Lord Wedgwood, in his maiden speech as a member of the Upper House, said that he wanted three things as far as India was concerned. Firstly, the disgrace of having the Japanese overrun India must be avoided. Secondly, they should get total Indian help now. Thirdly, he wanted to see India friendly and free.

Lord Wedgwood asked the House to consider the manifold advantages of "granting constitutions, province by province." He said that he would have the Government recruit for the Indian army and workshops up to five million people, offering them, in the Churchillian manner, nothing, but blood and toil and tears and sweat for their co-operation. He would double the pay of every man in the regular Indian army, keeping half of it until the end of the war and giving it to the soldiers in land, so that they would have something to fight for. The speaker concluded by asking the House to do something to break down the colour bar which was destroying the finest empire the world had ever known. Lord Sankley said that the people of India were begging us not to keep India always in a state of tutelage. Not one could withhold the price for the magnificent help India has rendered to our fighting forces. The Indian army had been largely Indianised. Would it not, he asked, be wise to try some further Indianisation of the civil authority? If the leaders of moderate opinion in India would put up a reasonable plan, acceptable to themselves and to the major Indian parties, they would have rendered a public service.

Lord Rankellour (Conservative) asked how, after two years of the stress of war, the Viceroy, who had a task of immense difficulty, could be asked to carry out such a programme as Lord Faringdon had suggested. The Viceroy could not act without some Indian concurrence. One proposal put up would mean giving a blank cheque to the Congress and the other to the Muslims of vision of India. He had made gestures. He had called Indian Members to his Council. He had freed political prisoners, and it had awaited him nothing more than did for Britain the remittance of Southern Ireland's debts and the handing over to them of ports.

Lord Cecil said there was profound anxiety as to the fulfilment of the promise of Dominion Status, and he wondered if something might not be done by transferring the great apparatus of the Government known as the India Office to the Dominions Office, which would, at any rate, be something positive and definite in the fulfilment of the promise.

Lord Hailey said that this was no time for manoeuvring or standing on punctilios. We should be as bold as we were in the case of Syria in making our declarations. It had been said that constitutional changes could not be carried out in war time, but the most momentous declaration in Indian history, that of 1917, was made during war, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was signed in 1918, the most critical part of that war. It would, however, be exceedingly difficult to solve the deadlock without some ideas as to what they were aiming at. The India Act of 1935 was the fruit of more careful and prolonged consideration than the British people had ever given to any Dominion or empire constitution. That constitution was the Federation of a United India. What place, Lord Hailey asked, was to be assigned to the Indian States were we now to agree, at the instance of the Muslims, to divide up that united India. Lord Hailey thought that a satisfactory declaration by His Majesty's Government, either giving the date or prescribing the method whereby the two parties in India could decide that they had arrived at a stage when a declaration-

tion of that nature would help them to come together, would be a very strong argument.

Lord Hailey asked if the differences between the Government and the principal political parties in India could have impaired the war effort. We had often, he said, been told that, but for these differences, India would have been far better prepared. But, he said, whatever had been the relations between the Indian Government and the British people, Indian political parties would not have been found ready to incur the expense of mechanising a modern army. There was no possibility that the position could be seriously impaired. He asked if it was not possible if the war effort was not to be seriously impaired by making the provinces themselves constituent units of construction in the Central Legislature.

Lord Catto deprecated talk about Indians hating the British. "These people do not hate us. I am perfectly friendly with these political leaders, and Lord Catto added that India was one of the best loved men in India."

Lord Catto added that India was blessed with vast resources in manpower, on a scale consistent with those great resources. "This apathy was mainly due to the existing political situation. Many Indian leaders still did not feel that this was their war, and without those men to house their fellow countrymen, it was difficult to bring home to the peoples of India the political situation and to get the maximum war effort. The apathy will continue unless we can solve the constitutional problem and the promise of Dominion Status is fulfilled. There were, he said, only two things of real importance. The first was that whatever the solution, it must, in fact, be only Dominion Status. The second was that the Central Executive must be so constituted that it cannot be under the sole control of any one community.

House of Lords—London—29th. April 1942

DEVONSHIRE ON CRIPPS' MISSION

The main object of the Draft Declaration which Sir Stafford Cripps took to India was to overcome Indian suspicion that the British desire for a prior agreement among Indian politicians was a device to postpone Indian Self-Government, declared the Under-Secretary of State for India, the Duke of Devonshire, opening the debate on India in the Lords on the 28th. April 1942. He added, "I believe we have achieved a very valuable result in this direction."

The Cripps Mission had been wrongly interpreted in some quarters as an eleven-hour act of repenitance in Britain, brought about by the war situation in India. "It was nothing of the kind. It was actually the continuation of a policy consistently pursued by the British Government for many months, indeed years."

The Duke of Devonshire continued: Sir Stafford Cripps found himself confronted with a number of conflicting claims from various leaders of Indian opinion. The Lord *Privy Seal's* task was to find some means by which these differing, even conflicting elements could be brought together to determine their own future. He went out with a Draft Declaration, framed with a view not only to securing the agreement of as many sections of opinion as possible, but also—since we have been definitely accused of relying on Indian disagreement to perpetuate our rule in India—containing provisions which would prevent the refusal of a large minority to co-operate from holding up the majority in their demand for self-government.

"Sir Stafford Cripps has told of the various stages of his discussions and the difficulties which arose. On all minor difficulties he had absolutely an unanswerable case. The difficulty arose in the division of the responsibilities of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government here—how they were to be divided and proportioned. Sir Stafford Cripps got over that difficulty by offering to Indian political leaders seats for representative Indians on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council. He was then confronted by a further less tangible and even more difficult problem. In modern practice the Commander-in-Chief in India is also the Defence Member of the Viceroy's Council, the one man who has functions and activities which may bring the two halves of his personality into active conflict. The Indian demand was that the functions and activities of the C-in-C and Defence Minister should be divided, that his political function should be transferred forthwith to Indian hands, while his military activities should remain untouched. Any

such separation would be a very long and complicated operation and one which, at this critical moment of war, would throw into utter chaos the whole gradation in India."

The Duke of Devonshire claimed that the Mission was not a failure. "I believe it has done very much to destroy suspicions both in India and elsewhere that we were not really in earnest when we said we wanted a united India enjoying self-government." The Duke thought that the Mission had also had an educational value of the same character for some Indian politicians. The presence of Indian representatives in Washington and Chungking was another instance of India's steady constitutional advance.

"India is not standing still. Its progress is a continuous one. I suppose that in the whole history of the world no nobler or more magnificent chance was ever offered than that of trying to create out of the vast sub-continent of India a free united and self-governing nation," concluded the Duke of Devonshire. Referring to what he called a "technical breakdown" Lord Croke, Liberal leader, said it never seemed to him that there was a hopeful chance that the Declaration would find immediate acceptance. Sir Stafford Cripps was the most suitable choice and no responsibility for the breakdown devolved on him. Lord Croke thought it incredible to suppose that Indian leaders—skilled and experienced men—could have believed that His Majesty's Government could possibly accept the abrupt and immediate change involved in their counter-proposals. The last word must rest as now with the Viceroy-in-Council. The Cripps expedition was not a wasted effort, India's constitution would work out well, but it must take some time to reach full growth.

Lord Strachey said he was puzzled by the sudden failure of the Mission when it seemed on the point of success. "We cannot leave things as they are, Canada can afford to-day to remain as it is." Dealing with Defence, Lord Strachey thought that the British Government should have seized with both hands the offer by leading Indians to organise the people for the defence of India. He was of opinion that the new move should come from British and not from Indian politicians and that negotiations should be immediately reopened.

Lord Salisbury said that if agreement had been reached now, it would have been nothing short of a miracle, but Sir Stafford Cripps had achieved something more important. He had established the sincerity of this country in the eyes of Indians and the world. Lord Hailey said the British Government had gone to very great lengths and we were now in a position to invite the co-operation of many Indian elements which hitherto had been deterred from associating themselves with us more fully. We had re-established our credit with the outside world.

In Lord Hailey's opinion, the breakdown had come because the Congress were not able to secure leadership for themselves. The other issues raised were merely a convenient method for obscuring that fact. Real progress was impossible until Indians themselves had further solved the communal tangle. The Earl of Warwick (Conservative), in his maiden speech, said that the emancipation of India further than that proposed by the Government meant the handing over the population to only three per cent of the population without any reservations at all. He urged the Government to remind the Indian extremist that "even the most benevolent people have the right to be ruled and that it is impossible for us to be forced to accept an agreement against good sense and reasonable judgment at a time of our most acute adversity."

Lord Rankellator said that he would have been more anxious if the scheme had been accepted because there would have been difficult and complex problems to be got over in future, whereas now they had been brought out and there was time to discuss their solution.

Lord Catto said the purpose or intention of the Declaration could not possibly be misunderstood and it was a sincere attempt to battle with conditions as they actually exist. Sir Stafford Cripps had grappled manfully with the difficulties. Unless the ideals for which we are working are soon brought to fruition, distrust would again arise. Lord Samuel (Liberal) paid a tribute to Sir Stafford Cripps' strenuous efforts. He viewed with great anxiety the provision in the proposals that any province was free to vote itself out of the Indian Union. This, he said, would lead to the rais-

ing of regional armies and he was gravely concerned with the possible consequences of this policy. It would merely settle one minority problem and create a dozen new ones. "India must act as a unit and interconnecting conflict and war must be avoided. The Viceroyal position means in fact that he combines the role of a Constitutional Monarch with that of Prime Minister and a separation of these two functions must be an essential part of any functional change in the constitutional structure of India." The air had been cleared and he most earnestly hoped that fresh endeavours would be made.

Viscount Bennett, former Canadian Prime Minister, said there was nothing in the Statute of Westminster which contemplates the independence of the Dominions. "There is nothing there that implies separation, but there is a section in that Statute that expressly recognises that supremacy of this Parliament before any Dominion ever becomes independent."

Lord Simon emphasised the sincerity with which the negotiations were conducted and the fact that the inherent complexities of the Indian political problems had been brought home to the world. "Indian political reformers have naturally tended to develop their ideas for Indian Self-Government strictly upon lines that had been followed by British institutions. The British scheme of Self-Government is not the only scheme in the world. It does not follow that you will necessarily arrive at the best solution by treating a model with which we are familiar as though it were a 'sealed pattern.' The plan upon which we laboured so hard is rejected by the Congress for exactly the opposite reason for which the Muslim League refused it, which is a very significant and disturbing fact. The difficulty can only be solved by exercise by Indian leaders themselves of the highest gifts of statesmanship and goodwill. The British Government will gladly do everything it can, but Indian politicians are right when they say that the responsibility for framing the constitution and getting over the difficulties must primarily rest with them."

It would be a complete error to say that there was not a great deal of good feeling between individual Muslims and Hindus. "No doubt developments will be on the way, but do not imagine that it will come without strain," pointed out Lord Simon. "Sweep out the British members (of the Viceroy's Council) as I dare say it is quite right to do, but you do not solve the problem. You create a new difficulty. The important thing in this new proposal of the British Government is that it recognises that there is only one method, that is, leaving Indians to frame their own constitution. I do not see how anybody could go further than this. In that plan we undertook to accept and to implement forthwith the constitution so framed. We selected the method of treaty, because there can be nothing more level between two partners than treaty."

Lord Simon emphasised that a British-framed scheme was liable to be rejected as an attempt to foist a constitution on India. On the other hand leaving the framing of the constitution to India left the British Government open to a quite unfounded charge that it was relying on communal differences and feeling quite safe that they would be unable to achieve their purposes. "Therefore, we offered the scheme of a constitution-making body. We will strain every nerve, as the Viceroy does, to make the best arrangement Indians desire for this constitution-making body. Nothing can be plainer from the Government plan than that it is not proposed and is not thought to be possible to make constitutional changes in the Government of India during the war." There is no analogy between the responsible Government in this country, by which the Commons could turn out a Government and the form proposed by the Congress, many of whose members are not in the Central legislature.

"You cannot have Responsible Government unless the Ministers are responsible to somebody," continued Lord Simon. "You would have a Congress majority placed in the Centre which cannot be removed and which is responsible to no body except the Congress organisation...I apologise for keeping your Lordships for so long. This is a subject which fascinates everybody who has ever had to deal with it. We must strive out very utmost to fulfil that which we have set out to do."

Referring to the Indian leaders' declarations that come what may, the Indian people would never accept Japanese domination, the Lord Chancellor concluded, "It may be out of these trials and tribulations that more light will come and, when it does, nobody will have more reason to rejoice than the British Parliament."

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Chronicle of Events

July 1942

His Excellency the Governor-General of India, Lord Linlithgow, was extended; and it was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Dr. B. B. Ambekar, Sir J. P. Sivasaya, and Khan Bahadur Benthall, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Sivasaya, to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee.

His Highness the Jam Sahib of Nawanshah, at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes in Bombay, expressed the determination of the Princes to fight for the King-Emperor and the defence of the Motherland.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru declared at Nagpur that the Indians being a subject people could not help China. Pandit Nehru deplored the condition of education in the country due to the war situation.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in his book "Freedom and India," complained: "We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari resigned his membership of the Congress and the Assembly.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution urging the withdrawal of the British power from India and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. On the failure of the appeal, the Congress intended to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

At the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur Rao Bahadur N. Sivasaya (Central) declared: "If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, said in New Delhi: (re: negotiation with the Congress): "If this refers to India's right to Independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if this question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war.....it is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiation".

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said: "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncement of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article entitled "To every Japanese," said: "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister, of Bihar, and a member of the Congress Working Committee, said at Patna: "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru wrote in a letter to the *Times*, "Nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, juncture like this."

Mr. M. S. Anney said: "The Cripps' proposal should be accepted these proposals gave all parties the chance of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government."

Mr. Jammadas Mehta said at Poona: "The visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity to India and the Allied cause. It was the biggest diplomatic failure."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar wanted to resign the Presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha, on account of ill health.

1st Professor Coupland, Professor of Colonial History at Oxford, surveying the Cripps' Mission's negotiation, in a booklet published in London, observed: "As regards both Anglo-Indian and Hindu-Muslim relations the Government of Bombay decided to institute a State Medical Faculty to hold examinations leading up to the registrable medical qualifications in Allopathy, pending the conversion of the Government Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad into Medical Colleges."

Pandit Jwarahal Nehru, in an interview to the "*News Chronicle*" said: "We want all Indians to have the will to resist Japanese aggression and never to submit and to help China to the best of our ability. But it is impossible to do these things effectively within the frame work of the present structure and policy in India. Risks must be taken in the attempt to change this, but complacency to allow it to remain is the greatest of all risks. The defence of India can only be effective under a free Government with the full co-operation and good-will of the Indian people."

Mr. Rajendra Prasad discussed the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi at Wardha. The discussion included Gandhi's proposed new movement. Mr. Kher, ex-Premier of Bombay, had further talks with Mahatma Gandhi on the constructive programme about village self-sufficiency. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who insisted on his demand of Pakistan in his talks with Mr. Rajagopalachari, The Council of the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee held two sittings at Gorakhpur.—It discussed the general situation in the country in the light of the international situation.

2nd. It was announced from New Delhi that His Majesty the King was pleased to approve the appointment of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.B., Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Sir E. C. Benbail, Sir Jogendra Singh, Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E., and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman, K.C.I.E., to the Executive Council of the Governor-General of India.

The following appointments to portfolios were made by the Governor-General:—Member in charge of Information—Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer in succession to the late Rt. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari. Member in charge of Civil Defence—Sir J. P. Srivastava, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Rajaghadra Rao. Member for War Transport, and for Ports and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications to be Governor of Assam—Sir E. C. Benbail and Khan Bahadur Sir Mohammad Usman.

Member for Defence.—The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon. Commerce Member.—The Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, to succeed the Hon'ble Divan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, on his appointment as a representative of India on the War Cabinet. Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar—Sir Jogendra Singh.

Member-in-charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon—Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, in future to be designated the War Portfolio.

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said at question time in the House of Commons, that he had received a letter from the Glasgow Trades Council (a Labour Organization) asking for the reopening of negotiations and that he was replying that the Government's attitude was clearly stated by himself and Sir Stafford Cripps on April 28.

He added: "Statements already made show that the Viceroy will always be willing to listen to suggestions made within the framework of our previous proposals by any representative body of Indian public opinion."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a Press interview in Bombay, said that he felt that the only way Britain could do justice was by handing over "Muslim homelands to the Muslims and Hindu homelands to the Hindus." This, he said, was a practical proposition and would cause the least amount of trouble and friction. The Pakistan Scheme was just and reasonable both for Hindus and Muslims. He characterized the Congress proposal for a "united and democratic government for the whole of India" as one which could and would mean for all intents and purposes, a Hindu Raj and Hindu domination, over a hundred million Muslims.

Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai resigned his membership of the Congress Working Committee on account of ill health and addressed a letter to the effect to Mahatma Azad.

3rd. Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India, in visiting Manchester, met a number of Indian trainees who were working at engineering factories in the north-west.

Mr. A. C. Sen, presiding at the quarterly general meeting of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce in Calcutta, discussed the problem of food-supply in the country. Mr. Sen referred particularly to the position in regard to the supply of rice, salt and sugar. In this connexion, he expressed his approval of the Government's "Grow more food" campaign.

His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawabagar, in a statement at the meeting of the Chamber of Princes, in Bombay, reiterated the determination of the Princes to face and fight the difficulties ahead with all their resources for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Motherland and for the world cause at stake.

His Excellency the Viceroy sent a message of Greeting and Goodwishes to the President of the United States on the occasion of the American Independence Day.

The adjourned meeting of the Provincial Organizing Committee, set up by the Progressive Coalition Party was held at the Calcutta residence of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, with Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq in the chair.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting held under the presidency of Pandit Suraj Ball Pandey, President of the Gorakhpur District Congress Committee, at Gorakhpur, observed: "We do not want the Germans or the Japanese to come to India. We will fight them with or without arms."

4th. The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, visited Liverpool. He was met by Sheikh Abdul Hamid and Mr. M. U. Bakhit, the Indian Seamen's Welfare Officer.

Sir Azizul Haque, in a speech at Chester, said: "Today, India holds the most important key position". Sir Azizul outlined India's contribution of an average of 40,000 Seamen to the British mercantile services, the enlistment of 50,000 men voluntarily to the army every month, and the development of industry on a scale which could not be believed by any one unless he went to India. India had been so organised that she was able to provide a very large amount of war munitions.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, speaking at a big Red Shirt gathering at Babra, near Charsadda, criticised the British Government for not taking Indians into their confidence.

Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Hindustan*: "I have to pay a heavy price for having drawn up an entrancing picture of a free India without a single British soldier."

The Mysore Legislative Council concluded its discussion on the cut motions

on the Budget for 1942-43, and voted all the demands. Mr. D. H. Chandra-

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Nagpur, declared that Indians at the moment being a subject nation, could not help China. Unless India was free she could not give China any help. Pandit Nehru added that Britain professed to be fighting for freedom and democracy, yet she denied these to peoples in her Empire. The result was that a subjugated country like India developed resentment and hatred towards Britain. Mahatma Gandhi, writing on the Jodhpur situation in the *Haryan*, advised the workers to observe restraint in language. He offered his condolences to the widow and children of Mr. Balakrishna Bisa. The Government of India decided to appoint an Officer to make a special study of the all-India aspects of problems connected with the supply and prices of articles of common consumption. Mr. B. G. Holdsworth, C.E., I.C.S., Establishment Officer to the Government of India, was appointed Civil supplies Commissioner (Rice and Miscellaneous) in addition to his duties as Establishment officer.

5th. Mr. Meherally, Mayor of Bombay, opening the National Youth Conference at the St. Mary's Hall, George Town, exhorted Indian Youth to follow the lead of Mahatma Gandhi, whose voice was more than ever the voice of India. Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the second Mysore State Hindu Mahasabha Conference at Bangalore, said that the Hindu Mahasabha movement was, in its merit, entirely and strictly national and was always prepared to deal with the communal problems in a spirit of equality and justice. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in the *National Herald*: "Truth, they say, is the first casualty in war. There are many other casualties.... I do not know in which category education will fall. In India, education is apparently considered a luxury in war time by Military or Civil authorities. Already many Schools have been closed and probably many more will suffer the same fate."

The Government of Bengal promulgated an Ordinance identical with the Turbulent Areas Ordinance promulgated during the latter part of 1941, in view of the recurrence of disturbances in Dacca. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay appreciating the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council said: "It constitutes a step forward in the direction of constitutional progress, larger Indian is action and non-officialisation of the Council is also an improvement on the present state of things."

At the annual meeting of the Council of the National Liberal Federation at Poona, several resolutions touching on the various aspects of the political life of the country were passed.—Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Federation, was in the chair.

Mr. N. Kalyankrishnan, presiding over the South India Students and National Defence Convention held at Salem, stressed the imperative need for national unity and a National Government to organise resistance to foreign aggression. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru issued a statement from Allahabad on the expansion of the Viceroy's Executive Council, though it raises the number of Indians to ten, does not really broken any change in the political and institutional character of the Council or its powers. It is only the continuation of the policy of the Declaration of August 8, 1940."

6th. The Congress Working Committee met at Wardha, under the presidency of Mahatma Abu Kalam Azad.

The Government of Bihar prohibited the export of rice outside the province. Dr. Cyril Ron, Director General, Geological Survey of India, in a talk to a gathering of industrialists and journalists in New-Delhi, dealt with India's great mineral wealth and efforts to discover and develop it through the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

The Government of India informed the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, that the question of granting compensation for goods abandoned by owner and goods seized by the enemy, would be considered after the war. In the Mysore Legislative Council, non-official business was taken up. Mr. D. H. Chandrasekhartha occupied the chair. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked by Mr. Stephen

Davis (Labour) in the House of Commons whether "with a view to rendering unnecessary the retention in India of British, American and other troops now there he will make immediate approaches to leaders of the Indian National Congress in order to establish a National Government in India so that the people shall be inspired to organise the defence of their own country." Mr. Amery replied: "No. The forces now in India are indispensable for the safety of India and for victory of the Allied cause and will be retained until victory is achieved."

Sir A. Ramsaswami Mudaliar, reviewing his three years' stewardship of the Commerce Department of the Government of India, at a meeting of the Madras Economic Association, claimed that though spectacular results by way of starting "big basic industries" were not achieved during the period, a number of "ancillary and auxiliary industries had been started, which would provide the base for basic industries."

At the session of the Congress Working Committee held at Sevagram, Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his views already expressed in the Harjan, both with regard to his attitude towards the British Government and the communal problem.

"The *Mushoor*, the official organ of the All-India Muslim League, wrote from New Delhi: "In spite of the strong position of the rank and file of the Congress Party, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, with firmness and determination is doing propaganda for his great mission to effect a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League."

A Press Note from Bombay, stated: "Since the Government of Bombay undertook a review of the cases of persons who are being detained under its order under Rule 26 of the Defence of India Rules, out of 84 communist detainees, who were under detention on January 1, 1942, 47 have been released up to date. The remaining cases are under consideration."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, addressing a public meeting in Madras, which was held to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the Chinese war of resistance, emphasised that the people of this country should shoulder the task of defending it from the Japanese. He also pointed out that there was no difference between the "Fakistan" of his conception and that of Mr. Jinnah and the communists.

5th. The Congress Working Committee resumed its discussion on the general political situation at Sevagram.

Randi Jawaharlal Nehru in a special interview to British and American Press correspondents at Wardha, observed: "The Congress position is very much changed since Sir Stafford Cripps' departure. The Congress is not prepared to accept what it was willing to then. The rank and file felt great relief when the negotiations failed. I would have got the passive approval of the Congress to a settlement with Sir Stafford Cripps but now it is not possible to secure that passive approval."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London, replying to the reception by the British Council in Liverpool, said: "India has her differences, but what country in the world is without its differences? Ours is a vast country and therefore it is natural we should have many languages but please remember that Indians are essentially a united people despite their many languages and creeds."

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India in the forefront to the volume of his speeches, under the title "India and Freedom", said: "There is no charge to which British public opinion has been more sensitive than the reproach that our policy towards India bears no relation to our professed war aims. We are charged with professing a fight for freedom and democracy in Europe while denying both to India."

9th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his letter to the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee, in reply to the latter's communication, calling upon him "in order to be absolutely free to carry on my campaign for converting the Congress from its present policy, I have decided to resign my membership of the meeting of the Party on the 15th, July."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Member-designate of the Viceroy's Executive Council in an interview in Bombay, observed: "What is wrong with the present politicians in India is their conception of majority rule. Just as the minority

has no right to veto the decision of the majority, so also the majority has no right to rule over the minority against its consent."

The Congress Working Committee had another sitting at Sevagram, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a Press interview said: "Whatever we do out of the defence of India, it is obvious that any step we may take against the British Government may be full of perils. The problem before the Congress is to take steps to increase the people's spirit of resistance."

The Bombay Government orders regarding the requisitioning and acquisition of properties for defence purposes, including A. R. P.—Collectors of districts and other requisitioning authorities, as much notice as possible to persons who were to be evicted from their lands or buildings, and see that no person was evicted unnecessarily.

10th. The Congress Working Committee held further discussions at Sevagram in Mahatma Gandhi's hut on the draft resolution on the political situation prepared by Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in a statement in Madras, said: "I am convinced that if the Congress accepts the principle of territorial self-determination that I have proposed in my A. I. C. O. resolution, we can make Mr. Jinnah and his League accept it and join the Congress in a united political front."

It was officially announced from Lahore that in response to the request made by *beoparis*, the Punjab Government decided to recuit the tax payable under the Punjab General Sales Tax Act for 1941-42.

Professor Reginald Coupland in a broadcast talk from London, said: "It is no longer a question of Britain giving India freedom. It is for India to take it." He added, "Sir Stafford Cripps gave Indian politics just what was needed, a dose of realism. For the first time Indian Nationalists believed that Britain's promise to give independence was genuine."

11th. The Congress Working Committee met at Sevagram. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presented an alternative resolution which defined more clearly the meaning of Mahatma Gandhi's demand for the British withdrawal and the stages by which the object was to be achieved.

The Congress Working Committee issued a series of instructions for the guidance of the people who were affected on account of evacuation or other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property, motor vehicles and boats.

The Government of India's attitude regarding Press reports about the behaviour of troops towards the civil population in some cases, was contained in a letter from Sir Frederick Fucke, Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting to the President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

The Government of Bengal issued an order under the Defence of India Rules directing wholesalers in the city dealing in essential commodities and foodstuffs as rice, wheat, flour, atta, salt, sugar, soft coke, matches, kerosene oil, mustard oil, dals and coconut oil not to withhold from sale any of the commodities to any retail dealer or other customer in quantities normally supplied by him, and also not to refuse to furnish cash memos or receipts for the commodities sold.

Mr. K. Sankaranarayanan, (Central) resigned his membership of the Congress and the Central Assembly.

Mr. Fazlul Haq, Premier of Bengal, in a statement to the *Associated Press*, observed: "I have not yet taken any steps to give a practical shape to my idea of having a Progressive Muslim League, because I wish to make one final appeal to the Muslim League to render me justice."

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the United Provinces, replying to an address presented by the Municipal Board of Badam, made a strong criticism of "those defeatists and those destructive critics, of whom there are far too many in this country."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, replying to an address at Lahore, said that the Hindus in no circumstance were to permit the Pakistan Scheme to materialise. He would fight it tooth and nail.

12th. At the Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha, further discussion

on Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution, with particular reference to some of the objections raised against the draft took place.

In reply to General Wavell's message of greetings on the fifth anniversary of China's struggle against Japanese aggression, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek sent a message of appreciation. He said: "I deeply appreciate your greetings to me and our fighting forces on the fifth anniversary of our War of resistance. Such sentiments of friendship and words of encouragement as embodied in your messages are all the more gratifying for the very reason that they come directly from comrades in arms bound by the ties of Common destiny and ideals. To observe the All-India Defence Release Day, a public meeting was held at Royapettah, Madras, under the auspices of the Provincial Trade Union Congress, the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Madras Students' Organization, and the various Trade Unions in the city, Mr. P. V. Ganesan presided.

13th. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, replying to addresses presented to him by the Southern India Millowners' Association and the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Coimbatore, said: "There was no doubt that at the end of this war India would rise to the full status of nationhood and citizenship and occupy that place in the comity of nations which was her due." The Congress Working Committee spent another day discussing Mahatma Gandhi's draft resolution without coming to any final conclusion. A meeting of the Hindu-Muslim Women's Unity Committee was held at the residence of the Nawab Begum of Dacca at which the programme of work to be undertaken was discussed and decided upon.

14th. The Congress Working Committee released a 700 word resolution on the political situation. The resolution gave a brief resume of the stand taken by the Congress. It urged the withdrawal of the British power from India, pointing out that the Congress wished to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, as far as possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nation and pleaded with the British Government to accept the Congress proposal. If the appeal failed the Congress would then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all its non-violent strength for the vindication of the political rights and liberty of India under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.—After the resolution of the Congress Working Committee was released for publication, Mahatma Gandhi, in a Press interview explained the implications of the resolution and answered a number of questions put to him by newspaper correspondents. Mr. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, in a statement in Bombay, referred to an article by Mahatma Gandhi in the *Hartan*, in which Gandhi asked: "Have Pakistanists attempted to convert oppositionists in a friendly way?"

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealing with the Hur disturbances in Sind, declared that considerable progress had been made towards bringing a very difficult and dangerous situation under control.

15th. Sir Chinmali Setlavad in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "Those responsible for the Congress Working Committee's resolution are faulty of either at the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party (Madras), Mr. C. Rajagopalachari announced his decision to resign his membership of the Madras Legislative Party and of the Assembly.

The Hon. Mr. B. Sambamurti decided to tender his resignation of the office of Speaker of the Assembly as also of his seat in the House.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan dived on the international situation and on the Congress resolution, speaking at a function at Benares.

16th. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at a Press Conference in New Delhi explained the implications of the demand of the Congress for the withdrawal of British power from India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari communicated to the Governor of Madras his resignation of membership of the Madras Legislative Assembly, as also that of Dr. T. S. Rajan, Mr. S. Kannabhan, P. Kattavelluthavar, Mr. Subramaniam, Mr. R. S. V. Aiyar, Mr. V. T. Venkateshwar and Mr. Abdul Kadir.

H. E. the Governor of Madras in his speech at Bellary observed: "I beg everybody to read my remarks in the newspaper and try to realise how little and petty our differences are as compared with the great things we have yet to do

to prevent the Axis domination of the world. We have got to think big and act quick."

17th. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in the course of an interview to the United Press in New Delhi, observed: "The Congress would not be satisfied with anything but the immediate declaration of independence and the transfer of full power to the hands of Indians."

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in an interview at Jabalpur, said: "The demand for the British withdrawal is not actuated by a desire to embarrass, but the motive behind is to enable India to defend herself and to help the Allies in winning the war by bringing India's wholehearted support to the Allied cause."

18th. Rao Bahadur N. Sivarama Murthy, (Central) in the course of his presidential address at the All-India Depressed Classes Conference at Nagpur, said: "We know and feel that unless the Allies succeed in defeating the Axis, India has no chance of becoming a free country. If we now help the Allies in winning the war, I assure you that a settlement of our problem will go before the tribunal of the United Nations and will receive consideration which has not been hitherto bestowed on it by the British Government. We all wish an Allied victory."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, presiding over the British Gujarat Hindu Yuvak Parishad Ahmedabad, declared: "The Hindu Mahasabha has never been, nor does it ever intend to be, a purely communal organization."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting at Meerut, declared: "The only course open to the country is to fight British Imperialism in order to increase India's power of resistance to fascist aggression."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, addressing a joint session of the Travancore Legislature at Trivandrum, said: "I have perused and re-perused the resolutions arrived at Wardha, under the inspiration and stimulus of that very great man Mahatma Gandhi. I do not think I can say anything else than this, that I have failed to follow or understand those resolutions."

At Gujranwala, apprehending a breach of the peace, the police ordered the dispersal of a Conference arranged by Babu Kharak Singh to condemn the management and the Sikander-Baldev Pact.

19th. Mahatma Gandhi, answering the question "If *Harjan* is suppressed", wrote: "I would ask inquirers not to be agitated if *Harjan* is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The Manager has been instructed to stop the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is part of the movement to publish *Harjan* in defiance of orders. But though *Harjan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be so long as I live. Indeed the spirit will survive the dissolution of the body and somehow speak through the millions."

Sardar Patel addressed a meeting of local Congress Workers in Bombay and explained the implications of the resolution adopted by the Working Committee. He urged Congressmen to be prepared for all eventualities and to follow the instruction of Mahatma Gandhi scrupulously. They should feel and act as freemen. Sardar Patel also briefly spoke on the proposed Civil Disobedience movement.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan said at Peshwar: "The Congress resolution is clear. The British will be strengthening their position by acting on our advice. With an independent India, fighting wholeheartedly as an ally of the United Nations, the chances of effectively resisting and overpowering the Japanese will considerably increase."

Sir Bertram Stevens, who was Australian representative on the Eastern Group Supply Council in New Delhi said in a speech at Sydney: "If Japan is defeated, a new Order in Asia is inevitable. The East will never return to its old quiescent subservient state. We must think of the Chinese, Indians, Malaysians, and Javanese as friends of equal status. European prestige in the form in which it used to exist has been shattered."

20th. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar took over charge of the Labour portfolio in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, presiding over the Lyaipur District National War Front Conference held at Dasna, said: "If the British quit India, chaos will follow and ordered Government will not be possible."

Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President, Indian Merchants' Chamber, speaking at a luncheon in Bombay, given by the Chamber in honour of Sir A. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar, Commerce Member to the Government of India, observed: "There was general expectation that the industrialisation of the country would go on apace as a result of the war. Unfortunately, it has not been so, as the Government constituted as they are, have not recognised it as their prime and fundamental duty to help forward the development of vital Indian industries and the business community feels that this is due partially if not wholly to the anxiety of the Government to maintain intact the foreign vested interests here."

Maunana Azad, Congress President, in an interview in New Delhi, answered the question, "Whether there was any basis for the impression prevailing in certain quarters after the statements made by Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru that there was hardly any room left for any negotiation with the Congress," "If," said the Maunana, "this refers to India's right to independence, it is certainly not a matter for negotiation. It is a fundamental principle which must be recognized by the United Nations. But if the question refers to arrangements for the duration of the war, there is a clear procedure envisaged in the resolution of the Working Committee itself, and there is no reason to suggest that there is no room for negotiation. It is quite obvious to my mind that matters of this nature can only be settled by negotiations."

Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President, Bengal Hindu Mahasabha, commenting on the Wardha resolution of the Congress Working Committee in a violence interview at Patna, said: "As practical men, our appeal is 'Quit non-violence, and take to disciplined militarisation' which will make India free and keep her independence safe against all wicked aggressors and enemies of human freedom."

21st. The labour newspaper, *Daily Herald*, in a leading article, addressed to the Indian National Congress party, said inter alia: "If you persist in demands which are at this moment impossible to grant, you will cripple your cause and humble the influence of us who are your proud and faithful advocates. You will do worse, you will convey to the world the impression that Indians leaders are incapable of distinguishing between the ideal of the United Nations and the petty standards of nationalism: that you rate political strategy higher than the prospect of liberty, equality and fraternity with the progressive peoples of the earth."

The Committee of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce discussed matters relating to customs throwing open smaller posts for traffic, and the working of trade marks and insurance regulations, with Mr. Blade, I.C.S., Member, Central Board of Revenue, in charge of customs when he visited the Chamber in Madras.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, dealt with the situation in India at a private Parliamentary meeting of Members of Parliament at the House of Commons, and discussed in detail the position created by the Congress Party's resolutions and Mahatma Gandhi's possible campaign of non-cooperation with the object of obtaining Indian Independence.

22nd. The Governor of Bengal, under the Defence of India Rules, cancelled the orders of the Government of Bengal passed early in 1940 on all printers, publishers and editors in the province of Bengal, prohibiting the printing or publishing of and the use of any press for the printing of the periodicals entitled *National Front* and *New Age* or any successor of these periodicals.

The National Executive Committee of the British Labour Party adopted a resolution containing an appeal to the Indian peoples to try and reach a settlement with the British Government.

Mr. S. Satyamurti, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Assembly, in the course of a statement on the London *Daily Herald's* editorial on the Congress attitude, said: "We do not want to stand aside. We want to fight the enemy but we want the confidence that British Labour has, that victory in this war will mean among other things, complete freedom."

23rd. The Government of India and the Provincial Governments released from detention or restriction a number of individuals associated with the Communist Party who desired to assist in the war effort.

Sr. Satish Chandra Das Gupta, founder of the Khadi Pratishthan and a member of the Gandhi Seva Sangha was arrested at Feni (Noakhali) under the Defence of India Rules.

H. E. the Governor of Madras, under the Defence of India Rules, promulgated the Madras Sugar Dealers Licensing Order which prohibited the carrying on of business in sugar except under and in accordance with a license issued by the Commissioner of Civil Supplies.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in an interview at Bhopal said: "The recent resolution of the Congress Working Committee and the pronouncements of Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have created a most dangerous and most serious situation in the country and it seems to me that the All-India Muslim League must consider, as soon as possible, the developments that have taken place. I therefore propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at an early date."

24th. Mr. M. N. Roy sent a cable to the *Daily Herald*, London, stating: "The latest Congress resolution is the logical outcome of nationalism. Therefore, abandon the hope of the Congress changing its attitude. Congress is not India. Anti-Fascists who are eager to defend India as a sector of the international people's front claim the support of British democracy. There should be no more delay in reinforcing their hands with power and responsibility offered to Congress leaders whose unreasonableness and irresponsibility have finally shocked you."

Sir M. Zafarullah Khan, Agent General for India in China said to the pressmen in Chungking: "If the Wardha resolution was accepted, and Britain agreed to act according to it, India would be occupied by Japan within a week after the British had withdrawn."

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated inter alia: "The existing arrangements for the production (of salt) are more than sufficient for the annual consumption, which is estimated at about 530 lakhs of manaps per annum. The total of the stocks in India on June 15, 1942, was 362 lakhs of manaps, and it is clear, therefore, that the stocks are ample for immediate demands."

Dr. B. S. Moonje, in a statement to the press in New Delhi, said that he and Mr. V. G. Deshpande toured Madras Presidency to counteract the Pro-Pakistan campaign. Everywhere they were accorded a hearty reception and huge meetings were held to protest against the partition scheme.

25th. Mr. Jammadas Mehta M.L.A. (Central), President of the All-India Railway-men's Federation, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, expressed the view that every section of the people of India, except the Indian National Congress, was in favour of helping the British in their war effort not because it loved the British, but because it loved its own country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad observed at Lahore, "If the United Nations are prepared to respond to the appeal embodied in the Congress Working Committee's resolutions, then the details can be easily settled by means of negotiation."

26th. Mahatma Gandhi, under the caption, "To my critics", wrote in the *Harjan*: "It is no use demanding me as a dictator like Hitler. He does not argue with his co-worker, if he may have said to have any. He merely issues order which can only be disobeyed on pain of death or worse. I argue with my friends for days. My sanction with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love."

Dr. Syed Mahmud, ex-Minister and a member of the Congress Working Committee, in an interview at Patna, said: "The Congress is always prepared for a settlement with the British Government if its essential demands are conceded. This point is repeatedly made clear by the President and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in their statements."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an article in the *Harjan* entitled "To every Japanese", said: "I would ask you to make no mistake about the fact that you will be sadly disillusioned if you believe that you will receive a willing welcome from India. You have been gravely misinformed, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to turn Britain's difficulty into our opportunity, we should have done it as soon as the war broke out nearly three years ago. I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill-will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China."

Sardar Prem Singh, a prominent Akali Leader, in a statement to the Press from Amritsar said: "The Congress campaign will be fatal to the Sikh cause, which has just gained a foothold in the politics of the country."

Sir K. V. Reddi, Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University, in a statement to the Press in Madras, said: "Withdrawal of British power from India before

the war is finally won will be the greatest disaster that can ever befall this country."

"The Punjab Provincial Committee of the Communist Party in a statement at Lahore, declared: "Sir Feroz Khan invites us to go out of the Congress and the Congress leaders provoke us to do the same, but we shall not leave the Congress, as it is our birthright to remain inside our patriotic organisation." Sir Stafford Cripps in a broadcast to the United States made an appeal to the American people for their understanding, help and support in doing whatever was necessary to maintain intact the front of the United Nations in India and reopen the life line of the Chinese."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel addressing a crowded public meeting at Ahmedabad, declared: "Sir Stafford Cripps' visit disintegrated the Congress and drove Mahatma Gandhi to demand the withdrawal of the British power from India." "Amid universal bullying, the *Daily Herald* is the unkindest cut. This bullying seems inspired for it has no foundation." "The *Daily Herald* wrote editorially: "Presumably he is hinting that we were asked by the Government to write the article. He is wrong. We are inspired only by the belief that we are rightly interpreting the outlook of Labour men and women which is our daily task."

Mr. C. P. Lawson, M. L. A., (Central) presiding at the annual General Meeting of the European Association (Central Administration) in Calcutta, said: "The Council of the European Association had accepted the goal of Self-Government for India and were convinced that His Majesty's Government would do everything possible to establish that self-government after the war." The Hon. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in the course of a statement to the Press, said: "No one can expect consistency from Mr. Gandhi, but every body did and had a right to expect a sense of responsibility from him. It is difficult to understand why Mr. Gandhi should think it necessary to enter upon so hazardous a plan of action at so perilous a time in the history of India." The Dewan President Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, making a statement in the Sri Nilam Assembly at Tirunelveli, observed: "At this juncture when everything is, so to say, in a nebulous state and when people's nerves are highly strung, I make an appeal to this house and through this house to the people at large, that any agitation should be confined to the solution of specific and immediate grievances."

Randit Jawaharlal Nehru, in an interview at Allahabad, observed: "We do not want to be passive spectators of a disaster in India or China that concerns us more intimately than it can concern any one else. Therefore, it becomes essential to create conditions here and now which will change the character of the war, especially in India, and give tremendous additional strength to the Allied cause. That can only be done by a complete change in India by recognising and giving effect to Independence and then by co-operation as Allies between India and the United Nations in the fight against aggression. It is perfectly clear that a free India will defend itself by armed force and every other way possible. But all this is dependent upon the present freedom and the vital enthusiasm that this creates among the masses." Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chairman of the Indian Medical Association, addressing the members of the Mysore University Union, advised the boys that their chief concern should be the acquisition of knowledge during the studentship. When they entered life, after leaving the portals of the colleges, Mr. Roy added, the knowledge they had gained must be utilised, in the conduct of their lives, in a manner worthy of their noble traditions and worthy of a good citizen.

28th. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel at a Press Conference at Ahmedabad, declared: "Anarchy is always preferable to slavery, as there is hope of independence arising out of anarchy. The movement will not collapse if the leaders are rounded up. The new situation will create new leaders. Peace-time leaders were replaced by new leaders in England on the declaration of war. Freedom's fight will never collapse for want of leaders in any country. Experience will make the new leader wiser." Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in letter to the *Times of India*, wrote: "I am not one of those who have refrained from criticising—at times far too bluntly—the Indian policy of His Majesty's Government and particularly the mishandling

of the situation in India by Mr. Amery, and yet, I feel very strongly that nothing can be more dangerous in its implications or consequences than the Wardha proposals, particularly at a juncture like this."

Pandit Hriday Nath Karmali, President of the Servants of India Society, addressing a public meeting in Calcutta, sounded a warning that the launching of a mass civil disobedience movement would be detrimental to the best interests of the country.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Congress President, in a statement made at a Press Conference in New Delhi, referred to the various criticisms, both in Britain and America, of the Congress Working Committee's resolution, particularly the broadcast of Sir Stafford Cripps to the United States, and appealed to the United Nations to interfere on behalf of India.

Mr. M. S. Aney, in delivering the inaugural address to the National College at Nagpur, said that the best solution of the deadlock was that all parties should meet and evolve a formula for presentation to the British Government. He added that neither Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan nor Mr. Jinnah's slogan, "Quit India," would lead them to their goal. He believed that the Cripps' proposals should be accepted notwithstanding the fact that they were not perfect. But those proposals gave all parties the opportunity of coming together and evolving a line of action for Government.

A Press note from Bombay stated that both to ensure more equitable distribution of commodities among retailers and to protect the public from over-changing, the Government of Bombay decided that those shops which dealt in such commodities should be licensed and that retail trade in those commodities should be permitted without a license.

29th. The Hon'ble Mr. R. H. Parker, presiding at the annual meeting of the Indian Roads and Transport Development Association in Bombay urged the importance of planning in all matter and particularly Road Development. He emphasised that Roads should be regarded as capital expenditure, as are Railways and Irrigation, and that Roads should be "our No. 1 post war job". Dealing with transport problems, Mr. Parker appealed to lorry owners to fit producer gas plants to their vehicles in their own interests as well as in those of the country.

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview at Wardha, declared: "No guarantee to be given by anybody is contemplated by the Congress demand, because the present recognition of India's independence is the need of the hour not because of distrust about the future, but because India as an independent power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part on the side of the Allies". Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, addressing a meeting of students at Ahmedabad, declared: "Mahatma Gandhi's last struggle will be short and swift, and will be finished within a week."

30th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, gave a warning in the House of Commons that the Government of India would not flinch from taking every possible step to meet any situation that might arise out of Congress action. The demand of the Congress for British withdrawal would, if conceded, completely disrupt the Governmental machinery in one of the most vital theatres of the war at a time when every energy was needed for the struggle against the common enemy. It was the earnest hope of the British Government that the people of India would not countenance a movement fought with such disastrous consequences for the Allied cause but on the contrary, throw their all into the struggle against the Axis. The British Government, Mr. Amery concluded, was unable to initiate further discussions on India. Nevertheless, it stood firmly by the broad intentions of the Cripps' offer irrespective of the immediate conduct of the Congress Party. The Indian Central Jute Committee's Bulletin stated that exports of raw jute from India from July, 1941 to February 1942 came to 203,000 tons as against 142,000 tons and 387,500 tons during the corresponding period of the 1940-41 and 1939-40 seasons respectively.

31st. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, intended to resign his office owing to reasons of health and in order to enable some other leader of the Mahasabha to carry on the work of the organisation more energetically. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement to the foreign Press, said: "The latest decision of the Congress Working Committee on July 14, 1942, resolving to

launch a mass movement if the British do not withdraw immediately from India is the culminating point in the policy and programme of Mr. Gandhi and his Hindu Congress of blackmailing the British and coercing them to concede a system of Government and transfer power to that Government which would establish a Hindu Raj immediately under the aegis of the British bayonet, thereby throwing the Muslims and other minorities and interests at the mercy of the Congress Raj.

Mr. S. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, presiding over the first United Provinces Press Conference at Lucknow, paid a tribute to the work done by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference.

Mr. Jannadas Metha, presiding over the second session of the All-India Nationalist League, at Poona, declared: "In my opinion, the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain and it was also a military disaster."

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement at Dehradun said: "Mr. Amery's statement in Parliament that the British Government stands firmly by the Cripps' offer is very timely."

August 1942

The attention of the whole country was riveted on the policy of the Government in arresting Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other members of the Congress Working Committee, immediately after the passing of the "Quit India" resolution by the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay.

The Governor-General in Council passed a resolution to the effect that it was incompatible with their responsibilities, that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy.

The "Tilak Day" was celebrated at Poona, Allahabad and other places to do honour to the memory of Lokmanya Tilak on the 1st August. The death anniversary of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism" was observed in Calcutta, on the 6th August.

Mahatma Gandhi, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. office at Allahabad, said: "Their action becomes more reprehensible, when they make, what I consider to be, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof."

Sir Stafford Cripps, in a statement, expressed the view: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to replan the life of India on a new basis."

Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation."

Mr. T. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in London: "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied cause from a grave disaster."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League adopted a resolution, in Bombay, on the political situation, indicating the

League's attitude to the questions of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, said in Delhi: "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India. I do not want you to remain servile to other communities but I want to place the reins of Government in your hands." Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in an address to his countrymen, said: "You should not resort to violence and put non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive."

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill, reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression.

The India Office issued a statement, in which it said that disturbances had been limited and sporadic in character and had in no way affected India's war effort and there were no indications of any widespread mass movement.

The Government of India decided that the Indian standard time should be advanced by an hour from the midnight of the 31st August.

1st. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harizon*: "The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the working committee resolution on the contemplated mass action has been greeted, and the veiled or open threats which have been hurled at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Hitherto, it has thriven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be otherwise this time."

The National Council of the Congress of Industrial organizations and Maritime Union resolved that both the C.I.O. and the Federation of Labour should establish working relationship with the All India Trade Union Congress and issued a plea for greater freedom for British India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, addressing a public meeting in celebration of "Tilak Day" at Allahabad, said: "Struggle—eternal struggle! That is my reply to Mr. Amery and Sir Stafford Cripps."

Mr. B. G. Kher, ex-premier of Bombay, expressed the view at Poona, that even after twenty-two years of the death of Lokamanya Tilak, his prophetic words that self-Government and defence of a country were inseparable and complementary to each other rang true and could justify the stand taken by the Congress.

Mr. M. S. Aney, Overseas member of the Viceroy's Council, speaking at the 22nd anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak at Poona, made an appeal to Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress to take up the lead in the critical situation and to convene a conference of the leading political parties in the country with a view to presenting a united demand.

2nd. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in the *Harizon*: "A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British Rulers.... The present incumbents are sole creation of the Imperial Power."

Sir Homi Modi, President of the Democratic Union said in Bombay: "I appeal to you all to close up your ranks and be prepared to fight Mr. Gandhi's Sardar Patel addressing a public meeting at Surat declared: "Let Britain only transfer power to Indian hands whether it is to the Moslem League or any other party and the Congress is prepared to dissolve itself."

Dr. Syama Prasad Mukerjee, speaking at a meeting in Calcutta, held under the auspices of the Bengal Provincial Young Moslem Association, made an appeal to the Hindu and Moslem youths of Bengal to try earnestly to bring about a better understanding between the two communities in the province.

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar declared at a Press Conference in Delhi: "There

is no question of my serving under or as an adviser to the Secretary of State for India. I will attend all meetings of the British War Cabinet and Pacific War Council as a representative of British India appointed by the Government of India and not as in 1917, by the Secretary of State for India.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, speaking at a largely attended meeting at Poona, said: "If the Congress made an unequivocal declaration, upholding the demands of the Hindu Mahasabha, namely, the indivisibility and integrity of India as a nation, representation of the various communities in the legislatures in proportion to the population, and allocation in respect of the services on grounds of merit alone, the Hindu Mahasabha would support the Congress in any movement that might be launched for the attainment of the freedom of the country."

3rd. Pandit Ravananswar Misra, working President of the Bihar Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, addressing a meeting at Monghyr said: "We want our India to be one and indivisible. We want independence but not anarchy." Mr. M. N. Roy in the course of a message to the Punjab Labour Defence Conference at Dehra Dun, said: "The time has come when we must fight and win. If we fail to do so, then nothing can save our country. Let a powerful call to the masses of the country be issued by your conference."

Mr. P. C. Joshi, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of India, in a statement in Bombay, said: "Every progressive man and woman in Britain must realise that the root cause of deadlock in India, which threatens to burst up as a non-violent struggle by the Congress leadership, is the refusal of the British diehards to recognise Indian independence and implement it here and now in a changed practice. They think the people's war can be fought minus the people; they do not want Indian national mobilization."

4th. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. R. Jayakar issued separate appeals calling on leaders of all parties such as the Congress, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha to move in the matter and call joint All-Parties Conference.—Failing such a Conference being called, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar suggested that the Viceroy and the Executive Councillors should take the responsibility for calling such a Conference.

5th. In a press interview, commenting on the Government's decision to publish a certain document seized by the Police during their raid on the A. I. C. C. Office of Allahabad on May 26th last, Mahatma Gandhi stated: "I want to make a remark or two about the manner in which the Government have got this document. I think that the procedure thus adopted of searching the A. I. C. C. office and seizing documents was itself reprehensible. The Congress is not an illegal organization.... Their action becomes more reprehensible when they make, what I consider, illegitimate use of the document seized. They might have had the courtesy of referring the document to the A. I. C. C. and heard what the Committee had to say before making public use thereof. In spite of the effort of the Home Department to discredit the members of the Working Committee, the reading of the notes, unauthenticated as they are, will not make any difference, at least in India in the prestige which the Congress enjoys." There is nothing in it of which any member has any cause to be ashamed.

The Raja of Mahmudabad, a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press at Allahabad said: The resolution of the Congress Working Committee envisages a Hindu Raj of the Savarkarian type and added, we the Muslims make an offer to Mr. Gandhi. Let us have a laboratory wherein we could experiment on our own lines. The conflict of ideologies is proceeding with slaughter and carnage and the end is not in sight.

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement to the Associated Press at Hyderabad, criticized Mr. Jinnah's attitude towards Mahatma Gandhi and called upon the Muslim League to co-operate with the Congress and other parties to bring about an immediate revision of the Congress proposals such as might wean Mahatma Gandhi from his threatened cause.

The Congress Working Committee passed a resolution in Bombay, restating the National Demand in the light of the developments that had taken place since the adoption of the Wardha resolution. The resolution met the criticisms of Sir Stafford Cripps and others levelled against the Wardha resolution and laid down in clear terms that, on the

declaration of India's independence, a Provincial Government would be formed and free India would become an ally of the United Nations. The resolution made it clear that the Provincial Government would be a composite one representing all important sections of India, charged with the definite duty of defending India against aggression. The resolution provided for the retention of foreign soldiers in India, armed defence by the people as well as resistance by non-violent methods.

Mr. Humayun Kabir, member of the Standing Committee of the All-India Azad Conference in a statement in support of Mahatma Gandhi's demand, observed in Calcutta: "The justice of the demand has won the overwhelming support of Muslims as well as Hindus in this vast sub-continent: only those who are blinded by self-interest or prejudice can deny that Mahatma Gandhi's call has thrilled the country from end to end and brought new hope and courage to millions of despondent hearts."

6th. Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, in a statement expressed his views on the developments which took place in India. He said: "Self-government for India is assured as soon as hostilities are over and it becomes possible to re-plan the life of India on a new basis." He also added: "The Secretary of State for India made a statement last week which makes it plain that His Majesty's Government stand firmly by broad intentions of their offer in the draft declaration which I took with me for the attainment by India of complete self-Government. He concluded by saying: 'Concerning the attitude of the British Government there can be no doubt'."

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, Finance Minister, Government of Bengal, presiding at a meeting in Calcutta, on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, the "father of Indian nationalism", stated: "We cannot afford to remain as idle spectators at this critical hour in the history of India. Our appeal must go forth to both parties to cry a halt and to consider before a plunge is finally taken whether any settlement is possible which will satisfy the legitimate anxiety on the part of the British Government to see to the welfare of India and at the same time fulfil the rights and aspirations of the Indian people."

Sir Azizul Haque, High Commissioner for India in London in an interview stated: "I do hope that India as a whole will take a realistic view of the present war and of our own problems and that every attempt will be made to settle our internal problems in the face of our external dangers. I therefore welcome the proposal of a round-table discussion in India."

Mahatma Gandhi, in an interview in Bombay, answered a number of questions on the new resolution of the Congress Working Committee.

In the Cochin Legislative Council, several important questions connected with the administration of the Education Department were discussed.

7th. Mahatma Gandhi, in a message to the Chinese people, said: "Let China know that this struggle is as much for her defence as it is for India's liberation, for, in that liberation is involved her ability to give effective assistance whether to China or to Russia or even to Great Britain or America."

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President in a letter to Dr. Abdul Latif of Hyderabad, declared that no restriction in the deliberations of the representatives of the Congress and the Muslim League, if they met, was envisaged.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, in his first speech as Labour Member, opening the two-day session of the 4th Labour Conference in New Delhi, defined the main objects of the Conference as the promotion of uniformity in labour legislation, the laying down of a procedure for the settlement of industrial disputes and the discussion of all matters of All-India importance as between employer and employee.

The first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee commenced in Bombay. The proceedings began with the singing of the *Bande Mataram* by Desh Sevikas. The Congress Working Committee authorised the Congress President to write letters to President Roosevelt, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and the Russian Ambassador in London.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, issued a statement from Bombay, saying: "The recent Congress Resolution of its

Working Committee, although couched in different phrases, is substantially the same as the one which was passed in September, 1939. In the resolution that was passed in September 1939, the demand was for a declaration of Government transferring all power of the Government of India, and secondly, Assembly to be elected by means of adult franchise. The only difference, therefore, between the two resolutions, is that in the first resolution what was implied by the declaration that was sought is now covered under a different language by the adoption of the slogan "Quit India". Muslim India, as I have repeatedly said, is now covered under a complete independence of all the peoples of India. But, we should not immediately because the demand for a National Government meant Hindu Raj or Hindu majority Government."

8th. The All-India Congress Committee passed the resolution as recommended by the Congress Working Committee, by a large majority, only 13 members voted against it. All the amendments to the resolution were either withdrawn or defeated by overwhelming majority. The meeting was addressed, amongst others, by Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, & Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Mahatma Gandhi, in the course of his speech, clarified certain doubts the members entertained regarding the details of the Congress programme in the event of there being no settlement with the British Government and the beginning of mass struggle.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, in a statement in the All-India Congress Committee, before putting the Working Committee's resolution to vote, said that the Congress had been trying about unity, but every time an effort was made the door was closed from the Congress within twenty-four hours to start negotiations. But everytime he had attempted a settlement, the door was closed and barred. A resolution passed by the Governor-General-in-Council stated that the Government would regard it as wholly incompatible with their responsibilities that a demand should be discussed, the acceptance of which would plunge India into confusion and anarchy internally and would paralyse her effort in the common cause of human freedom.

Mahatma Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Sadar Vallabhbhai Patel, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and the members of the Congress Working Committee, the President and the Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and twenty of the Congressmen were arrested in Bombay and taken by special train to Poona. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was arrested at Patna. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a press statement in Bombay, said: "I deeply regret that the Congress has finally declared war and has launched a most dangerous mass movement in spite of numerous warnings and advice from various individuals and organizations in this country."

The A. I. C. C. office was locked up by the local police at Allahabad. Mr. C. B. Gupta, M.L.A., President, Lucknow City Congress Committee and Mr. A. K. Roy, member of the Forward Bloc, were arrested at Allahabad.

9th. The Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery said in London: "By their prompt and resolute action the Government of India have saved India and the Allied Cause from a grave disaster. There may yet be a certain measure of trouble. It is too early to speak with any assurance but I believe there will be no trouble that cannot be dealt with by the Government of India through the police and courts."

10th. The Madras Government, by a notification published in a Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary, declared as an unlawful Association under Sec. 16 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 the All India Congress Working Committee.

Mr. S. Satyamurti in an interview in Bombay observed: "The Congress President was arrested before he could write to President Roosevelt, Mahatma Chiang Kai-Shek and the Russian Ambassador, M. Malaby; the United Nations should nevertheless take it that he has written the letter."

Mr. L. S. Amery, in a broadcast message to America, said: "What India is up against is nothing less than a deliberate campaign to sabotage her war

“The new words :
In this grave hour in the life of Indian national unity for national resistance to Fascism our policy is for Government course by the imperialist rulers.”

13th. The British Labour Party's statement on the Indian situation was jointly issued by the Labour Party and Trades Union Congress. It stated among other things :—“In the light of Labour's declarations of policy in favour of Indian self-government, the recent Cripps' discussions and the grave perils throughout the Pacific, we feel it necessary to make an earnest appeal to the establishment of a free India and the possibility of a post-war world is secure and is not endangered by any possibility of evasion.

or procrastination by the British Government. The world knows that there is new agreement on the principle of Indian freedom.

Mrs. Vijaya Laxmi Pandit was arrested at Allahabad under the Defence of India Rules.

The State Department at Washington said that the American armed forces in India were there solely to prosecute the war against the Axis and had been warned to avoid taking any part in internal troubles. The presence of American forces in India was primarily to aid China. In the event of disturbances where they were stationed, they were authorised to resort to defensive measures only, should there be any personal safety or that of other American citizens be endangered.

14th. Mr. T. R. V. Sastri, ex-president of the National Liberal Federation, in a statement in Madras, said: "A solution must be found, and must be found without much delay, for the situation that has come about in India."

The Rt. Hon. Sir Shadil, former Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court and Privy Councillor in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "Mahatma Gandhi and other members of the All-India Congress Working Committee have been arrested. This was not entirely unexpected, though it was thought that the Government of India would be wise in not taking such a step. There can be no doubt that Indians, high or low, realise the racial distinction between Europeans and Indians and feel that the Indians are treated as inferior persons. The Government have not so far taken steps to remove this grievance."

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, the Punjab Premier, being informed of the Indian developments and the arrest of Congress leaders, said at Cairo: "I deeply regret that the All-India Congress Committee lacked courage to turn down the Working Committee's resolution. The enormity of the Congress mistake is even more conspicuous here where thousands of our brave country-men are risking their lives for the safety, honour and freedom of their country."

15th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a statement from Madras, appealed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah to find a solution for the political impasse. Mr. Rajagopalachari observed: "To err is human and there can be no difficulty in finding out the faults of others or in condemning them in strong terms. It is much more difficult to find a way to compose differences, but therein alone lies hope for this country. It is not only the Congress but Muslims too that continue in humiliation and danger. The Congress is in prison, with a feeling perhaps that it has done all it could. But the responsibility of the League, which is not in prison, is far that reason, all the greater."

Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's Secretary died of heart attack at Poona.

The executive Committee of the Oudh Provincial Hindu Sabha met at Lucknow, under the presidency of Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, M.L.A., and adopted a resolution "earnestly requesting Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, to withdraw his resignation in view of critical situation, and to continue to guide the nation."

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in a statement issued from Bombay, said: "I have very carefully considered in the light of the past few days' happenings whether it will serve any useful purpose at this stage for any one not belonging to the two big political parties to act as an intermediary between them and the Government. I am not hopeful of a step like this leading to any fruitful result. No intermediary can succeed unless he has the authority to speak on behalf of the Government."

16th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League met in Bombay at Mr. Jinnah's residence and adjourned after 24 hours' discussion—The Committee was summoned for the purpose of considering the political situation in the country.

At an urgent meeting of the Andhra Mahasabha Working Committee, held at Bombay, under the presidency of Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram, the following resolution was passed: "This Mahasabha views with deep concern the sad state of things that exist owing to the unwarranted and extreme repressive policy pursued by the Central Government and depletes that, whilst a majority of Indians are running the day-to-day administration of the country

It should be possible for the bureaucracy to resort to such tactics which indeed are a negation of the "democracy."

Mr. Arthur Greenwood, in a broadcast to North America from London, said: "I want to say it, but Mahatma Gandhi appears to be utterly devoid of any sense of urgency and gravity of the world situation. With great respect to him, I must say that he has shirked major issues."

"The Muslim daily 'Morning News,' in an editorial under the heading, 'The Task ahead,' observed: 'We are satisfied that if the Congress had taken Muslims with it in the struggle it would have silenced visionary critics and interested opponents and brought not only the Privy Seal back to India but only on the altruistic grounds of democracy and liberty alone but to strengthen, fortify and harden the Indian wedge, which is likely to break to pieces the prongs of the Trans-Continental Berlin-Tokyo pincher gradually tightening round it.'

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a special interview in Bombay, stated: "The Muslim League would join a provisional war-time Government if it had equal voice with Hindus and assurance of Pakistan after the war. It would also consider any suggestion for a solution from any authoritative source."

17th. Mr. V. V. Giri, Minister for Labour, in the Madras Congress Ministry, and President of the All-India Trade Union Congress was arrested under the Defence of India Act.

A Nagpur Communique said: "The Provincial Government has imposed a fine of Rs. 30,000 on Ramtek area in Nagpur District, where on August 13, lathi and police station and other government buildings were burnt down by a mob of about 5,000 persons. The fine will be collected forthwith." It added: "The Provincial Government is also considering the imposition of a fine on the town of Umar, also in Nagpur District and the village of Chhimur in the adjoining district of Chanda."

At a meeting at Jomanspur, passed a resolution against the arrest of Indian leaders and calling upon the United Nations to urge the British Government to release the men and allow immediately the formation of a free National Provincial Government of India as demanded by the Indian Congress.

The Secretary of the Hindu Mahasabha announced from Bombay that the Hindu Sabha members, including Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, requested Mr. V. D. Savarkar to withdraw his resignation of the presidency of the Sabha.—All the Provincial, District and State Hindu Mahasabhas also forwarded similar requests.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League issued a statement from Bombay : "The Working Committee discussed the present political situation and the developments which have taken place recently. The Committee appointed a sub-committee to draw up resolutions to be placed before the meeting on the 18th, for consideration."

18th. His Excellency the Chancellor of the Madras University appointed Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, acting Vice-chancellor, to be the Vice-chancellor of the University from August 18

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, in Bombay, had for discussion a draft resolution authorizing Mr. Jinnah, if he thought necessary, to establish contact with Mahatma Gandhi, first to ascertain if the Congress was prepared to agree to Pakistan and, secondly, if the Congress was prepared to join the League in forming a national government.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier of Bengal, sent an appeal to the Viceroy to be forwarded to Mr. Churchill, President Roosevelt, M. Stalin and Marshall Chiang Kai-Shek stressing that "the permanent interests of world peace and freedom require an immediate settlement with India."

At a public meeting of Indians representing all sections and communities in London, the following resolution was adopted: "Firmly believing that the creation of a free democratic order of all peoples of the world is impossible without an independent India, we, Indians, assembled at this public meeting in London, reaffirm our demand for immediate independence only on the recognition of India's independent and sovereign status."

The Government of Madras in a Press Statement determined to use all the means to put a stop to the various acts of hooliganism and rioting that have been taking place recently. Not only has extensive damage been done to Government buildings, to the Telegraph, Telephone services and to the Railways, but the loss by private individuals must also be very considerable. The Government have already called the attention of the District Magistrates to the various powers vested in them by recent war-time legislation and have instructed them to make the fullest use of these powers.

Mahatma Gandhi, referring to the Congress stand, in his reply to an English friend, wrote: "The movement is designed to help Britain in spite of herself. This is a very big, almost arrogant claim. I am not ashamed to advance it because it comes from an agonised heart. Time alone will show the truth or falsehood of the claim. I have no doubt as to the verdict. For, the testimony of the reasons may be wrong, but of the heart never."

Mr. Cordell Hull told the Press Conference at Washington that the Government of the United States were naturally giving keen attention to the developments of the Indian situation and would continue to give it all attention feasible under the circumstances.

19th. The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League had another informal discussion in Bombay on the draft resolution suggesting contacts between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. After reiterating the League's stand the draft resolution emphasized that the Muslim League was prepared to join any party in the country in the formation of provisional national Government, provided the party or parties concerned agreed to concede the Muslim demand for Pakistan, if in a plebiscite the majority of Muslim voters of a particular zone, voted in favour of Pakistan.

The Central Council of the All-Bengal Muslim Students' League, which concluded its session in Calcutta, passed resolutions expressing confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership, deploring the agitation indirectly released by action by the Government would worsen the situation.

The Transvaal Muslim League sent the following cable to Mr. Jinnah from Johannesburg: "The Executive Committee of the Transvaal Muslim League resolve that they whole-heartedly, unflinchingly and unanimously support the stand taken by the All-India Muslim League and the principles enunciated by it under the eminent leadership of the Quide-Azam, Jinnah, and pray that Pakistan will be an accomplished fact during their lifetime."

20th. His Excellency the Governor-General decided to nominate Sir Muhammad Usman, Sir J. P. Sivaswamy and Sir Jaganendra Singh to the Council of State and Sir Edward Benthall, Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to the Legislative Assembly. He also decided to transfer Sir Feroz Khan Noon to the Legislative Assembly and to appoint Sir Mahammad Usman to be the leader of the Council of State.

The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League concluded its deliberations in Bombay after adopting a resolution on the political situation indicating the League's attitude to the question of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement.

In an interview, Mr. A. Jinnah, President of the League, said: "I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution, whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made, we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a provisional Government for the mobilising of war effort, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the power that may be transferred to this Provisional Government."

Proprietors, Editors and Managers of the nationalist newspapers in Calcutta, who decided to suspend publication of their paper from the August 21st, met at a conference, at the Secretariat, in the room of the Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, on his invitation.

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, addressing the fifth batch of "Bevin Boys" (Indian technical trainees), said: "India can only be free if she is sufficiently united to be at peace within her borders and sufficiently strong to defend these borders against any aggression from without."

21st. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Member for Information and Broadcasting, Viceroy's Council, resigned and his resignation was accepted by the Viceroy. The Navyavan Press, where Mahatma Gandhi's *Harigan*, and allied weeklies were printed, was sealed and, after a search, old copies of all the weeklies were seized by the police at Allahabad.

The *Leader* in an editorial comment on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said: "We deeply regret that Mr. Jinnah has failed this country and not seized the opportunity which the situation offered him of bringing peace to it."

Dr. G. S. Arundale, President of Theosophical Society, in a statement in Madras, observed commenting "on the narrow and disruptive outlook of the All-India Muslim League which is no more really representative of the Muslims than the Congress is of India."

22nd. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, commenting on the latest resolution of the Muslim League, said from Hyderabad (Dn): "Every sincere well-wisher of the Muslim League will deeply regret the resolution adopted by its Working Committee in Bombay. With the Congress off the scene the responsibility for leading the country had devolved on the League, the next largest party in the land. The task before that body was to generate an atmosphere conducive to an honourable compromise between the Congress and the League on the one hand and between these two and the British Government on the other."

A press note issued by the Information Officer, Baroda State, mentioned that on the morning of August 18, the Working Committee of the Baroda State Praja Mandal issued a resolution declaring their intention to obstruct all war efforts in the State. The Government therefore issued a notification declaring the Praja Mandal an illegal organisation.—Right of their leaders were detained.

Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, who presided at a conference of proprietors, editors and managers of Calcutta newspapers, sent a message to Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All India Editors' Conference, New Delhi, urging withdrawal of new Regulation restricting the freedom of the Press.

"The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India (Bombay) passed the following resolution: "The Executive Committee of the Journalists' Association of India strongly disapproves of the restrictions recently placed on the Press. In view of the Defence of India Rules which are already onerous enough, these fresh restrictions are an unnecessary and unwarranted interference with the due discharge by the Press of its duty to the people and the State and some of them constitute an indefensible violation of universally recognised and fundamental principles of the journalistic profession."

23rd. Mr. Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, on his return from his visit to Britain, reiterated the demand for the creation of a supreme War Council of the United States, Britain, China, Russia and India "if and when Indians understand the situation." He said that regardless of India's future position in relation to the British Commonwealth of Nations, Indians should be represented on the Allied Supreme Council "because they comprise the major bloc of peoples."

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, speaking at a reception given in his honour by the Depressed Classes Welfare Association, Delhi, said: "I want to put the depressed classes on terms of equality with the other communities in India, I want to place the reins of Government in your hands. You should share in the political power of the country, on terms of equality with the Mussalman."

Randit Madan Malaviya, in a statement from Benares, under the caption "To my countrymen," said: "You should not resort to violence and will not find me alive." He added: "Some of us are trying our best to persuade Mahatma Gandhi not to undertake a fast unto death. By avoiding and discouraging acts of violence, you will be helping to save the life of Mahatma Gandhi."

The United Press learnt that Sir Muhammad Sadulla was commissioned by H. E. the Governor of Assam to form a Ministry, following the Viceroy's concurrence to the revocation of the Proclamation under sec-93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.

The United Press further learnt that Sir Muhammad recommended the

following persons for inclusion in his Cabinet: Maulavi Munawar Ali, Mr. Hirendra Chandra Chakravarty, Mr. Abdul Madin Chowdhury, Khan Bahadur S. Rahman, Khan Sabib Mudabbir Hossain Chaudhuri, Mr. Rupnath Brahma, Mr. Mohendra Nath Saksya, Miss Dunn, and Mr. Naba Kumar Datta.

At the annual general meeting of the Bombay Provincial Trade Union Congress, under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Joshi, M. L. C. (Bombay), a resolution criticizing the policy of the Government in regard to the Congress was adopted.

At a meeting of the Poona Journalists' Association, held at Poona, a resolution expressing its profound regret that the Government of India should have thought fit to impose further restrictions on the Press in India by their order of August 10, over and above the comprehensive ones in the Defence of India Rules and recording its emphatic protest against such restrictions and urging the Government to withdraw the order forthwith, was passed.

Mr. J. S. Karandikar presided:

Syed Rauf Shah, President of the C. P. and Berar Provincial Muslim League, in an interview, stated that the League Executive had fulfilled its duty to the country and the Muslim community by passing the resolution sponsored by Mr. Jinnah.

The Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League was welcomed by the Bengal Muslim League Parliamentary Party, when it met at the residence of its leader, Sir K. Nazimuddin in Calcutta.

24th. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, in his speech in New Delhi, opening the Central Food Advisory Council, said: "From the fund created by the levy of an additional duty on imports of raw cotton, the Government of India had made grants to four Provinces and three States in respect of lands diverted from cotton to food or fodder crops." He added that all applications for grants would receive favourable consideration up to the extent of funds available.

A manifesto issued over the signatures of prominent citizens of Nagpur, including Mr. P. K. Rao, Member, Servants of India Society, Mr. M. Y. Sheriff, ex-Minister and Mr. G. V. Deshmukh, said: "We fully support the Congress demand for immediate transfer of political power from Britain to India. It represents the demand of almost all progressive political parties in India which have a following. The immediate establishment of a National Government can alone make the war a people's war and inspire the people with zeal and enthusiasm, for war effort on behalf of the United Nations and defeat the reactionary forces of Nazism and Fascism."

The Council of the Provincial Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, in Calcutta, demanded the declaration on behalf of the British Government "of India's free status." The Council thought that such a declaration "is essential for mobilizing the immense man power and resources of India against the Axis menace."

The British Communist Party in a letter to Mr. Churchill expressing the "concern of sections of opinion in this country over the Indian situation," reminded the Premier that the Congress resolution declared for armed resistance to Axis aggression. The Congress resolution also threatened civil disobedience. "We deplore this threat of civil disobedience," said the letter, "which was signed by Mr. Harry Pollitt, Secretary of the British Communist Party," and believe that any such policy, inevitably leading to division and internal struggle in the face of fascist aggression and thus playing into the hands of Fascism, would be suicidal from the standpoint of Indian freedom no less than that of the world cause of freedom against Fascism."

The inauguration of the newly constituted Legislative Council of the State of Cooch Behar was held at Lansdowne Hall.—His Highness the Maharaja Bhup Bahadur presided.

25th. H. H. the Maharaja Holkar of Indore, in a statement to the Press in Indore, declared: "The isolationism of Indian States is now a thing of the past, and I earnestly hope that they will associate themselves more directly with national aspirations, as their salvation lies in agreeing to enter without reservation the future Union of India and in whole-hearted co-operation with a National Government when it is set up."

Nawabzada Murtaza Ali Khan, in a press statement in Bombay said: "Mr. Jinnah is ignoring his own country and looks to Britain for the consummation

of Pakistan. If, there is no response to be made by Britain, as she has no

time to side-track her war efforts, what is that the Muslim League and its

President Mr. A. J. Khan, "to do?"

Sir Ferroz Khan Noon, Member of India, in a speech delivered at the

of India into the division of India into

authority to be created to control Defence, customs, foreign relations and

currency and should also have the power of secession and subsequent

A Press Note issued by the Madras Government stated: "The situation

throughout the Presidency continues to improve."

The Council of the Madras Muslim League adopted a resolution,

endorsing the resolution of the Working Committee of the League in Bombay.

26th. Prof. Humayun Kabir, M. L. C., Member of the Standing Committee of the

All-India Azad Muslim Conference in a statement to the Press in Calcutta

expressed the view that the resolution of the League Working Committee lead

nowhere.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, interviewed at Cairo, regarding

his meeting with Mr. Churchill, said: "It was a happy coincidence that I

happened to be in Cairo, when Mr. Churchill arrived, which afforded me the

opportunity of meeting him..... His visit to the Middle East apart from its

wider implication in connection with the war effort of the United Nations, was

a source of encouragement and inspiration to forces in the Middle East."

Mr. M. N. Roy, in the course of a statement commenting on the Bombay

resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee, observed: "The Muslim

League Working Committee resolution makes it possible for the Viceroy to set

up a Government which will be able legitimately to claim to represent a

false notion of democratic practice prevented its becoming a reality".

27th. The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Hewlett, said at a meeting of the India League

in London, that the political situation in India had been brought about by

faults on both sides, "although I do not agree with the policy of my friend

Mr. Gandhi!"—"The meeting was called to urge Government to reopen negotia-

tions with the Congress.

A Bengal Government communiqué stated: "With a view to facilitating the

movement of food grain over the Railways, the Government of India have issued

specific instructions to the General Managers of Railways, that up to Saturday

August 29, 1947, they should concentrate on the movement of foodgrains, sugar

and salt for internal consumption, by shutting down other kinds of railway

traffic, if necessary. It is hoped that local merchants and dealers will

try to take maximum advantage of this concession during this limited period".

The question of price control was among the subjects discussed by the Central

Food Advisory Council.

The Indian Overseas Department of the Government of India set up a special

fund known as the Indian Overseas Evacuees Relief Fund.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who returned to Peshawar from his tour of the

Southern Districts, conferred with prominent Khudai Khitmatgars at the

Baradarayab Centre. He told the Press that the discussions related to the future

plan of the Khudai Khitmatgars vis-a-vis the general situation in the country.

Mr. Indulal Yagnik, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, in a statement

to the Press in Bombay, made an appeal to the Government to release Mahatma

Gandhi and the Congress leaders.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Prodyat Coomarr Tagore, K. C. I. R. a premier nobleman

of Bengal, died at Benares.

Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, representative of the Government of India, on

the British War Cabinet, said at Karachi: "It will be open to me to say

anything that will further the war efforts".

28th. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar took charge of the Deanship of Travancore.

Mr. Abdul Latif Farokhi, ex-M. L. A., (central) and Secretary, the Madras

Presidency Muslim League, in the course of a statement regarding the resolution

of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, said: "It has to

be regretfully admitted that the policy hitherto pursued by the Congress has

not given a correct lead to the country in the matter of securing transfer of

power into Indian hands".

Under the collective fines Ordinance, 1942 the Governor of Orissa imposed collective fines amounting to Rs. 6000/- on five villages in Balasore District, according to a Gazette Extraordinary.

The Government also imposed collective fines of Rs. 5000/- on the inhabitants of four villages in Cuttack District. Muslim inhabitants of these places were exempted.

The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League gave direction to the Muslims in the Province to follow the resolution adopted by the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at Bombay in all its indications and to guide themselves vis-a-vis the movement initiated by the Congress in accordance with the instructions contained in it.

A Press Note stated that the Government of India decided to relax with effect from September, 1942, their prohibition of the emigrations of unskilled labourers to Ceylon so far as it affected labourers in Ceylon.

The Madras Government decided to introduce a revised scheme of dearness allowance to Government servants.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan, Travancore, replying to felicitations on his assumption of office, observed: "To me it is a matter of intense sorrow that on this occasion the greatest and most organised political party in India should have chosen what to me appears to be not only a difficult but barren path—a path of opposition.

29th. Mr. Devadas Gandhi, Managing Editor, Mr. Devi Prasad Sharma, Printer and Publisher of the *Hindustan Times*, and Mukut Behari Lal, Editor of the *Hind Hindustan*, were discharged by the Addl. District Magistrate, New Delhi.

At a meeting of the Proprietors and Editors of the fifteen Indian owned newspapers of Calcutta, English and Vernacular, which had suspended publication on August 21, as a protest against the restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government, it was decided that they would resume their publication on the morning of August 31.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha began its session with Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the chair.

30th. Srimati Ramaswami Nehru, Vice President of the All India Harijan Sewak Sangh and ex-President of the All India Women's Conference, was arrested at Lahore, under Rule 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Syed Mohammed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State and a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, issued the following statement to the Press from Allahabad: "The decision reached by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League after four days' deliberation at Bombay has failed to give any lead to the Muslims at a juncture when it was so urgently needed."

Mr. Churchill in Cairo, said that the British Premier was full of appreciation of the magnificent work done by Indian soldiers in the various theatres of war. While Mr. Churchill greatly regretted the unfortunate attitude taken by the Congress, he had nothing but praise and admiration for the war effort of India. Sir Sikander left Mr. Churchill fully satisfied that India would get a square deal.

In the vacancies caused by the resignations of Sir Muhammad Usman, Dr. B. R. Ambbedkar and Sir J. P. Srivastava, consequent on their appointment as members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Sir K. V. Reddy, Mr. R. P. Masani and Pandit Rajnath Kunzru, respectively, were appointed Members of the National Defence Council.

The Central Government cancelled its order of August 8 so far as it applied to editors, printers and publishers in the province of Delhi. The order of August 8 prohibited the printing or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor of any factual news relating to the mass movement sanctioned by the A. I. C. C. or measures taken by the Government against that movement, except news derived from official sources or the news agencies or a correspondent registered with the District Magistrate.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, held a discussion in New Delhi, initiated by Dr. Syama Prasad Mukherjee, on the political situation, and eventually appointed a Sub-Committee to draft a resolution embodying the greatest common measure of agreement revealed in the course of the discussion.

Mr. Abbas Ali Kamal, Vice-President of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P., in the course of an interview at Nagpur, said: "In the present hour of crisis, we in India must close our ranks and reserve all our differences for the future. After the present Congress movement started, all the Congress leaders are in jail and some one must take the initiative in solving the political deadlock. I appeal to Mr. Jinnah, leader of the next biggest political party in the country, to encourage selfless leaders like Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to take the initiative in bringing about an understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League without which the freedom of the country will be greatly jeopardised." Khan Abdul Samad Khan, President and six other members of the Working Committee of the Anjuman-e-Vatan of Baluchistan were arrested in Baluchistan under the Defence of India Rules.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which met in New Delhi, adopted a resolution which demanded an immediate declaration of India's independent status and immediate negotiations by the British Government with principal parties in India in order to solve the political deadlock. The resolution further demanded the formation of an Indian National Government, which, it asserted, would declare its determination to fight the common enemy. The Committee asserted that if the British Government did not respond to its demand, the Mahasabha would be compelled to revise its programme and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed."

In accordance with the decision of the Government of India, the Indian Standard Time was advanced by an hour. (The New Standard Time being 6½ hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time, instead of 5½ hours as hitherto).

Kunwar Sir Jagdish Prasad, former Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a Press statement at Moradabad, criticized Sir Ferore Khan Noon's scheme for dividing India into five dominions.

Eleven of the fifteen Indian-owned newspapers of Calcutta, which had suspended publication on August 21 as a protest against the restriction imposed on the Press by the Government, reappeared.

September 1942

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay, instructing the Hindu Sabhates who happened to be members of municipalities and local bodies, legislatures or committees or those who might be serving the army, navy, air-force or working in the ammunition factories to stick to their posts and continue to perform their regular duties.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress.

Mr. Churchill made a statement about India, in the House of Commons. He said that the course of events in India had been improving. The principles of the declarations made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in reply to Mr. Arthur Greenwood, said in the House of Commons: "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible government would take in the circumstances."

A meeting of the Indian Christians, in Calcutta, resolved that Britain should recognize and declare the independence of India immediately.

A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta under the presidency of Mr.

Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in reply to questions in New Delhi, declared: "My fundamental point is that we do not want under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and other members of the Hindu Mahasabha in a statement demanded an immediate consultation with Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion in the Central Legislative Assembly, on the situation in the country, declared: "On the basis of all the information at present available, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement in London said that the new movement proposed the reopening of negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

In the Central Assembly, in reply to Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyay's questions about the health of Sir Sarat Chandra Bose, the Home Member said that Mr. Bose had been a diabetic patient for some time before his arrest and the health of such persons could never be satisfactory.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, in a statement from Lucknow said: "It appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding Sir Sarat Chandra Bose.

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. The Central Committee of the Communist Party issued a manifesto from Bombay, asking the Government to give up its repressive policy, to release Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

The Central Legislative Assembly discussed the Muslim League resolution on Kharkars and finally passed it without any division.

A resolution adopted by the All-India Aikali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign state and the formation of provisional National Government should be accepted.

At a meeting in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America, it was urged that President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek should "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences."

1st. Mr. Abdul Latif Farookhi, Secretary, Madras Muslim League and Member of the Council of the All-India Muslim League, in the course of a

statement in Madras, said: "Though the Muslims are solidly behind the resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League regarding the Constitutional deadlock and cannot agree with all that the Hon. Mr. Syed Mohamed Hussain, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Council of State has said in his recent statement criticizing the resolution of the Working Committee of the League, there is a general feeling among the Muslims that a way should still be found to bring about a present deplorable state of affairs. As the situation is such, and as the Congress leaders are unable to act on account of the present deplorable state of affairs, it will be regarded as an act of generosity and not a climb-down on the part of the Qaid-e-Azam if he proposes to see Mr. Gandhi for a settlement."

Dr. S. P. Mukherjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference in New Delhi, said: "In this supreme crisis in the history of India, the Hindu Mahasabha has given a lead for the solution of the Indian deadlock, which is not actuated by any party or sectarian consideration. 'The main demand of the Hindu Mahasabha is that India cannot be governed today by a mere policy of repression; that the initiative for ending the present deadlock should come from the British Government itself; that the deadlock can be ended only if the British Government decides to part with power in accordance with a well-adjusted scheme for fighting the common enemy; and that a representative National Government must be established without delay, so that the man-power and the vast resources of India can be effectively organized under its auspices'."

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the Students' Union of the Agricultural College at Coimbatore, referred to two of his disillusionments. The first, he said, came in 1921 after the Versailles Peace Treaty and the second came after the second Round Table Conference, which was attended by Mahatma Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress.

2nd Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore addressing a Press Conference at Trivandrum, said that he regarded the entry of students into the agitation that was taking place, the most unfortunate thing that happened in Indian history for the last 50 or 60 years.

"The Committee of the All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry at a meeting in Bombay, under the presidency of Sir Sultan Chinoy, passed a resolution, stating *inter alia*: 'While realising the necessity of checking all irresponsible and subversive activities, the Committee strongly feels that public confidence cannot be restored by the adoption or continuance of repressive measures, and earnestly urges upon the Government the need for a generous gesture by opening negotiations with the main political parties in India with a view to ending the present deadlock and renewing and strengthening the country's war effort.'"

Sir Iskander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, returned to Lahore from his visit to the Middle East.

3rd. As a first step in their plan to enter into negotiation with the principal political parties in the country, the committee of seven members appointed by the All India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee addressed a letter to the leaders of various parties, including the Depressed Classes, Moslem League, Sikhs and Indian Christians, and sent each of them a copy of the Mahasabha resolution passed in Delhi and inviting their support for the demands made in it.

General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief, in a broadcast from New Delhi, declared, "Taking it all round, we begin the fourth year of this war with much better prospects than we did the fourth year of the last war." Mr. Arthur Moore, broadcasting a talk from Calcutta observed: "There is only one way of answering and defeating the challenge of Hitler; and it is by super-patriotism; by realising the brotherhood of man, and claiming the earth as our mother country."

At the meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, C. P. and Bera, with Mr. Rauf Shah in the chair, at Nagpur, it was unanimously resolved to support the Bombay resolution of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee.

4th. "Zam zam," the leading Muslim paper of Lahore, wrote: "We are very sorry to note that the Muslim League resolution contains more an indictment of the Congress Party, when most of its leaders are in jail, and as such

cannot reply to the charges. The resolution says that the League is prepared to open negotiations with any party on the basis of equality, provided the demand of Pakistan is accepted in advance. We are constrained to say that the whole policy of the League is that there should be no settlement during the war and the status quo is to be maintained and that is the reason why it adopts all sorts of dilatory tactics."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Bombay. He said: "I issue this definite instruction to all Hindu Sabhates in particular and all Hindu Sanghatis in general who happen to be members of the municipalities and local bodies, legislatures, or Committees or those who may be serving in the army, navy, air force or working in ammunition factories or holding any post or position of vantage in Government service that they should stick to the posts and continue to perform their regular duties in the various capacities."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, addressing a Press Conference at Lahore, declared: "In this tragic hour when the enemy forces are standing on the frontiers of India, in a menacing attitude, it is the duty of all patriotic sons of India to close their ranks and to stand shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the country's emancipation."—Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rai Bahadur Mehrchand Khanna were also present at the Conference.

The Government of Madras issued the following Press Note: "This province is short of many essential commodities such as rice, millets, pulses, sugar and wheat. If the requirements of this Province are to be adequately satisfied, it is essential that the limited transport facilities now available in the prevailing war conditions should be put to the maximum possible use." Hakim Abdul Jalil Nadir, President of the Peshawar Congress Committee, in a statement at Peshawar, expressed the view that the Congress would have no objection to accepting any scheme for the future Government of India, provided it had the approval of both the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

5th. A Conference held by the India League in London, urged the Government to negotiate with Indian leaders on the basis of recognition of India's independence and transfer of power to a Provisional Government of National Unity, formed by Indians themselves. This would enable India to organise herself fully and effectively for her own defence and to become a powerful ally of the United Nations. A meeting of the General Council of the All-India Trade Union Congress was held at Nagpur, with Mr. V. R. Kalappa in the Chair.—The Council passed a resolution urging the Government to carry on negotiations with the political organizations to secure the early establishment of a National Government both at the Centre and in the Provinces, thus enabling free India to organise complete and effective defence of the country.

6th. Mr. Jinnah, in a statement issued from Bombay, congratulated the Muslims for completely keeping themselves aloof from the mass civil disobedience movement launched by the Congress, and said: "I wish to impress upon Muslims to carry out the Muslim League's instruction and pursue their normal life peacefully, and completely dissociate themselves from the Congress move."

Sir Naini Kanjan Chatterjee, former Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court died at Ranchura in the Birbhum District, Bengal. Mr. Clement Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister, in a speech at Aberdeen, said: "We had made many mistakes in our treatment of the Indian problem, but we had given India more than a century of internal peace and good Government and had in the last 25 years made immense progress towards Indian self-Government. Further progress was held back by disagreement among Indians and by difficulties of introducing democracy into a country of 300 million people, at all stages of civilisation."

7th. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, Government of India, in his speech at the opening of the Sixth Price Control Conference in New Delhi, dismissed factors governing the successful administration of Price Control. Sir Mahomed Usman, in unveiling the portrait of Mr. G. H. Hodgson, the Vice-President of the Aungmyan, said in Madras: "The present political deadlock in the country cannot be solved unless the importance of the Muslim League and the just claims of the Muslim League are recognised".

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya was arrested at Basavangudi at Bangalore, under Sec. 26 of the Defence of India Rules.

8th. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee had an hour's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy in New Delhi. The discussions, so far as their main heads came to public knowledge, ranged over a wide field, and the main features of the demands were : 1. India to be declared independent. 2. The British Government to initiate negotiation for the formation of an Indian National Government to which power should be transferred. 3. The Indian National Government to be composite, in character, including representatives of important parties. 4. Abolition of the India Office as a corollary to such transference of power. 5. Provincial Governments to be set up on a similar basis. 6. The Indian National Government to declare its resolve to fight the Axis power and not to conclude a separate peace with these Powers. 7. The Indian National Government to have a common war policy with the United Nations. 8. The Commander-in-Chief to continue to have operational control. 9. The Indian National Government to pursue a policy of militarization and industrialization of India. 10. The future Government of India to be determined by a constituent assembly to be set up by the National Government. Any minorities which so desire will have the right to refer disputed power to international arbitration. A number of girl students picketing the houses of Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, were arrested in New Delhi.

9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Indore, pleading for communal goodwill and understanding, in the course of a statement in Bombay, warned that if the different groups persisted in their attitude, the result could only be civil war. The Maharaja said : "I have followed with keen interest the deliberations of the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the resolutions passed by their Working Committees from time to time. These have filled me with dismay and grave apprehensions ; if these groups persist in their attitude, they are heading for a civil war".

10th. Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu, K.C.I.E., Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai

University died at Thyagarayanagar, Madras.
Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press from Bombay, made an earnest appeal to all patriotic parties and all prominent leaders in India to join hands with Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha. Mr. Savarkar said : "It has ever been the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring together all those parties and prominent leaders who stand for a genuinely National and democratic Government, irrespective of caste, creed or class and get themselves consolidated on a common platform. It was with this intention that the majority of the Hindu Sabha leaders participated, although in their individual capacity, in the Non-Party Leaders' Conference which was expected later on to have the way to an All-Parties Conference".
A demand that the British Prime Minister should settle the Indian problem was made in a joint statement issued by the leaders who were engaged in the Delhi political talks. The appeal asked for a declaration of immediate transfer of real power to Indian hands postponing all controversial issues. Copies of the leaders' statement were cabled to Mr. Churchill and forwarded to the Viceroy.

Mr. Churchill made a statement in the House of Commons about India. He said that the course of events in India had been improving and this on the whole was reassuring. The principles of the declaration made by the Government which formed the basis of Sir Stafford Cripps' motion must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. The Secretary of State of India, Mr. L. S. Amery gave, in the House of Commons, an account of "the whipping order" issued in India. Mr. Amery said : "In India the penalty of whipping or rather caning—it is administered by a light rattan cane and not by a 'cat'—has long been authorised, as in this country, for such crimes as robbery with violence..... I see no reason to interfere with the discretion of the India authorities in this matter".
11th. The House of Commons held a debate on India. Mr. Arthur Greenwood, leader of the Labour Party, in opening the debate said : "We urge the

Government to make it clear that free and friendly discussions will be resumed on the abandonment of Civil disobedience." Replying to the debate, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India said: "Mr. Gandhi had made it clear that his action was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. The Government of India took the only action which any responsible Government would take in the circumstances. Its action had saved India from a great disaster. The Congress scheme of sabotage was a carefully planned scheme of attack. I wanted to paralyse India's war effort and make it impossible to defend India." The Secretary of State reiterated in the Commons that the Government would welcome any effort to establish Indian national unity. A meeting of the Indian Christians, held in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. S. C. Mukherjee, President of the Indian Christian Association, resolved that Britain should recognise and declare the independence of India immediately. Mr. Samuel Gratton wrote in a New York journal on India: "We are talking about freedom, but we should perform some concrete acts like letting Mr. Javaharlal Nehru out of jail and quit appeasing the Spanish Dictator, General Franco."

The Raja of Mahmudabad, member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, addressing a meeting at Peshwar said: "If Mr. Gandhi wrote to Mr. Jinnah conceding to the Muslims the right to have their own independent sovereign States in the areas where they were in a majority, the Muslim League would at once join hands with the Congress in presenting a joint demand to the British Government." A statement issued by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. Moonje, Raja Maheswar Dayal, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Rao Bahadur Meharaj Khamna, Member of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, said: "The statement of Mr. Churchill betrays a complete lack of statesmanship and will cause deep resentment throughout India. The British Government has obviously failed to appreciate the grave realities of the present situation." A meeting of Europeans in Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Arthur Moore, passed a resolution urging the British Government to announce its readiness to transfer full power to a National Government and provide immediate facilities for its formation.

Sir Walter Citrine, Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, speaking on India at the T. U. C. Conference at Blackpool, said that it seemed easy for some people to hoodwink themselves and assume a unity that did not exist in India. "There is not even trade union unity," he said. "One federation supports the Government and the other denounces it. What about the 40 million Muslims? What about the 70 million untouchables? These are people who needed thinking about. To say that they would be content to have their dead weight placed in the hands of the Congress is utter nonsense." Mr. Edward Hunter, writing in "World Telegram" New York, urged the United Nations to formulate some proposals for solving the Indian problem. An important meeting of Labour Members was called in London, to discuss the line that the Party should take in the debate opened on Mr. Churchill's statement on India by Mr. Greenwood, leader of the Labour Party in the House of Commons.

12th. Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Sind Premier, and President, Azad Muslim Board, in a statement, said: "Mr. Churchill's juggling with figures and attempt to minimize the widespread discontent in this country may deceive the British public, but it will surely not deceive those who know the real situation in India." Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Working President of the Hindu Mahasabha, met Mr. Jinnah in New Delhi and had a talk with him on the political situation in the country. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press on Mr. Churchill's statement said: "There was nothing unexpected in the speech delivered by Mr. Churchill some weeks ago by any one conversant with Britain's political psychology. Mr. Churchill assured the members of the British Parliament that there was nothing serious about the Indian situation to cause them any worry. Thrice blessed be they if they all retired pleased with the sense of self-complacency and security."

13th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in a

statement in Bombay, said: "The statement made by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons is extremely reactionary and has created a feeling of great disappointment and resentment among all classes of people. Such statements are not likely to bring India and England nearer."

Dr. George S. Arundale, observed in a statement in Madras that Mr. Churchill came out very badly from his speech in the House of Commons which was "not only in the worst possible taste, but highly dangerous both to the internal situation in India and to that comradeship between India and Britain which is so essential to the successful prosecution of the war."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mehrchand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal, in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said: "We feel that our efforts have now reached a stage which demand an immediate consultation with Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of the Indian National Congress."

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, replying to questions at a Press Conference in New Delhi, declared: "My fundamental point is this that we do not want, under the stress of the war emergency, to be stampeded into forming a Provincial Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice, prejudice or militate against the Moslem demand for Pakistan."

At a Press Conference in New Delhi, a number of points about the strength of Moslems not belonging to the Moslem League were elucidated by Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Premier of Sind and President, Azad Moslem Conference, Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari, Secretary of the Conference and Mr. Mohammed Zahiruddin, President, All-India Muslim Conference. On the issue of Pakistan, the Sind Premier said: "No one among the Moslems is opposed to independence, but large numbers of them are certainly opposed to Pakistan."

The joint position as well as the food situation in Bengal were discussed at a meeting, in Calcutta, of the Working Committee of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. Mehrchand Khanna and Raja Maheswar Dayal issued a statement in New Delhi, saying on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee: "The definite movement that the Hindu Mahasabha demand has received from various political parties emboldens us again to call upon the British Government to take the initiative without any further delay."

The Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industry in a statement in New Delhi, on the political situation, expressed grave concern and anxiety at the situation as it developed after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal addressed a joint session of the Provincial Legislature at the Assembly House, Calcutta. His Excellency in his speech said: "The Legislature has been convened for this short session mainly to enable honourable members to consider the present situation in the Province and the measures which have been taken by Government for its security and well-being."

The Government of Bombay notified the raising of a loan of Rs. 3,50,00,000 at three per cent maturing on September 18, 1955. The object of the loan was to repay a part of the loans taken from the Central Government.

The Central Assembly began its session in New Delhi, with Sir Abdul Rabim, President, in the chair. A vigorous denunciation of the Government of India's policy in the matter of the development of India's geological resources was made by Mr. K. C. Neogy on a motion made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for election to the Advisory Committee attached to the Utilization Branch of Geological Survey of India.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement from Madras, in which he said: "It is a matter for regret that Sir Stafford Cripps has again made the allegation that Mahatma Gandhi intervened and made the Working Committee break off from negotiation. While the latter had been agreeable to a settlement, Gandhi is in prison and cannot again contradict this baseless story that will go into Hansard. I was present from beginning to end during these talks, and I can say authoritatively that Mahatma who was absent from Delhi during the latter stages, was not responsible for anything that took place."

In the Central Assembly Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, moving the official motion on the situation in the country, declared: "On the basis of all the informations at present available we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events." A Conference of Indian-owned newspapers, which suspended publication following the imposition of certain restrictive order by the Provincial Government consequent on the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders, was held in Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. Ramnath Goenka, Editor of the *Indian Express*. About 50 representatives of suspended newspapers attended the Conference.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, the Premier made a statement on the political situation in the province. In the Bengal Legislative Council, three attempts were made on behalf of the Muslim League Party to have the House adjourned. All the adjournment motions were, however, disallowed by the President.

Mr. Vernon Bartlett, M. P., speaking in London, at a meeting of the Commonwealth Movement said that the new movement proposed the reopening of the negotiations with the Indian Congress for military reasons.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan accompanied by Mr. Arbab Abdur Rahman, M. L. A., and Khan Amir Mohd. Khan, M. L. A., left for Abbottabad. Khan Aliqul Khan, President of the R. P. C. C. also proceeded to Abbottabad from Peshawar. Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, Vice-President of the Harijan Sevak Sangha and three other lady Congress workers were arrested at Lahore, under the Defence of India Rules.

Raja Maheswar Dayal, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, at a Press Conference at Lucknow, said: "The essence of the demand of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha is firstly, the grant to India of the status of an independent country now, with necessary adjustments during the war for the defence of India and not after the war, and secondly, initiation of negotiation by the British Government with the principal political parties in India for the immediate formation of an Indian National Government."

16th. His Excellency the Viceroy refused the Hindu Mahasabha Committee's application that they might be allowed to discuss the political situation with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders in detention.

The Orissa Ministerial Party at a meeting at Cuttack, presided over by the Maharaja of Parikramedi (Premier), unanimously passed a resolution supporting the efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha to bring about a solution of the political deadlock in India.

The Central Assembly resumed the discussion on the political situation. The speakers were Mr. N. M. Joshi, Manilana Zafar Ali, Mr. N. M. Dumasia, Mr. C. P. Lawson, Mr. Frank Anthony and Mr. Jananadas Mehta. Mr. Joshi and Sardar Sant Singh pleaded for the setting up of a National Government, while Mr. Lawson (European group) gave reasons which in his view stood in the way of forming such a Government.

17th. In the Central Legislative Assembly, discussions on the political situation were resumed.—Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, who opened the debate, declared that the Congress and the Muslim League did not differ on the main issue of independence and National Government. The difference was in regard to the composition of the National Government; the Muslim League demanded equal partnership and the right of self-determination, while the Congress demanded majority rule.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the whole of its sitting to the first reading of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, 1941.

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The Bengal Legislative Assembly devoted the whole of its sitting to the first reading of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, 1941.

The opposition moved two amendments, one for the circulation of the Bill for eliciting public opinion and the other for referring it to a Select Committee.—Both the amendments were lost by large majorities.

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, made a statement giving a short resume of the events that had taken place in the administration of the province since the Council last met for the Budget discussion.

Lala Hari Ram Seth, member of the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, issued a statement from Lucknow, which said: "From press reports it appears that the Government has refused permission to the Mahasabha sub-committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders to discuss the political situation in the country. This is most unfortunate."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, informed the House that a representation was made to the Central Government by him and his colleagues to reconsider their decision regarding representation were also made to the Central Government on his and his colleagues' behalf to get Mr. Bose repatriated to Bengal or to some other healthy station near Bengal suited to him and also to his family and to secure for his family an adequate allowance.

Syed Sakhat Hossain, Convener, Lucknow Azad Muslim Board, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow said: "Mr. Churchill's statement on India has caused general disappointment throughout India. Mr. Churchill says as the demand for the transfer of power from British hands is concerned, Progressive sections in Britain and America are also agitating for India's right to independence as a part of the United Nations' war efforts.

In the Central Legislative Assembly, three members of the Government and four party spokesmen took part during the final stages of the debate on the political situation. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member declared: "I have never regretted the decision which, I along with all my colleagues, took on August 8, because, placed as we were, we had to choose between complete abdication of our responsibilities as a Government and surrender to the challenge thrown out to us. And now, after all that has happened, we feel convinced that our decision was right."

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the necessity of controlling the prices of foodstuffs and other essential commodities was stressed.

Mr. Arthur Moore, in a statement in Calcutta, said: "Throughout the Allied world there is a passionate desire that internal strife in India shall cease, the quarrel with Britain be ended and the energy of the country directed against the common enemies of India and China—the Japanese and Germans. This can be done. . . . All that is required is that the British Government shall say that it is willing to transfer to such a Government, if it can be formed, the same powers as the Canadian and Australian Governments enjoy and shall then invite Mr. Jinnah to form such a Government."

The Bengal Legislative Council adopted a non-official resolution expressing the opinion that the Government of Bengal should take possible steps to secure the release of Sir Sarat Chandra Bose, in detention, in the Trichinopoly Jail.

Sir M. Zafulla Khan, the Indian Agent, lectured on India under the auspices of the Sino-British Cultural Association in Chungking.—He surveyed the Indian situation giving both the Hindu and Muslim views.

19th. At a meeting of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, a resolution was adopted, requesting the Government of India to call "a conference of all the recognised parties with a view to exploring possible avenues of ending the existing political deadlock".—The Maharajahdhiraj of Burdwan presided.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, President of the All India Depressed Classes Association, in a statement on Mr. Churchill's speech, said: "Mr. Churchill has given a photographic survey of the situation in India arising out of the Civil Disobedience Movement, saying nothing more than is true, not less than is necessary. I am not able to see anything in the reported speech which is offensive or in bad taste."

20th. Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, said: "The Sub-Committee of the

Hindu Mahasabha which has been exploring the possibilities of bringing about a rapprochement among the various parties in order to end the deadlock in the country, will continue its task irrespective of the setback it received by the Government of India's refusal to grant the Committee permission to see the Congress leaders in prison."

The two Indian members of the War Cabinet broadcast about the Indian war efforts, from London. The Jam Sahab of Nawangar said that over 50,000 Indians were enlisting each month. Sir Ramswami Mudaliar said that India's factories were working to their maximum capacity. The textile industry not only clothed the Indian troops but supplied much for the Middle East Army and Australia. Ordnance factories had also expanded greatly.

Sir M. Vireswaraya, presiding over the second quarterly meeting of the Central Committee of the All India Manufacturers' Organization in Bombay, stressed the need for constituting a post-war reconstruction board to make adequate preparations for reconstruction work after the war.

The Working Committee of the All India Nationalist League, adopted a resolution in New Delhi, viewing with concern the growing deterioration in the internal situation of the country, particularly since the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7 and 8.

The death occurred at Chandpur of Mr. Hardayal Nag. He was 90 years of age.

21st. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President ruled out of order an adjournment motion tabled by Sardar Sant Singh to discuss the alleged merciless beating "of a businessman of Delhi named S. N. Janhar in the Congress Circle, Delhi, on the 21st September, by the police, who arrested him and who, the motion alleged, also administered a beating to Mr. Janhar's wife and his driver, when they tried to intervene."

The Council of State commenced its autumn session. Sir David Devadas presided. In a manifesto issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India from Bombay, an appeal was made to the Government to give up its repressive policy, to lift the ban on the Congress organizations and open negotiations with the Congress and other parties in India, especially the Muslim League for the establishment of a provincial national Government.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, several members including three former Ministers and the leader of the European party, participated in the general discussion on the statement made on the opening day of the session by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Premier, regarding the political situation in the province.

The Government of India issued instructions to the Regional Controller of Railway Enterprises at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and to the Railway Administration concerned, desiring them to continue to give special attention to the movement of foodstuffs during the month of September.

22nd. In the Council of State a debate on the political situation in the country was initiated by Sir Mahomed Usman, Member for Feroz and Air—Sir Mahomed referred to the serious acts of sabotage, violence and looting and the destruction of Government and private property during the disturbances following upon the passing of A. I. C. C. resolution at Bombay. Sir Mahomed Usman said, "The Government had to take stern measures."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Madras, said: "There is nothing to equal Mr. Moore's recent statements in bringing out the salient features of the present situation, examined from the point of view of politics as well as Allied strategy..... It is the universal feeling in India, and all that has recently happened confirmed it, that at the present moment the British Government at home and the Viceroy in India have decided to take whatever risks are involved in carrying on till the end of the war under an autocratic system without the help of a popular Government."

The Central Legislative Assembly rejected by 41 votes to 19 the adjournment motion moved by Mr. Jambadas to discuss "the anxiety created in the public mind by the unsatisfactory reply given by the Finance Member to the request to give an opportunity to this House for influencing the decision of the Government of India on matters arising out of his recent financial mission to England".

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the alleged grievances of the Muslim community in respect of appointments in the A. R. P. Service were mentioned by Mr. H. S. Subramanyam (Muslim League).

23rd. In the Central Legislative Assembly, the President took up an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Govind Deshmukh to discuss "the move of the Durban City Council to expropriate Indian lands in Durban to be allocated to European or coloured housing schemes to be sanctioned by the Union Government".

"The Assembly devoted the whole of the day's sitting to a further debate on the Muslim League resolution on Khakars moved by Raza Ali and finally passed it without any division. The Council of State continued the discussion on Sir Mahomed Uman's motion to consider the political situation in the country. Rai Bahadur Kamsaran Das, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Moha, Sardar Bahadur Sobhan Singh, Sir K. R. Menon, Mr. Mohammed Hussain, Mr. R. R. Haddow and Saiyad Md. Pashab participated in the discussion. The Bengal Legislative Assembly by 108 to 45 votes rejected the special motion tabled by the Muslim League Party disapproving the "non-application by the Government of the Communal Ratio rules to the appointments made in the various A. R. P. Services and the Fire Fighting Services, resulting in the complete exclusion of Moslems and the Scheduled Castes from those Services". The European party did not take part in the voting. Mr. J. N. Sahn, Convenor of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement to the Press from New Delhi: "Statements have been made by the Home Member in the Central Assembly and by Sir Mahomed Uman in the Council of State calculated to create the impression that an agreement had been reached between the All-India Editors' Conference and the Government. I wish to make it clear that no agreement has hitherto been reached or accepted by the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference or the Central Press Advisory Committee acting in its behalf."

A Conference with his co-workers was held by Khan Abdul Ghafor Khan at Peshawar. Talks which were held at the residence of Mr. Mohammed Yunus, related to the political situation in the country and the Khudai Khidmatgar programme. Several Congressmen, including Mr. Bhanuaram Gandhi, ex-Finance Minister, met him individually and had talks with him.

24th. The Council of State continued the discussion on the political situation. Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands said: "I have listened to the debate with deep concern and a feeling of frustration. No Government can rejoice in these fateful days if it is compelled to maintain law and order, when all its energies should be directed in preparation to meet the perils, which it may be, at any moment, called upon to face." The Central Assembly took up discussion of Mr. K. C. Neogy's resolution recommending the appointment of a Committee of the House to inquire into allegations of "excuses committed by the police and the military" in dealing with the disturbances in the country.—The debate had not concluded when the House was adjourned *sine die*. In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill was the main subject for consideration.—The measure sought to remedy certain defects which came to light in the course of the working of the Bengal Primary Education Act of 1930. Raja Maheswar Dayal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press at Lucknow, said: "I can now confidently assert that there is absolute unanimity in India on the demand for the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of free power here and now to India subject to the necessary adjustments for efficiently fighting the war. Further detailed discussion between the Indian parties can be fruitful only then and I am certain that in that event all the parties will agree to join in the formation of a National Government."

25th. The Council of State passed five official, and one non-official Bill as passed by the Central Legislative Assembly. It also rejected by 20 votes to 11, Mr. Hossain Imam's resolution urging that "for the present agreement for the apportionment of war expenditure between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, a new basis be framed in consultation with the representatives of the parties in the Central Legislature." The official Bills included two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code,

a bill to amend the Rubber Control Act, another bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and the Repealing and Amending Bill. The Bengal Legislative Assembly, by 97 votes to 43, rejected a resolution moved by Mr. A. R. Siddiqi (Muslim League) expressing the view that "the Government have failed in their duty to the cultivators of Bengal by not taking any steps to secure a fair and reasonable price for jute." The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official Bills. One of these, The Advocate's Robes Bill, sponsored by Rai Brojendra Mohan Maitra Bahadur (Progressive Coalition) aimed at achieving uniformity in robes for Advocates of the High Court.

26th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Bombay, expressed the view that the special committee appointed by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in "producing a national demand on some of the most crucial and fundamental issues which cannot but convince everyone that India as a nation demands with a united will and voice a declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognized here and now as an independent nation." Khan Bahadur Allah Bakhsh, Premier of Sind renounced his titles of "Khan Bahadur" and "Q. R. E." as a protest against the British Government's policy. The Sind Premier, when asked whether the renunciation of his titles, "Khan Bahadur" and "Q. R. E." was a direct result of Mr. Churchill's speech, said: "It is the cumulative result of the feeling that the British Government does not want to part with power. Mr. Churchill's speech shattered all hopes." The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a resolution passed in New Delhi, "condemned the disturbances that have taken place in the country particularly when the enemy is knocking at the doors of India."

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, in his presidential speech at the third All-India Akali Conference at Wabeela Kalan in Lyallpur District uttered strong condemnations of acts of violence,—characterising an "armed rebellion" as idiotic with not the slightest chance of success. Master Tara Singh said: "I do not believe in the funny doctrine of non-violence as preached by Mahatma Gandhi, but I am not a fool to ask you to commit the violence of piercing your own heart. I, therefore, advise you in your own interest and in the interest of your country not to be fools to be carried away by momentary enthusiasm".

27th. India's cultural contact with China from the past was recalled by several speakers when a portrait of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore was unveiled at the Dabhangra Library Hall of the Calcutta University and formally presented to China through Dr. C. J. Rao, Consul-General for China, by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore. Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee presided. A resolution calling upon its branches to implement the lead given by the Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and appealing to all political parties in India to support the demand of the Mahasabha for the recognition of India's independent status and for the immediate formation of an interim national Government.

An appeal to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, "to exert the tremendous influence that he wields in solving the present dangerous deadlock", also the urgency for immediate Congress League unity and the formation of a provisional National Government to defend India against foreign aggression was made by a memorandum submitted to him by a large number of local members of the Muslim League (Bombay) and other prominent members of the Muslim League.

The Central Kisan Council, in a resolution in Bombay, demanded the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress leaders and the formation of a provisional National Government to fight the Axis menace. The Council also deplored the prevalence of mob violence and appealed to the Kisans and the people to turn away from the path of sabotage and terrorist and disruptive activities "which lead not to the weakening of the bureaucracy but to the ruin of our own people."

28th. In the Council of State, Mr. C. C. Jones, in reply to Raja Yuvaraja Duttasingh, said that the expenditure on defence and on supply brought to account

in the books of the Military Accountant General was of the order of Rs. 14 crores a day. How much of this would be charged to India and how much for the current year were drawn up. It was not possible to say what portion of the one and half crores mentioned above related to the American and Chinese forces in India. There was no Australian army in India.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, two special motions relating to the incidents in Dacca and Behrampur jails were discussed. The motions were in connexion with the Chief Minister's statement on the political situation in the province.

A resolution adopted by the All India Akali Conference expressed the view that the Congress demand for an immediate declaration of the status of India as an independent sovereign State and the formation of a provisional National Government should be accepted.

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in a letter to the Mahar Recruitment Board, said: "It but the spirit that enlives the militarization movement is the spirit actuated by the motive of defending our motherland and our people from threatened alien aggression, the first duty of every Indian now is to enter the Army, Navy and the Air Force."

Domestic European Association of India, addressing the annual general meeting of the Bombay branch of the Association, emphasised the loyalty and love of the Anglo-Indian Community towards India as their mother country. He affirmed that though the Community would not subscribe to any political stunt or any big hegemony of any particular party, their desire was to see India ruled by a real National Government.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, in reply to a Press representative, said: "If Britain came forward with an irrevocable declaration transferring power here and now to the Indian people, I can say this much that Mahatma Gandhi would call off the Satyagraha Campaign."

29th. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a war commentary in London, said that the problem of India's future was one of difficulty, but it could be solved, and he believed it would be solved. He said that a constitution imposed on India by any one element could not live, but that was precisely the aim which Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who controlled the Congress machine had set before themselves. He added: "It is to enforce that aim that they recently decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage intended, by its paralyzing effect, to bring the Government of India to its knees. That would spell disaster not only for the immediate war effort, but for any great formation for India's future freedom and unity. Defeat of the present attempt to seize control of India in the interests of a party is an essential part of any attempt at a solution. That a solution will be found I have no doubt."

In the *New York Times*, prominent Americans stressed to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek that "they recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and that they use their good offices to ask the British Government and the Indian National Congress and other leaders to open a new Conference with a mutual determination to find a way of action which will most speedily bring India into the ranks of our Allies by beginning now a programme of her independence".

The Council of State rejected by 23 votes to 9, Pandit Kunzru's resolution asking that the restriction imposed on the Press should be modified so as to take a fuller account of the rights of the Press and the public, and that, in particular, pre-censorship of news reports and statements should be abolished except in so far as it might be necessary for military purposes.

In the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Mr. A. K. Razvi, Chief Minister, made the announcement that the Government were going to appoint a Committee, consisting of men who enjoyed public confidence, to make a thorough enquiry into the Dacca jail incident in which several persons lost their lives and a number of others were injured.

Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, endorsed the proposal from Mahatma Gandhi that President Roosevelt should intervene in the British-India dispute.

30th. A meeting was held in New York, under the auspices of the India League of America. The meeting urged President Roosevelt and Marshal

Ching Kai-shek to "recognize the interest of the United Nations in the Indian dilemma and use their good offices to ask the British Government to open up new conferences with a determination to find a way of action which will speedily bring India a programme for her independence".

Mr. Riley (Labour) asked Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons, if in view of the rejection by the leading parties in India of the British Government's proposals the Government was prepared to consider a modification of those proposals with a view to furthering a possible settlement of Indian problem.

Mr. Amery in a written answer said: "The British Government remain most anxious to further a settlement of the Indian problem. In the absence, however, of a sufficient common measure of agreement among Indians themselves, which is the real obstacle of a settlement, they do not consider that any modification of their proposals would contribute to the desired result."

Under the auspices of the Bengali Muslim Samiti, at a public meeting in Calcutta, a resolution urging immediate declaration of independence for India by the British Government, establishment of provincial National Government in the Centre and Provinces, creation of an Indian people's National War Front, was passed. Mr. Humayan Kabir, M. L. A. presided.

The Bengal Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*. The time of the Bengal Legislative Council was mainly taken up with the consideration of the Rural Primary Education (Amendment) Bill (as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly).

At a special general meeting of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, held in Bombay, a resolution was adopted urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and the establishment of a "real representative National Government at the Centre."

October 1942

Mr. Osman Woo, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China observed that Muslims in China had full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though it was to be regretted that at a time when China wanted help to see through the war there should be a conflict between the people and the Government.

Sir Muhammad Zafulla Khan, Agent-General to the Government of India at Chungking, in an interview said that during his stay in China, he tried to the best of his ability to interpret India to China.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expressed the opinion that the British Government had no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India.

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism.

Mr. Allah Bakh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.

Mr. Allah Bakh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi, said: "Under the Constitution, as it stands, the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the Governor, and not merely if he has the confidence of the Legislature".

A unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony

was held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all communities.

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was proposed to complete the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Council, to which the Secretary of State replied that no such change was contemplated.

Mr. M. Rathnaswami, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar at Rawalpindi, paid a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and continuing steadily with the war effort.

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill, replied to the "political agitation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of Government's Indian policy.—He reiterated the British Government's attitude and said that the next move must come from India.

Mr. L. S. Amery denied in a broadcast to America that Sir Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National Government but was overruled from London.

Mr. Amery stated in the House of Commons, regarding the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention of the three European members was not due to race.

His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the addresses of welcome at Quetta, said: "Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the province is making to the prosecution of the war".

Mr. Amery, in reply to a question regarding the Viceroy's refusal to allow Dr. S. P. Mukherjee to see Mahatma Gandhi, said that he was not prepared to ask the Viceroy to permit interviews with the Congress Leader".

Master Tara Singh, the Akali Leader, stated at Amritsar that he was in full sympathy with Mr. C. Rajagopalachari "in his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people".

The Seventh Session of the Orissa Assembly commenced in Cutback.—Swami Bichitrnanda Das made a statement why the Congress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in a statement in New Delhi, said: "To the Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India, it is an article of faith..... Unless fundamentals are agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of the deadlock".

1st. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked as to what representation he had received from influential persons or organizations in India respecting facilities for legitimate communication with Congress prisoners, the whereabouts of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and if Pandit Nehru could receive correspondence.—Mr. Amery replied: "I have received no such representation. Pandit Nehru is permitted to correspond with his family on family matters. I am not prepared to disclose his present whereabouts."

The Bengal Legislative Council resumed further discussion on a motion tabled by the opposition criticizing the statement of the Chief Minister on the political situation in the province. The motion which was introduced by Khan Bahadur Saïyed Muzammiddin Hossain (Moslem League) was to the effect that, in the opinion of the Council, the Chief Ministers' statement so far as it related to the question of the supply of foodstuffs and of the essential commodities was disappointing.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, in a statement on the deadlock in India, declared: "Let the British Parliament act on the moral responsibility that has been so often claimed, and direct the Viceroy to scrap the fear and prejudice and choose men well-known to command the allegiance of vast bodies of men of various communities in India, whether they be in prison or not, and declare that they form his cabinet for governing India during the period of the war."

A number of Muslim members of the Progressive Coalition Party in the Bengal Legislative Assembly formed themselves into a new party to be known as the "Independent Muslim Assembly Party," within the Coalition Party itself.

Mr. L. S. Amery, asked for information regarding machine-gunning of disorderly crowds in India from aircraft and invited to order cessation of such methods, said in the House of Commons: "During the recent disturbances mobs were five times machine-gunned from the air and after an aeroplane crash, which occurred on September 18 in Bihar, in which the pilot was killed and the crew of the aircraft were murdered by a mob, it was found necessary to use aircraft to check sabotage by mobs. The measures taken by the Government of India to restore order in the circumstances, the seriousness of which, I think, still imperfectly appreciated in this country, have my full support. I am not prepared to interfere with the Viceroy's discretion in the matter."

Mr. Chinan Woo, Representative of the Islamic Federation in China, said: "Muslims in China have full sympathy with India's aspiration for independence though they consider it very unfortunate that conflict had arisen between the people and the Government at a time when China wants help to see through the war."

A message from Sir P. C. Roy asking Indians to achieve permanent unity among the different communities was read at a meeting in Calcutta, under the auspices of the Calcutta Muslim Samiti. Sir P. C. Roy said: "We shall be failing in our duty if we do not try to solve the burning problem of the hour—the sinking of communal differences."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca explained on behalf of the Government, the position regarding the supply of foodstuffs and other essential commodities in Bengal.

d. The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met at the Cama Institute, in Bombay, under the presidency of Mr. K. M. Srinivasan, Editor of the "Hindu".

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, replying to a joint address of welcome at Ferozpur, said: "If Muslims demand the right of self-determination it is not wise for any party to hold up the political progress of the whole of India by resisting that demand."

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha with Mr. V. D. Savarkar in the chair held a discussion on the political situation with special reference to the resolution passed by it on August 31.—The General Secretary of the Mahasabha, in a statement, referred to hints in certain quarters suggesting failure of the negotiations and said that such was not the case.

Sir Muhammad Zafarulla Khan, Agent General to the Government of India at Chungking, arrived in Calcutta from Chungking and in an interview said: "During my stay in China, I tried to the best of my ability to interpret India to China. Now that I have returned to India, my stay there though brief might enable me to interpret to some extent China to India. I shall count myself very fortunate indeed if I can make any contribution to that end."

9
The Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference resumed its deliberation in Bombay.—The main resolution before the Committee was one dealing with the difficulties arising from the imposition of the recent

restrictions both by Provincial Governments and the Central Government and demanding their withdrawal, and the withdrawal of pre-censorship envisaged in the last meeting in Delhi.

5th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor of the *Hindu*, presiding over the second session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay declared: "There is no question of our willing submission to any proposal which, in our opinion, is derogatory to the dignity of the profession or in any way prevents us from functioning as responsible newspapers."—A resolution taking "strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press" was passed.—The resolution was moved by Mr. S.-A. Brelvi ("Bombay Chronicle") and seconded by Mr. I. M. Stephens (Calcutta "*Statesman*").

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, at its meeting in New Delhi set up a sub-committee of five to draft its main political resolution. The Committee recorded its warm appreciation of the services rendered by the Working President and other members of the special committee, particularly on their "success in producing a common demand for a National Government." Dr. Syed Abdul Latif, in a statement at Hyderabad, said: "Mr. Amery's Gaxton Hall speech on India's future should serve as an eye-opener to the Muslim League, particularly because Mr. Amery is looked upon by its executive as its friend and guide."

6th. The "*Times*" in a leading article strongly urged the immediate and complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution, expressed the opinion, "that the statement of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the Special Committee to interview Mahatma Gandhi made it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power or of facilitating the National Government in India."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a statement issued to the Press in Calcutta, said: "India's defence today is an integral part of the strategy of the United Nations and the financial responsibility involved in this strategy must rest on Britain and her independent Allies".

The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference concluded its session in Bombay, after adopting the new constitution of the Conference, electing a new standing committee and passing a number of resolutions protesting against the way in which censorship worked and the telegraphic delay in the transmission of press messages and the arrest and detention of working journalists.

The Jam Sahab of Navanagar and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representatives on the war Cabinet, addressed members of the Empire Parliamentary Association at the House of Commons, on "India to-day and to-morrow". The Secretary of State for India and Burma, Mr. Amery presided.

7th. A message from His Majesty the King-Empereur carrying his deep appreciation of the Council's sympathy in the bereavement His Majesty had sustained by the death of His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent was read by the Deputy President (Khan Bahadur Abdul Hamid Chaudhury) at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The Azad Muslims' plan for India's future constitution was disclosed by Premier Allah Bux, President of the Azad Muslim Conference, at a Press Conference in Delhi, as envisaging linguistic provinces with the right of self-determination to the point of secession but "in the context of Indian freedom."

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee made an appeal to President Roosevelt and Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek to intervene and help in the formation of a National Government for India and in the declaration of Indian Independence, in a cable sent to the two leaders of the United Nations.

8th. In the House of Commons, Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, reiterated Britain's pledge of freedom to India. Mr. Amery declared: "There could be no question of the Government of India negotiating with the Congress or allowing others to do so until the Congress abandoned its present policy." Mr. Amery's statement was made on the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill.—The amendment proposed by the Independent Labour Party rejecting the Bill was defeated by 360 to 17 votes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in an interview in Bombay said: "If Britain makes up her mind today she could give a most satisfactory provisional National Government to India without incurring the least risk to defence. In this sense the British Government is responsible for the continuance of the present deadlock. It is unnecessary to examine the question historically, for that is not the present issue."

9th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a telegram to Mr. Churchill, said: "The Hindu Mahasabha succeeded in producing a national demand on fundamental points, namely the immediate recognition by the British Parliament of India as an independent nation, National Coalition Government during war time leaving the Commander-in-chief free in military operational matters as the Allied War Council dictates and all constitutional and controversial details to be decided by a post-war All Party Conference."

Mr. C. R. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for the Dominions, replying to the debate on India, said that though every one wanted a settlement of the Indian problem, one must face it in a spirit of realism. He said: "The British Government stood by the whole of their offer but you could not break up an organization like the Government of India in the middle of a struggle as grave as that of the present war and throw it over to some body else."

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Dewan of Travancore, inaugurating the new Council of the Travancore Corporation, observed: "I wish to assure the Mayor and the Corporation of Travancore and through them the wider public composing the members of the local bodies throughout the State, that as far as possible, even when the Government comes to the conclusion that a particular resolution, financial or otherwise of a local body is not very wise or very expedient in its own interest, Government would not normally interfere."

Prof Tan Yun-Shan, Director of Vissva-Bharati Cheena Bhavana, addressing "the great Ally, the British authorities, in the course of a statement from Santi Niketan, observed: "For everybody's sake and for many reasons you must first declare India independent and free immediately, then form an Indian National Government as soon as possible. This is the aspiration not only of the Indian people, but also of the peoples of the United Nations. Even your own British people, most of them, I dare say, have the same desire too."

10th. Mr. Allah Bakh, Sind Premier, was removed from office by the Governor, Sir Hugh Dow, as he no longer possessed the Governor's confidence.—The Governor invited Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, Home Minister, to form a Cabinet and he accepted His Excellency's invitation. Mr. Allah Bakh, following his removal from the office of Premier of Sind, in an interview at Karachi said: "There is no point in not recognizing under the constitution, as it stands, that the Premier remains the Premier only if he has the confidence of the legislature."

Dr. Bhanu Prasad Mukherjee and members of the Hindu Mahasabha Special Committee, in a statement in New Delhi, said: "There is hardly any prospect of an immediate change in the stubborn attitude taken up by the Government."

The determination of the Chinese people to preserve their national freedom and to defeat the forces of Axis aggression found expression at a public meeting held in Calcutta, to celebrate the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, speaking at a reception given by the East India Association in honour of him and the Jam Sahib of Nawannagar, the two Indian representatives on the War Cabinet said: "I want India to know that no secrets are kept from us at the War Cabinet."

Sir Feroz Khan Noon, Defence Member, in a public speech at Peshawar, said: "I have no doubt in my mind that complete self-Government is ours for the asking. I know that the offer made through Sir Stafford Cripps by His Majesty's Government was genuine. I assure you that after my five years' stay in England I know of nobody there including members of Parliam-

11th. H. E. H. the Nizam, in an appeal for Hindu-Muslim unity, which was issued unofficially, said: "This is a fit occasion for all people of different creeds and communities who have been living together in amity and peace, in the State for centuries, to establish world-wide reputation for toleration, mutual love, to bury differences and stand together once more and present a united front for the defence of their country, and thus ensure an even brighter future." Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All-India Muslim League, issued a message from New Delhi to the Muslims on the occasion of the Ramzan Id: "I wish Muslims a happy and prosperous Id, Ramzan and Idul-Fitar, as all other Muslim festivals are the Universal festival of Islam. 'Idul-Fitar' is a symbol of unity and brotherhood—divine and economic. Let us on this great and auspicious day take a solemn vow for establishing our rightful place in the present, and also in the future order of the world, according to the light of our Islamic heritage." Sir Feroz Khan Noon, addressing the staff and students of Islamia College, Feshawar, made an appeal to the Muslims of the Frontier Province to unite politically with the Muslims of the rest of India.

12th. H. H. the Maharaja of Nawabagar, in an interview with Mr. George Stocombe, in London suggested the creation of a completely Indianised and fully Executive Viceroy's Council, with Whitehall not interfering in home and financial affairs.

An unique function in furtherance of inter-communal harmony was held in Lahore when the Id was jointly celebrated by all communities. The function, which was organised by the Muslim Club, was attended by the Governor, the Ministers, the District Commander and prominent members of all communities. A feature of the gathering was the presence of a large number of servicemen.

13th. The House of Commons passed through the Committee Stage and gave the third reading to the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. The Bill was then sent to the House of Lords.

Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, in an open letter to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, said: "For the Hindu Mahasabha to align itself with the Congress in regard to the Communal Award and the Poona Pact would be a betrayal of India."

Mr. Bertrand Russell, in a radio debate in New York, advocated the setting up of a four-man Commission representing respectively the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China to negotiate with the various Indian parties for a settlement of the Indian problem.

14th. A communique from Government House, (Karachi) said: "His Excellency the Governor this morning accepted the resignations of Mr. Nicholas Vazirani, Rao Sahib Gokuldas Newaldas, Pir Jilali Bux Nazali and Mr. Abbas Sattar Pirzada from his Council of Ministers. Later, Pir Jilali Bux was sworn in as a member of the Cabinet of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, whom His Excellency entrusted with the task of forming a Ministry.

The Dussabha session of the Representative Assembly (Mysore) commenced at the Jagannathan Palace, with Pradhana Shri Y. N. Madhava Rao, Dewan President, in the chair: The Congress Party was conspicuous by its absence with the exception of two members.

15th. Mr. L. S. Amery, replying to a question in the House of Commons regarding the displacement of the Moslem Premier of Sindh, Mr. Allah Bakh recalled the Communique issued by the Governor of Sind on October 10. Mr. Amery added: "I had of course, been consulted on the situation created by the Premier's publication made in September of his letter to the Viceroy and had agreed as to the impropriety, in the light of it, of his continuing in office, but the final decision to dismiss him was taken by the Governor only after a personal discussion which, owing to the Premier's absence from Sind, could not take place until October 10."

Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons if it was proposed to complete the Indianization of the Viceroy's Executive Council by the appointment of Indians to the three portfolios still held by Englishmen.

Mr. Amery: "No such change is at present contemplated."

The India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, which was passed by the House of Commons was introduced in the House of Lords and given its final first reading.

Speaking at a joint meeting of the East India Association and the Royal Empire Society in London, Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stressed the need for a much greater study of the Eastern Languages, particularly those of India. Whether from the trade point of view or the more important aspect, namely, international understanding, a study of these languages was important, Mr. Amery added: "I hope that after this war, we shall think of these matters in a different spirit from that of the rather materialistic 19th century." A Gazette notification was issued at Karachi, stating: "The Governor, having found it necessary to do so, has terminated with effect from the forenoon of October 10, the tenure of office of members of the Council of Ministers headed by Mr. Allah Bakh."

16th. It was officially stated that the Government of India decided to continue giving special attention to movements of foodstuffs, sugar and salt for internal consumption during the month of October, as was done during the month of September.

In the Representative Assembly, Mysore, eleven official bills were passed. Of these, four related to disqualifications of legal practitioners whose Sannads were suspended or dismissed by the High Court, from being members of the District Boards, City, Minor and Town Municipalities.

17th. Mr. M. Rukhnaswamy, C. I. E. was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Annamalai University.

The Mysore Representative Assembly passed the Mysore Prisons Bill, after a full dress debate.—The Dewan-President presided.

18th. Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzherbert, Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy, addressing a Press Conference in Madras, said: "I am glad to be able to say that our losses in ships are being more than met by new construction in America and the United Kingdom. We are on the right side." He expressed the hope that India would one day have a navy sufficiently strong to defend her vast coast line.

Sir Jawala Prasad Srivastava, Civil Defence member of the Viceroy's Council, at a Press Conference at Cuttack, said: "My own view is that there is no danger of a Japanese invasion, but bombing is quite easy. They may do it to paralyse production and imperil the morale of the people."

19th. Khan Bahadur Khuroo and Mr. M. A. Guddar, League nominees, were sworn in as Ministers in Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry (Sind).—Twenty-nine out of the total strength of 34 Muslim members of the Assembly joined Sir Ghulam Hussain.

His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a Durbar in Rawalpindi, paid a tribute to the Punjab for maintaining peace and order and continuing steadily with the war effort. His Excellency said that, by their steadfastness and commonsense, Punjabs were helping to bring nearer victory and the day that India would enter her promised day.—His Excellency said: "In every battlefield where forces are fighting Punjabs have won laurels, and foremost among them are the martial classes of Rawalpindi".

Mr. B. G. Horniman in an address to the Progressive Group in Bombay made an appeal to all educated people in the country to stand by the Press in its efforts to secure and maintain the freedom of the Press.

Press Censorship in India was the subject of discussion at a meeting of the Council of the Empire Press Union under the presidency of Col. J. J. Astor, in London.—The Council considered a communication from Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, stating that it was not practicable to inform the senders of press cables from Britain on every occasion when messages were cut and suppressed in India by the Government of India.

Sir Robert Reid, China Relation Officer of the Government of India, was received by Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek at Chungking.

20th. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah, in an interview at Karachi said that he had not signed the Muslim League pledge and had not agreed to any conditions. He declared: "I am an Indian first and a Muslim afterwards." A Press Note issued by the Director of Information, Bombay, stated: "The most important work done by the Bombay Provincial Board of Primary Education in 1941-42, according to the annual report, was a detailed scheme submitted to the Government, for the introduction of compulsory elementary education in the Province."

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Devonshire, the Under Secretary of State for India, opening the debate on the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill, which was given a second reading, replied to the "political agitation and exhortation from outside India" on the subject of Government's Indian policy. He reiterated the British Government's attitude and said that the next move must come from India.

21st. Mr. Bertrand Russell, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* from New York, pointed out the excitement existing in wide circles in the United States in regard to the Indian problem and reiterated his suggestion—a four-man Commission representing Britain, United States, China and Russia, to negotiate with Indian leaders.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in the course of a talk to Press representatives at Delhi, urged the British Government to establish a provisional national Government in India immediately. He outlined a fresh scheme for the formation of such a Government and expressed the opinion that neither the Congress nor the Moslem League would reject an offer based on his scheme. He would put forward his scheme in reply to the Duke of Devonshire's statement in the House of Lords that no specific proposals had been advanced.

Mr. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his Vijaya Dasami Day message to the Hindus said: "A glorious future awaits you. Only betray not yourselves."

Sir Edward Benthall, War Transport Member, in an interview in Calcutta, made a suggestion to spread all civil demands for the movement of main export crops, such as jute and tea, over a longer period than usual and not enable the authorities to meet all requirements in due course.

Mr. Laiji Mahotra (an ex-Mayor of Karachi and President of the Karachi Indian Merchants' Association), Seth Hardas Laiji (Secretary of the Karachi Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber) and Seth Sukdev (Member of the Karachi Cotton Association and ex-Member of the Karachi Port Trust) were arrested under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules.

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, denied in a broadcast to America, the allegation that Sir Stafford Cripps had offered India an immediate National Government, but was overruled from London.

22nd. Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah's Coalition Ministry was completed in Sind, with the appointment of two Hindus, namely, Dr. Hemandas Wadhvani and Rai Sahab Gokaldas Mewaldas.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, addressing a public meeting at Peshawar declared: "The Congress has no wish or desire to help or assist Japan and Germany. On the other hand, we want to fight them. For three years we scrupulously avoided embarrassing the British, but the experience of this war has shown that it is only the people of a land who can effectively resist modern aggressors. We, therefore, want that the defence of our country should be given to the charge of the people of India".

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, said in the House of Commons, regarding the Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council that the retention of the three European members was not due to race. The Viceroy had been concerned to secure efficiency and continuity and was satisfied that the existing Council contained those best qualified to fulfil their respective offices. No particular appointment was held on account of race. Mr. Edgar Granville asked in the House of Commons, if the Government would consider the setting up an Allied War Council in India, inviting representatives of the United States, Russia and China to serve with those of Britain and China to secure full strategic co-operation, under an unified command of General Wavell, of those powers concerned in India's defence.—The Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Clement Attlee replied in the negative.

His Excellency the Viceroy, concluding his reply to the addresses of welcome presented to him by the Shahi Jirga and the Municipal Committee at Quetta, said: "My time in India is drawing to an end—in a few months now, I hand over to my successor. Let me say how great a pleasure it has been to me before the close of my Viceroyalty to have been able to visit Baluchistan, to see for myself the progress of reconstruction here, and the invaluable contribution that the Province is making to the prosecution of the war".

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25th. His Excellency the Governor of the Bharatpur State has been known as the "Brijaya Prithvi" in the Bharatpur State. His Excellency the Governor of the Bharatpur State has been known as the "Brijaya Prithvi" in the Bharatpur State.

for Land Revenue Department. I hope the petty grievances and the petty anxieties are encouraging. The British Government hopes more reactions to my proposal trap of controversy over interests. This is just what they are called upon to say anything. promulgated an Ordinance which it appeared that inhabitants should beware. Khamir

26th. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari issued a statement.

area were concerned in offences prejudicially affecting the defence of the State, public safety or the efficiency of the prosecution of the war.

Sir G. H. Hidayatullah and the other Muslim Ministers in the Sind Cabinet, gave the Hindu Ministers a solemn assurance that they would not do anything affecting minority interests without consultation with their Hindu colleagues.

Sir Jogendra Singh, Member, Education, Health and Lands, addressing the eighth annual Marketing-Officers' Conference in New Delhi, said that it was generally hunger of the body and the mind which changed ones will to live at peace into will to war. Short stomachs made short devotion. By increasing production and securing even distribution of their products, they served their soldiers, sailors and airmen; who were giving away their lives in far-flung battle fields. It was they who gave them sheltered security. "They were truly the maker of the New India; they claimed no sectional or communal privileges. They only knew how to do and die."

Under the auspices of the Bengal Muslim students' Anti-Fascist Conference, an All-Bengal Muslim League Students' Anti-Fascist Conference was held at Faridpur. Mr. Tamsuddin Khan, former Bengal Minister, opened the Conference. Mr. Abdus Salam, Chairman of the Reception Committee exhorted Bengal Muslim students to present a united front against the menace of Japanese attack on their province.

27th. Sir Robert Reid, China Relations officer of the Government of India, in an interview in Calcutta, paid a tribute to the excellent morale of the Chinese people. Sir Robert described his experiences and the conditions he found in China's war-time capital.

Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra, President of the Bengal Legislative Council died at his residence in Ballygunge, Calcutta.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in Peshawar for attempting to enter Mardan District in defiance of an order prohibiting him from doing so.

The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (Canada) urged the Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King to take steps through the United Nations to reopen negotiations for "Self-Government for India now as well as after the war".

28th. Mr. Churchill replied to Mr. Savarkar's message urging the acceptance of India's national demand as expressed in the resolution of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Working Committee. The reply, which was communicated through the Viceroy, expressed Mr. Churchill's appreciation of the Hindu Mahasabha's endeavours to promote unity among the various elements in India.

The eighth annual conference of marketing officers, which concluded its session in New Delhi, made a number of recommendations regarding the control and distribution of foodstuffs. It recommended the setting up of a representative control body with power to make recommendation to the provinces which could arrange priority for the transport of foodstuffs from one area to another. A unified organization for the purchase of civil and military requirements was also suggested in a resolution.

Master Tara Singh, the Akali leader, commenting on Mr. Rajagopalachari's plan for ending the Indian deadlock, said, in a statement to the Press at Amritsar: I am in full sympathy with Mr. Rajagopalachari for his whole-hearted and earnest efforts to effect a settlement between the Government and the people. We have an opportunity which we cannot afford to lose. Now is the time to get united and attain independence. I feel we cannot solve the communal problem without the help of the British nor can the British ignore our support in this total war. Mutual agreement is the best thing for every body."

The seventh session of the Orissa Assembly commenced. Only three Congress members out of a total strength of 29 attended, namely, Swami Bichitranda Das, Deputy Leader, Mr. Jagannath Mishra, Secretary of the Party and Srimati Sarala Devi.—Mr. Das made a statement why the Congress members could not participate in the session.

Mr. Wendell Willkie in the course of a broadcast to the American people, declared: "India is our problem. If Japan should conquer that vast sub-continent, we will be the losers. In the same sense, the Philippines is the British problem. If we fail to deliver by force of arms the independence we have promised the Filipinos, the whole Pacific world will be the loser."

Mr. Wilkie's reference to India in his broadcast was the subject of a number of questions: Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, was asked at a Press Conference in Washington. Mr. Hull said that the United States Government was, of course, interested in the Indian situation which it was closely observing and watching for opportunities to give full attention feasible under the circumstances.

29th. The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha at its meeting in Calcutta, reached a decision to start work immediately in Midnapore for the relief of distress.

A new plea to President Roosevelt "to attempt to bring about conciliation between British and Indians was made by a new National organization called "The American Round-Table" which was headed by Mr. Guy Emery Shipley, Editor of the leading Protestant publication *'Churchman'*.
 Bertrand Russell and his wife, writing to the *Manchester Guardian*, said that they doubted whether the English people sufficiently realised the excitement in the United States over the Indian deadlock. They declared that something should be done to reassure not only India but the United States and other Allies of Britain.

Sir M. Azizul Haque, Indian High Commissioner in London, in a speech to the East India Association said that he looked forward to the time when Indians would be most valued partners, workers and collaborators in the British Commonwealth.

30th. At a Press Conference in New Delhi, Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, explained the Labour policy of the Government of India. He said that, besides undertaking direct responsibility for labour welfare and providing facilities for training a great number of technicians, the Government of India were introducing certain new beneficial principles. This included compulsory arbitration between employees and labour and enforcement of their wages and conditions of service.

Mr. K. M. Munshi, ex-Home Minister, Bombay, in a press statement, declared: "Japan can be fought by Britain only with India as an interested partner and not as an unwilling serf."

A number of influential Muslims of "Tellicherry sent a signed memorandum to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, appealing to him to solve the political deadlock in the country.

With reference to Mr. Vernon Bartlett's scheme suggesting complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said: "We should discover effective means to make the war an Indian people's war, and for this something more positive is required than the mere principle of no taxation without representation, or the trusting of a few respectable Indians. What Mr. Bartlett wants guaranteed is India's full co-operation against the common enemy. This can and must be achieved by trusting the people rather than by an elaborate mechanism of distrust."

31st. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League in a statement to the Press in New Delhi, said: "The All-India Muslim League has made its position abundantly clear more than once. The position to-day, however, is that the Congress or Hindu India, Pakistan is an anathema. To Muslim India it is an article of faith, and it concedes equal freedom and independence to Hindu India, where the Hindus are in a majority, and unless fundamentals are agreed upon, details cannot be tackled and there could be no settlement or dissolution of the deadlock."

November 1942

A Gazette Extraordinary issued from New Delhi announced "the cancellation of the Home Department Notification of August, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three news agencies or a registered correspondent."

The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked re. the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replied that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions.

In connexion with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly, re : Khaksar movement, Allama Mashriq, the Khaksar leader, in a press statement, said *inter alia* : "For duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols." Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization.

Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with Chinese Educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a provisional Central Government.

The Azad Muslim Board congratulated its President, Mr. Allah Bux for renunciation of his titles. A notification in the Orissa Gazette Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, at a press conference, said, "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me to see Gandhi!" Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim students' Conference, at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalman to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government to which real power should be transferred.

In the Assam Assembly, Maulavi Abdul Rahaman asked a number of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities. Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery, in the House of Commons, if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India. Mr. Amery, in a written reply said, *inter alia* : "The Government see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country.....The Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days."

The Hon'ble Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee tendered his resignation of office as a Minister of the Government of Bengal. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, in a statement, said : "That Ministers while possessing great responsibilities for which they are answerable to the people and the legislature, have very little powers, especially in matters concerning the rights and liberties of the people."

The Rural Primary Education Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was passed by the Legislative Council.

Sir C. V. Raman, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University, said: "The true wealth of a nation does not consist in the stored up gold in its coffers and the banks.... but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

1st. Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member, Government of India, issued a statement on the question of the solution of India's political deadlock. Dr. Ambedkar deprecated the tendency on the part of certain politicians to appeal to statesmen from outside to intervene to solve the constitutional impasse. He said he preferred Indians making their own settlement which was their own responsibility. Dr. G. S. Arundale, in a interview on Mr. Rajagopalachari's scheme for solving the political deadlock, said: "So long as there exists the separate nation theory in Muslim League circles there can be little prospect of forming a National Government."

Sir G. Husein Hidayatullah, Premier of Sind, gave an assurance that fair treatment would be meted out to all parties in the province. A "Gazette" Extraordinary, issued from New Delhi, announced "the cancellation of the Home Department notification of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news of the present disturbances except news derived from official sources, three new agencies, or a registered correspondent. This notification applied to printers, publishers and editors in Bombay, Bengal, the Punjab, Central Provinces, the United Provinces and Orissa. In other provinces and centrally administered areas the notification has already been cancelled."

2nd. A Bengal Government Press note, issued in connexion with the havoc caused by the cyclone which swept several parts of the province on October 16, said: "A heavy cyclone from the Bay passed over several districts of Bengal, on October 16. It began about 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning on the 16th, and spent itself in the early hours of the morning of the 17th."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, when he spoke at a public meeting in Madras, announced—"The Muslim demand will not be prejudiced by what I have suggested—the formation of a provisional Government. I, together with Mr. Jinnah, desire that the British Government should agree to his right of self-determination".

"The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly strongly advised the Government to bring forward only such business as they thought was necessary to carry on the administration and avoid introducing controversial measures beyond the preliminary stage. The observation was made on a point of order raised by the Raja of Khabalkote, who wanted that the "House should refuse to transact any business until it become more representative".

Mr. S. D. Upadhyaya, the Private Secretary of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was arrested in Allahabad, for detention under Sec. 129 of the Defence of India Rules. Bhai Parmansund, Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement to the Press in Lahore, said, "I should like to advise the Hindus to beware of Mr. Rajagopalachari's move".

Raja Maheswar Dalal Seth, General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in a press statement in Lucknow, said: "The special committee of the Hindu Mahasabha has succeeded in proving a surprising unity behind the demand for the establishment of a National Government. Let the British Government announce its intention to accept this demand on its own condition that all political parties agree to join in the formation of such a national and composite Government and I have no doubt, whatsoever, that they will all join in doing so".

"The Education Code in Bihar was amended with a view to preventing students and teachers from taking part in politics, in the interest of discipline and study. The Allahabad University Union was dissolved by the University authorities following certain activities by the Union which "seek to destroy all academic life".

A Conference of all newspaper editors of Calcutta and Howrah was held at "Statesman" House, Calcutta. A resolution was adopted re: the Cyclone havoc in Bengal:—"This meeting of the editors of Bengal expresses heartfelt sympathy for the sufferers in the recent cyclone, and appoints a sub-committee

for collection of funds for the relief of sufferers and expect whole-hearted co-operation from the press and public".

In a manifesto issued by the Communist Party of India in connexion with the "National Unity Week," an appeal was made to the people of India to rally all their forces to fight the Fascist menace.

In the Punjab Assembly, a series of questions were asked about the arrests and detention of Congress leaders in the Punjab, but the Government declined to give any information on the floor of the House. The Premier, however, assured the members that information on the subject could be supplied privately for their personal benefit.

The Punjab Assembly passed the Press and Registration of Books (Punjab Amendment) Bill and the General Sales Tax (Second Amendment) Bill. Sir Jogendra Singh, speaking at the I. C. S. Probationers' Camp (Dehra Dun), referred to the reputation of the Service, which had spread all over the world and said: "The secret of its success has been that its members, in no sense supermen, have set up a standard of integrity and devotion to duty which has been rarely surpassed."

A joint meeting of the Managing Committees of the Karachi Indo-Merchants' Association and the Buyers' and Shippers' Chamber, at Karachi, adopted a resolution, urging the Government of India, the British Government and the United Nations to take the initiative in bringing about a speedy solution of the political deadlock by releasing Mahatma Gandhi and other national leaders and by establishing a truly National Government.

In the Orissa Legislative Assembly, replying to a question, Pandit Godavaris Misra said that more than one newspaper were getting subsidy from the Government, but the Government were not prepared to disclose the names of papers or the amount given as subsidy.

The Orissa University Bill was taken up by the Assembly on Mr. Godavaris Misra's motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

General Smuts received the two Indian members of the British war Cabinet and the Pacific Council, the Jam Sahab of Nawangar, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, Member of the Viceroy's Council. General Smuts received first hand information from them of the political and general situation in India.

4th. Under the auspices of the Young Men's Crescent Society, Triplicane, a public meeting was held to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of Akbar the great. Sir Alladi Krishna Swami Aiyar presided. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and others addressed the gathering.

Mr. W. A. Burne, Deputy Chairman of the Calcutta Port Trust, was selected to represent India on the Anglo-American Technical Mission.

In the Punjab Assembly, the Government were asked what opinion they had communicated to the Government of India on the removal of the ban on the Khaksar movement. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, replying, said that although details of the correspondence between the provincial Government and the Government of India could not be divulged, it was known that the Punjab Government had no objection to the removal of the ban, provided the leaders of the Khaksar movement agreed to certain conditions, viz. that for the duration of the war members of the movement would not practise drill, would not wear uniform and would conform to all the restriction that apply to volunteer organization in the province.

The Bengal Legislative Council had a brief sitting when after a reference to the death of Rai Bahadur Monmatha Nath Bose, Deputy Leader of the Progressive Party, the Council adjourned as a mark of respect to his memory. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member, in an interview in London, said: "There is a very great necessity at the moment for establishing a National Unity Front, the object of which should be to impress upon the leaders of the different elements of national life the need for sinking all differences".

5th. In the Bengal Legislative Council, discussion on the (Rural) Primary Education (Amendment) Bill, as passed by the Bengal Legislative Assembly, was resumed. The Bill sought to remedy the defects found in the working of the Primary Education Act of 1942, by providing representation of women in the Central Primary Education Committee and of other local and special interests. At a meeting of the directors of the Provincial National War Front, in Bombay, reference to India's defence position was made by Mr. Hoesainbhoy Laiji.

Khan Bahadur Mr. A. Khuroo and Mr. M. H. Guzdar, Sind Ministers, addressing a Press Conference in Lahore, expressed the view that Mr. Jinnah was satisfied with the explanations submitted to him regarding the circumstances in which the Muslim League had accepted office in Sind.

6th. His Excellency the Viceroy telegraphed to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, conveying his deepest sympathy to the cyclone-stricken people in Midnapore and 24 Parganas Districts.

H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore held the Birthday Durbar at Trivandrum. The Bengal Legislative Council considered non-official resolutions.—A resolution on the subject of development of industries in the province was moved by Khan Bahadur S. M. Hosain, Leader of the Opposition.

7th. In connection with the Punjab Premier's statement in the Punjab Assembly regarding the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar movement, Allama Mashruqi, the Khaksar leader in a Press statement, said: "The Punjab Premier stated in the Assembly that the Punjab Government would remove the ban on the Khaksar movement, provided a clear and unambiguous pronouncement was made by me that for the duration of the war social service by the Khaksars would be performed in their individual capacity, and that there would be no drills, no carrying of implements, no wearing of uniforms or badges or symbols. As this is the first definite utterance of the Premier regarding the Khaksar movement in the Punjab, I make the pronouncement in clear and unambiguous terms that the above programme will be adhered to for the duration of the war and discrepancies, if any, will be removed within one month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. Social service requiring the presence of more than one Khaksar at one place will be refused after the ban is withdrawn." On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, a public meeting was held in Calcutta. Speeches were made, emphasizing that a Fascist victory would mean the enslavement of different nations of the world for centuries to come and that Indian freedom was dependent on the victory of the Soviet Union.—The meeting was organized by the Bengal Radical Democratic Party.

His Excellency Sir Arthur Hope, Governor of Madras, declaring open the Srichitra Exhibition at Trivandrum, observed: "I do honestly and sincerely believe that we have now reached a turning point. I do not say that we are going to win the war before Christmas or before Easter, or may be not by this time next year, but I do believe that the turning point has been reached." Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, discussed with the Chinese educational authorities various ways of strengthening the cultural contacts between China and India. Among these was the possibility of the exchange of research students between the two countries.

8th. The Muslim League Working Committee passed two resolutions on Sind and collective fines in New Delhi. The Government of Bombay forfeited Rs. 11,395-6-0 belonging to the All-India Congress Committee from Messrs. Bachani Company Ltd., with whom the money was deposited.

9th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a Provisional Central Government. Mr. Jinnah referred at the outset to attempts to misinterpret the League's attitude and to characterize the League as "allies of British imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India." "These efforts are disgraceful," he declared. The Council of the Muslim League ratified without discussion four resolutions of its Working Committee passed in April, August and on the 9th. November, including the Bombay resolution.

The Azad Muslim Board Conference at its meeting in New Delhi passed a resolution, in which it was stated: "This meeting of the Azad Muslim Board congratulates its President, Mr. Allah Bakhsh for renunciation of his titles in protest against the present Indian policy of the British Government and strongly condemns the unconstitutional and unjustified action of Lord Linlithgow, and the Governor of Sind in spite of his enjoyment of the confidence of the majority of the members of the legislature, and notes that this action has further exposed the hollowness of the British contention that autonomy was conferred on the provinces by the Government of India Act of 1935."

10th. In the Punjab Assembly, Sardar Bahadur Ujjal Singh referred to the speech of Mr. Churehill in the House of Commons, in which he stated that the leading Congressmen arrested under the Defence of India Rules were being treated with the highest respect and given every comfort.

The Central Provinces Government in a communique announced its decision in regard to the publication of news by the Press. "The Press will revert to the former procedure, according to which, the Press of its own accord on the advice of the Government, imposed restrictions on itself with the assistance of the Government Press Advisory system."

A notification in the 'Orissa Gazette' Extraordinary prohibited the printing or publishing by newspapers, unless officially announced, (1) any report of interruption of any kind to road and railway communications, (2) any report of acts of sabotage and (3) any report of strikes or interruption of work in factories.

The Speaker of the Orissa Assembly put into effect his ruling given on Nov. 2 advising the Government to avoid introducing controversial Bills. The Azad Muslim Board in a resolution passed in New Delhi, calling upon the people of India to concentrate all their efforts on the consolidation of inter-communal unity and trust, declared that it was the special responsibility of Muslims and their organizations "to expose the hollowiness of the British plea that Indian Muslims do not want independence and a National Government."

In the Bengal Legislative Council, Khan Bahadur Hashemul Khan, Minister, said that the question of filling in the slit trenches in Calcutta, had been considered but it had been rejected.

His Majesty the King, in the course of his speech proroguing Parliament, said: "My Government in the United Kingdom have declared to the Princes and people of India their desire to see India assume full freedom and independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations on the basis of a Constitution framed by Indians themselves immediately after the termination of hostilities. In the meantime, representative Indian political leaders were invited to co-operate fully in the Government of their country and in the prosecution of the war. I regret profoundly that hitherto they have not been willing to accept this offer. I sincerely hope wiser counsels may prevail and that a speedy and successful conclusion of the difficulties may be brought about through a wider measure of agreement between the Indian peoples themselves."

In a tribute to the Indian Army the King said: "It is growing in strength month by month and has displayed its heroic valour upon many fields of battle. We are proud that more than a million men are already voluntarily engaged in our Indian Land, Sea and Air Forces, and we place our full confidence in their courage and fortitude in the days of struggle that lie before them."

11th. The 24th anniversary of the restoration of Poland's independence was commemorated in Calcutta, by the local Polish Community.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal, issued an appeal in connexion with the relief of the cyclone stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Parganas districts.

A deputation elected by the All-India Muslim League Council waited on Mr. M. S. Any, Overseas Member, Government of India, regarding restrictions on Haj pilgrims. Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, was also present at the interview which took place in New Delhi.

In the Bengal Legislative Council, the question of relief measures taken by the Government for the cyclone-stricken people of Midnapore and 24 Parganas districts was raised.

12th. H. E. the Viceroy granted an interview to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in New Delhi. Mr. Rajagopalachari at a Press Conference, said: "The Viceroy has been pleased to refuse me permission to see Gandhiji." He added: "Mr. Jinnah knows that I was going to ask the Viceroy's permission to see Gandhiji. Mr. Jinnah knows the result also. I believe, he is as dissatisfied as myself." His Excellency Sir Henry Clow, Governor of Assam, when he addressed a joint session of the Provincial Legislatures, made a reference to the momentous changes which had taken place during the year, bringing Assam nearer the war.

His Excellency Sir John Herbert, Governor of Bengal returned to Calcutta after making a preliminary tour of the areas affected by the cyclone in

Mildanore. The suggestion that the British Government should get a Royal Proclamation issued or a short Bill passed, conceding independence to India, but postponing its execution till three years after the war, on the analogy of the Irish Home Rule Bill or the Philippine Independence Act, was made in a statement to the Press, signed by prominent Indian Christian leaders in Bombay.

14th. Mr. N. R. Sarker, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University, observed: "The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a customary and penetrating study of our educational problems, a study of which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system."

Mr. A. Jinnah went to Jullundur to preside over the annual session of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation. Thanking the Muslims of Jullundur for organising a royal reception in his honour, he said: "The key to Pakistan is in your hands and if you use it properly, you can achieve your goal. Mr. K. M. Munshi, in a statement on the refusal of the Government of India to accord permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, said: "I expected nothing else from the Viceroy. The British policy at present pursued does not want a settlement with India. In such a settlement they sense a liquidation of the Empire for which they are fighting".

Mr. Frank R. Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian Association, speaking at a dinner at Subbupure, said: "To my fellow-Indians who blame us for our seeming indifference to India and things Indian, I say this: "Not we but the system of education imposed on us and over which we have had no control has been to blame".

Sir A. Ramseswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet sent a message from London to his countrymen in the Far East who were under the domination of the Japanese:—"From what I have seen during these two months in Britain, I am convinced your trials will soon be over and you will be free to join in the great confederation of nations whose only desire is to live in peace and freedom".

The National Defence Council met in New Delhi. His Excellency the Viceroy presided. The Commander-in-Chief of India reviewed the war situation with special reference to the victory in the Egyptian desert and the opening of a second front in North Africa.

15th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, addressing the second session of the All-India Muslim Students' Conference at Jullundur, repeated the Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Mussalman to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government, to which real power should be transferred, provided the British Government made a declaration, and the other parties agreed to it on the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, in an interview in Allahabad said: "I deeply regret that Mr. Rajagopalachari should have been refused permission to go and interview Mr. Gandhi".

16th. The Madras Government, in consultation with the provincial Press Advisory Committee, issued revised Press instructions incorporated in the form of a resolution passed by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference held in October, in Bombay.

In the Assam Assembly, Maulavi Abdur Rahman asked a series of questions regarding the abnormal rise in the price of commodities, and inquired about the steps the Government had taken to counteract it.

A public meeting at Calicut, it was resolved to open a provincial branch of the Hindu Mahasabha for Kerala with district and local branches. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Government of India, in an interview in Bombay, said: "That there was no necessity for forming a National Government in India at the present juncture, that the present political situation in India was the result of mutual distrust between the majority and minority

communities in this country and that it was better to wait for the termination of the war for settling the future of India."

17th. A meeting of the editors of suspended newspapers of Madras was held at the "Indian Express" office to consider the Press communiqué and instructions issued by the Government of Madras.

Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of Development, Punjab, speaking at a meeting in Lahore, held in connexion with the celebrations of Guru Nanak's birthday, said: "Of what use is that freedom which we are told we will get, provided we all agree to the vivisection of India? It is better to remain in slavery than to enjoy the so-called freedom."

In the Assam Legislative Assembly, acting upon the suggestion of the Speaker, Mr. Amjad Ali held over the discussion on the motion for a reference of the Goa Paria Tenancy Amendment Bill to a Select Committee.

Sir K. Nazimuddin in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference at Lyallpur, observed: "The Pakistan non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India."

Mr. Ammon (Labour) asked Mr. Amery in the House of Commons if he would accept Mr. Rajagopalachari's offer to visit England and invite him to London to discuss the political situation in India. Mr. Amery, in a written reply, said: "The Government warmly welcome the endeavours of Mr. Rajagopalachari or of any other leader of Indian opinion to promote an agreed settlement of the Indian problem, but any such agreement must come about in India between the Indian Parties. The Government, therefore, see no advantage in Mr. Rajagopalachari visiting this country. As Mr. Ammon will be aware, the Viceroy has seen Mr. Rajagopalachari during the last few days."

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan at the open session of the Punjab Muslim League announced that the Punjab Government had recommended to the Government of India the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization as Allama Masharqui, the leader of the movement, had declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government.

18th. A Press Note issued from New Delhi, stated: "At its first meeting, held last August, the Central Food Advisory Council considered the increase in the slaughter of cattle resulting from large scale increases in the demand for meat due to the exigencies of the war and recommended that, to prevent permanent damage to the cattle wealth of the country, the slaughter of working bullocks in a good state of health below the age of ten years, cows in milk and pregnant cows should be prohibited." The recommendation was accepted by the Government of India as regards the supply of meat to the defence forces.

The British Home Secretary, Mr. Herbert Morrison, in a broadcast to the United Nations, from London, said that this was still a "people's war" and added, "Britain has offered to the people of India full liberty to make their own constitution for themselves, even if it means complete independence. Whatever destiny they want for their country after the war, they can have, provided only nothing is done during the war to prejudice victory for the United Nations. Can you tell me any other example in history of a ruling power making such an offer on such a scale, with so much at stake, to a subject people? What do you make of it? I make of it one more proof that the British people are looking to the future with exactly the same motives and purposes as brought them into the war."

"The Orissa University Bill was referred to a select committee by the Orissa Legislative Assembly, on the motion of the Education Minister, Pandit Mr. V. D. Sankar, President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, in an interview in Bombay, observed: "There is nothing disappointing or new in the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to Mr. C. Rajagopalachari to see Mahatma Gandhi, but it is inevitable. When Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, who sought permission on behalf of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha and other organizations to see Gandhi was refused permission, it was a foregone conclusion that Rajaji's request would be turned down similarly."

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his full-length speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

Chronicle of Events

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The following communication was issued from Government House, Calcutta, after noon of 20th November, 1947.

"The Hon. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee has tendered his resignation as a member of His Excellency's Council of Ministers, and office as a member of His Excellency's Council of Ministers, and His Excellency has accepted this resignation with effect from the afternoon of 20th November, 1947."

8

A Punjab Gazette Extraordinary announced that the Government of the Punjab prorogued the Punjab Legislative Assembly. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President, All-India Hindu Mahasabha, made an appeal to the public for generous help to the Cyclone stricken people of Bengal. The Sind Provincial Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, at a meeting at Karachi, adopted a resolution viewing with dismay "the action of the Punjab Government, which, despite its popular character, thought fit to pass, that this meeting must characterise as retrograde, orders in the face of the reasonable resolution passed by the A. I. N. E. C. at Bombay." The first supplementary statement of expenditure of the Government of Bihar for 1942-43, authorised by the Governor, showed that the year started with an increased ordinary balance of Rs. 10½ lakhs.

25th. Under the Defence of India Rules the making or publishing in Bengal of any unauthorised newspaper, or any unauthorised news-sheet, as defined in the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) ordinance was prohibited by the Governor of Bengal. The use of any Press for making such documents was also prohibited. Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member of the Government of India, addressing a meeting of Delhi students, said that Mr. Jinnah could not deny non-Muslims of the Punjab the same right of self-determination which he claimed for Muslims. He added that if Mr. Jinnah meant Pakistan seriously he should have it without delay and not block the way of India's progress, but its boundary would be the river Chenab. The Orissa Legislative Assembly was adjourned *sine die*, after disposing of two official Bills.

At a meeting of the Nationalist Muslim students of Lucknow, a resolution deploring the "negative policy" of the Muslim League and appealing to the leaders to take the initiative in ending the political deadlock, was passed. H. W. Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, addressing the Ahmednagar District War Committee, in Bombay, said: "Every army man from Egypt that I have met looks upon the fourth Indian Division as one of the finest fighting units in the whole British Army, and in that famous unit there are Maratha troops." The Maharaja of Kapurthala appealed for unity among Indians. "I feel sure," said His Highness in an appeal, "that my brother Princes will use their great power and influence to secure harmony among the various classes and communities in the country and help to secure in a peaceful manner an honourable position for India among the nations of the world."

26th. A memorandum stating the views of the Bengal Congress (suspended) Assembly party on the situation arising out of the resignation of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, was submitted to Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, Premier, by Mr. Santosh Kumar Bose, Minister for Public Health and Local self-Government, and Mr. Prithviah Nath Bannerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal. Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons if correspondence from private persons in Britain could be sent to the detained Indian leaders, whether those leaders were or would be permitted to communicate with private persons in Britain and whether they would be permitted to make any public declaration.—Mr. Amery replied: "I understand the detained Indian leaders are permitted to correspond only with the members of their families; only on domestic matters. I cannot say if the present restrictions will be relaxed. Whether any public declaration by the leaders could be permitted would presumably depend on its character." Sir C. V. Ramana, delivering the address at the Convocation of the Andras University, said: "The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored up gold in its coffers, not in the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children."

27th. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Faina University, said: "If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory of a single nationhood." Sir Ferze Khan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, addressing the professors and students of the Osmania University in

Hyderabad, (Deccan), stressed the need for loyalty to one's friends, country and Government and sincerity among men. The annual meeting of the Parsi Central Association and the Political League took place in Bombay. Sir Gopalji Jehangir presided. He said *inter alia*: "To make futile but well-advertised attempts at conciliation, which only cause disappointment to the public and tend to widen the breach, are not in the best interest of India." A declaration that the Parsis did not claim any safeguard in any new constitution for India, was made in a statement issued under the signatures of over 600 Parsi citizens of Bombay. The signatories included Mr. D. N. Bahadurji, former Advocate General of Bombay, Dr. M. D. D. Gilder, ex-Minister, Dr. P. C. Bharucha, Mr. P. B. Godrej, Mr. K. K. F. Nariman, and other prominent lawyers, doctors and businessmen.

28th. A Press Note from Calcutta announced a change of policy of the Government of Bengal regarding Press censorship in the Province, in view of the withdrawal of the Government of India's order of August 8, prohibiting the publication of news, relating to the disturbances occurring subsequent to that date and in connexion with the Congress resolution and Government action consequent upon it. In consultation with the Provincial Press Advisory Committee, the Bengal Government decided to accept the recommendation of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference on the matter.

29th. A Communique issued from New Delhi said: "His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Mr. William Patrick Spens, to be the Chief Justice of India in succession to Sir Maurice Gwyer." Sir S. Radha Krishnan, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University, said: "We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high." Mr. Frank Anthony, President-in-Chief of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, addressing the local branch in Allahabad, said: "We are opposed to the vivisection of this great motherland of ours. We want with all true lovers of India, to see India a happy and united nation under a really Nationalist Government where the different minorities are fully recognized and catered for." At the sixth meeting of the Provincial War Committee held at the Government House, Lucknow, presided over by Sir Maurice Hallett, the Governor, resolutions were passed requesting His Excellency the Governor to send a message of congratulation to General Alexander, on his "remarkable achievement" and denouncing the civil disobedience movement and appreciating the effective and timely action taken by the Government to restore peace and tranquillity.

December 1942

Mr. L. S. Amery, Secretary of State for India, was asked in the House of Commons if Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Princes of India. Mr. Amery's answer was in the affirmative. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, presiding over the Standing Committee of the Labour Conference, made a general survey of wartime labour legislation.

Allama Mashruqi, the Khaksar leader, made a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization. Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well-known Hindu Mahasabha leader, died in Calcutta. His Excellency the Viceroy's term of office was extended for a period of 6 months. His Excellency the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers

of Commerce in Calcutta, emphasized the essential geographical unity of Calcutta.

The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce (Calcutta). A resolution was moved which "urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war on the 20th. December.

The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta.

Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, died of heart-failure at Lahore.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, Government of India, said at Allahabad:

"The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengal and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

The Government of India cancelled the ban on the Khaksar organization.

The Punjab, Bombay & U. P. Government lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khaksar organization.

At the session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta, a resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on his 82nd birthday was passed.

1st. The Standing Committee of the Labour Conference concluded its two day session in New Delhi. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar presiding, made a general survey of service in regulated employments.

Replying to Mr. T. S. Raja's representation that members of the Legislative Council detained in prison should be given facilities to attend the session of the Mysore Legislative Council, Mr. D. H. Chaudhreshwar, President of the Council, stated that he had referred the matter to the Government and that he would take further action.

2nd. Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, said: "At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power."

The Maharaja Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the future of India, said that he did not propose to plunge into the deep water of political controversy or speculate immediately about the future. Rather was it his purpose by reviewing the past, to emphasize the consistent attitude of the Privately Order towards constitutional change.

3rd. Mr. Amery was asked in the House of Commons whether the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps had taken full notice of the treaties between the Crown and the Provinces of India, whether these treaties remained valid in their integrity, and whether he would undertake they would not be changed by any constitution-making body without the assent of the parties concerned. Mr. Amery said: "The question no doubt refers to the various treaties, engagements and sanads defining the relations of the Crown and the Rulers of Indian States. The interpretation of the original terms of certain of these engagements has, as is well known, been affected over a long period by usage and suffering, but subject to that qualification, the answer to all the three parts of this question is in the affirmative."

The Jam Sahab of Nawanganar, addressing the East India Association (London) on the "future of India and the Princes," said: "There is no mean for one to tell you what treaties, sanads and engagements mean to the Princes. They are the *sine qua non* of our existence. We regard the rights, privileges and dignities arising out of them as matters of vital concern. We have stated clearly and unequivocally that while as an order we endorse the demands for the Constitutional advance

of India, any scheme to which the States are expected to be party must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, 'Sanads' and engagements or otherwise ensure the future of existence, sovereignty and integrity of the States themselves."

The ex-Premier of Sind, Mr. Allah Bakh, in a press interview at Karachi said: "It may be that in certain situations Pakistan suffer from worse tyrannies than Hindustan of the future, but if it means just an emphatic caveat against the rising tendencies towards centralisation which conceals itself under the name of 'Akhand Hindustan' and other slogans then In the House of Commons in replying to questions, Mr. Amery said that he was still waiting information from the Government of India regarding the number of persons under detention."

4th. A Communique from New Delhi stated: His Majesty the King has been graciously pleased to approve the appointment of Col. Rt. Hon. David John Colville, M. P., to be the Governor of Bombay in succession to Sir Roger Lumley, G.C.B., whose term of office expires on March 17, 1943."

A Committee with Nawab Yar Jung Bahadur as Chairman was set up by the Working Committee of the All-India States Muslim League to consider the position and status of the Indian States in future constitutional changes in India and to submit proposals which may incorporate as basis the policy of the States League."

The Commerce Department, Government of India, was flooded with representation, or protests from commercial firms, printing houses and educational authorities urging reduction in the Government demand in connexion with paper.

5th. Allama Mashruqi, the Khaksar leader, issued a statement in connexion with the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization. He said that he stated on November 5, that discrepancies among Punjab Khaksars concerning the performance of individual social service, daily drills, carrying of implements etc. would be removed by him within a month of the lifting of the ban by the Government. The Punjab Premier, according to a Khaksar who interviewed him on December 1, thought that the period would be 2 months, and this was causing delay in lifting the ban.

6th. The death occurred at his Calcutta residence of Sir Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, former acting Chief-Justice of Bengal and a well known Hindu Mahasabha leader.

Appreciation of the "courageous and patriotic" stand taken by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, in resigning his office as Minister of the Government of Bengal was recorded in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Council of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha.

At a representative gathering of Indians at the Dorchester House Hotel, it was unanimously agreed to start an "Indian Community Club" in London.

7th. The Government of Madras decided to continue the land revenue concessions. The following announcement was made from 10 Downing Street, London. "H. E. the Most Honourable the Marquess of Linlithgow, P. C., K. T., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E. with the approval of the King Emperor, at the special request of H. M's Government, who place on record their high confidence in him, has consented to a further extension of his term as Viceroy and Governor General of India for 6 months, namely until October 1943."

Lord Halifax, in a speech referring to India at Baltimore, said: "I realise that opinion in this country is greatly concerned about India. People sometimes speak as if the whole problem could be simply stated in terms of one people struggling to be free and another people struggling to keep them down. But if that were true, there would be no problem, for the offer brought by Sir Stafford Cripps this summer would have settled it. The offer was rejected. The mission failed. It did not fail because, as has been suggested at some stage in the negotiation, Sir Stafford Cripps was overruled from London. That is a complete fabrication. It failed because the various parties were unable to reach an agreement among themselves. But the offer stands."

8th. Mr. J. C. Setalvad, Chairman, Indian Merchants' Chamber, in an address welcoming Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, the Commerce Member to the Government of India, who visited the Chamber in Bombay, said: "The present

political situation in the country is exercising the minds of the commercial community. My Committee have unreservedly condemned the acts of sabotage and violence which have resulted in loss of life and property. But the continued policy of repression is not going to lead to any satisfactory solution of the present deadlock".

9th. H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore, delivering his address at the 12th Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalainagar, observed: "Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courage and comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligation that are already crowding upon them".

A Press Note issued from Lahore stated: "In accordance with an announcement recently made by the Premier of the Punjab, the Punjab Government have recommended the lifting of the ban on the Khaksar organization on condition that an unreserved undertaking was given on behalf of the organization about the abandonment of military drill, carrying of belhas etc."

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, at a party given in his honour in Bombay, gave an assurance that he was doing everything possible to secure stocks of newspaper and that he had already sent "3 or 4 frantic telegrams to the U. S. A. and Canada to release newspaper".

10th. Mr. Amery, answering a request in the House of Commons for information respecting the disturbances in India, said: "Apart from an attack on a police Station in Bihar there has been no report of mob violence during the last fortnight. Sabotage in minor forms and other symptoms of lawlessness persist in Bengal and Bombay, and one case of derailment with loss of life is reported from Assam".

"The unity of India was discussed when the Adviser to the Secretary for India, Sir Gilbert Wiles, addressed members of the East India Association. Sir Gilbert spoke on the financial relationship between the Central and Provincial Governments in India and said that if the scheme of federation proposed as far back as 1858 had then been accepted the subsequent history of India might of centralization prevailed.

The High Commissioner for India, Sir Azizul Haque, in a broadcast to Indians in Great Britain, said: "Never before was any country so well organised in all aspects of economic, social and national life, as Britain is today. Indians in this country have also toiled and sweated and bled. I have no doubt when this nightmare of war is over these two peoples, who have shared all these things, will work together for the peace of the world. I see among the people of Great Britain a genuine, deep-seated sympathy for India and Indians and a keen desire to place the future of India on a plane of equality in the great Commonwealth".

11th. Mr. William Phillips was appointed President Roosevelt's Personal Representative in India.

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of the Benares University, strongly criticized the totalitarian creed which "produce mass men who are deprived of any kind of inward life and privacy of spirit" in delivering his lecture on "the need of religion today," as "Karmala Lecturer" of the Calcutta University.

Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, Commerce Member, addressing the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce in Bombay made an earnest plea to the business community to condemn and scotch "black-markets" and to look to public interest, while looking to their own interest.

In the proceedings of the Mysore Legislative Council, in a non-official resolution moved by Mr. T. Tare Gowda and amended by M. S. Narayana Rao, recommending to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja to release all political prisoners, either detained or convicted and to grant amnesty to the latter class of persons, so that a proper atmosphere might be created leading to an effective and united stand against foreign aggression, and discussions thereon figured prominently.

12th. The British Indian Association, Calcutta, submitted a representation to the

Government of India on the "grave situation that threatens the province of Bengal in the matter of steep rise in the price of rice and of apprehended famine conditions in Bengal."

The Mysore Legislative Council devoted most of its time to non-official business. Mr. D. H. Chandra Sekharia, President of the Council, was in the chair.

Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of the U. P., addressing a police parade at Cawnpore, declared: "The Police Force of this province has already done extremely well; I will support them as far as I can, but I want the public also to support them and to co-operate with them in defeating the movement, inaugurated by the Congress, which if it were to succeed would be disastrous."

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, in a statement at a Press Conference in Bombay, said: "If we are to tackle the food problem adequately, the sincere co-operation of all the food producing areas is essential; and only if all the provinces regard this problem as an all-India one can it be grappled with success."

13th. A deputation headed by Mr. Hosainbhai Lali, M. L. A. (Central), and representatives of businessmen, industrialists and Labour arrived in New Delhi to wait on the Commerce and Overseas Members in connexion with the East African Import Corporations.

14th. The Standing Committee of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference concluded its sittings at Allahabad.

Addressing a private gathering of prominent citizens of Allahabad, Mr. Rajagopalachari referred to the Non-Party Leaders' Conference and said "something will come out of it I believe. It is not a question of optimism or pessimism but one of determination. You should want something done and not only to know what has been discussed. If something comes out of this conference within 2 months as I believe it will, then you will know that we have been able to do something."

Master Tara Singh, Akali Leader, issued a statement clarifying the demand for an Azad Punjab from Amritsar. "I wish to get rid of the present communal domination established over us, at all costs. The Hindus also feel this communal domination bitterly, but they are so divided that they cannot make up their mind. Many of them, in their anxiety to appear to be Nationalists, cease to take a realistic view of the situation. We favour the readjustment of the boundaries of the Punjab. I wish that in the Punjab proper, no community should dominate over the other. I can certainly promise to consider seriously any other plan which can promise anything better."

Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in reply to a question put to him at an address given by him at Allahabad, said: "Some Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council whom I know personally are very Nationalist in their sentiment. If they are unable to achieve much there must be other reasons for it."

A Press Note from New Delhi, stated that a conference to discuss the food situation in the country was held under the Chairmanship of Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, and was attended by representatives of all provinces and important States.

The reasons for the 'abnormal' rise in the price of rice in Calcutta were being investigated by the Directorate of Civil Supplies, Government of Bengal.

15th. The Committee of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry met in Calcutta under the Presidency of Mr. Gaganbihari Lal Mehra.—The situation resulting from the shortage of foodstuffs was discussed. It was suggested that the Government of India should be requested to take measures to stop exports of foodstuffs from India and with the help of H. M.'s Government to import sufficient supplies of wheat from Australia.

16th. A Bengal Government Press Note on the rice situation in the province, said: "The Government are in a position to state that the recent abnormal prices are not warranted by the present stock position."

The Society of Friends (London) in a peace for conciliation in India, urged the removal of the ban on conversations between the interned Congress Party leaders and responsible third parties. The Society "earnestly ask for the co-operation of our fellow Christians in promoting steps to an understanding and in impressing upon the Government that the policy of the closed door is contrary to Christian public opinion".

Sir Chhoturam, Revenue Minister, Punjab, in a Press statement at Rawalpindi, said : "With due deference to the intellectual eminence of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Rajagopalachariar and other prominent members of the Non-Party Conference, the reported decision of the Conference to submit to Mr. Jinnah for his approval a formula conceding in some form the principle of Pakistan will be deeply resented by all parties which have hitherto opposed any such concession".

17th. H. E. the Viceroy, in his address to the Associated Chambers of Commerce, (Calcutta) emphasised the essential geographical unity of India. The Viceroy said : "Geographically India for all practical purposes is one. I would judge it to be as important as ever in the past, nay, more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the right and legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small." Lord Linlithgow added : "It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interest in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them."

"The Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League at its meeting in Calcutta, Khan Bahadur Abdul Momim presiding, adopted a resolution strongly condemning the "repressive policy" of the Bengal Government in suspending the publication of the *Azad* for an indefinite period, and calling upon the Muslims of Bengal to observe Dec. 24 as "Azad Day" by holding protest meetings in villages, unions and towns.

Mr. R. R. Haddow, presiding at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, observed : "It is the wish of the British Community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress both in regard to Agriculture and Industry."

Mr. R. S. Nimbar, Labour Welfare Officer to the Government of India, addressing a meeting of jute, oil and petrol workers at Goadpar, said that the Government of India definitely desired that workers in industries should receive adequate dearness allowance and profit-sharing bonus to compensate for the rise in the cost of living. He appealed to all employers to fall in line with the policy of the Government of India.

The Punjab Government served an order under the Defence of India Rules on the proprietor of the "*Daily Protap*" and his son restricting their activities. 18th. Sir A. R. Dalal, in his presidential address at the tenth annual general meeting of the *Employers' Federation of India*, in Calcutta, said : "Without wishing to apportion blame to any side, employers in common with others who had the welfare of the country at heart, would cordially desire to see an end to the political deadlock, stagnation which, while impairing the was effort, boded no good in the post-war world to the relationship between the different parties concerned in this unfortunate dispute".

"The question of paper shortage in India was raised at the meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta, when Mr. R. W. Mellor on behalf of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce moved a resolution on the subject. The resolution after referring to the order served on paper mills in India by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, drew attention to the "Disproportionate reservation made for Government purposes and the entirely inadequate provision for civilian consumption, in particular for essential war requirements of commerce and industry, and urged the Government to allow at least 30% of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

19th. A meeting of all Newspaper Editors in Bombay City and Province was held at the Journalists' Association. About 35 newspapers, including those in Ahmedabad, Poona, Surat and Hubli, were represented. Mr. Niharendu Dutt Majumdar, M.L.A., General Secretary of the Labour Party of India was arrested on a charge of violating an order issued under the Defence Rules.

20th. Calcutta had its first enemy air raid of the war under a waking moon, bombs being dropped in areas outside the town.

The decision to call an All-India Muslim Conference in Calcutta for the organization of a properly constituted All-India Democratic or Progressive

21st: A Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal, said: "By an order coming into force at once the export of rice or paddy from the Rajshahi Division has been prohibited except under permit; simultaneously a similar restriction has been placed on the export of rice or paddy from the Calcutta industrial area." His Excellency the Viceroy sent the following telegram to the Governor of Bengal congratulating Calcutta on the manner it took its first air raid: "I am glad to learn that the city's defences have proved so effective; that damage and casualties are light and that morale is high. Yours is the first capital city in India to suffer in this war a baptism of fire and her citizens have proved an admirable example of steadiness and fortitude. Well done Calcutta!" His Excellency the Governor sent the following reply: "I am most grateful for your Excellency's heartening message to the people of Calcutta. It cannot fail to inspire them in maintaining the admirably steadfast front which they displayed at the first onset of danger."

22nd. Mian Abdul Haye, Minister for Education, Punjab, addressing the Convocation of the Punjab University, outlined a scheme for post-war educational reconstruction.

Mr. R. S. Nimbkar, Labour Welfare Adviser, Government of India, in a broadcast talk from Calcutta, observed: "This is a war of free workers against slave labour and we must fight it to the end."

23rd. Mr. M. S. Aney, Member for Indians Overseas, Government of India, arrived at Chittagong. The object of his visit was to inspect camps set up for Indian refugees.

"The carrying of any sword, dagger, spear, bludgeon, lath, gun or other offensive weapon by person in any public place in the town or suburbs of Calcutta up to Oct. 1943, was prohibited by the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta."

Mr. Jinnah sent Rs. 1,000 as his personal contribution to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Cyclone Relief Fund for the sufferers of Midnapore and 24 Parganas with a message of sympathy in their plight. He appealed to Bengal Muslims to do all in their power to help the sufferers.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, Dewan of Travancore, in an interview said: Mr. Rajagopalachari could not have forgotten that a large majority of the Princes had always been in favour of Federation or any other kind of union which would ensure strong and united central direction in the matter of economic, agricultural and industrial policy, customs, tariffs etc. as well as defence, external affairs, emigration and immigration. Many Princes did not approve of and would not join the particular scheme which was recently put forward because of the special features relating to that scheme. The Princes and their advisers were alive to the importance of preserving that unity of the Central Government which could well exist with great liberty of action within their proper sphere in the case of units but without which India could never be well governed."

Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in the course of a statement in Bombay, said: "I appreciate the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal he has made to maintain this ancient integrity of our country on grounds of practical policy also. Reasonable safeguards to minorities must be given, and the League of Nations has already shown us the way in one of the most authoritative works formulating what reasonable safeguards of minorities really mean. But the Viceroy, perhaps inadvertently, uses the term, 'fully satisfactory to the minorities', instead of clarifying the safeguards that are reasonable."

Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, India's representative on the British War Cabinet, said that the people of India were keen to have their political status assured and that the differences between them arose from various viewpoints regarding the methods whereby that status could be attained. A Government of India communiqué said: "Sir J. P. Sivasava, Member for Civil Defence, had talks to-day with Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu, Minister-in-charge for co-ordination of Civil Defence Measures in Bengal, and

Mr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee, Revenue Minister, Bengal, at which important matters arising out of Sir J. P. Srivastava's recent visit to Calcutta were discussed in detail."

24th. The Working Committee of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution criticizing the Viceroy's speech at the Associated Chambers of Commerce, Calcutta, in which he emphasized India's essential geographical unity. The resolution said that the Viceroy's statement amounted to a "denial of the fundamental right of the Muslims to self-determination."

"The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber sent a telegram to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy regarding scarcity of foodgrains."

A Press communiqué from New Delhi, stated: "The Government of India have, in consultation with the Government of the Punjab, set up a Government purchasing agency, which will be entrusted with the task of buying wheat in that province on behalf of the Central and the Punjab Governments. The Central Government will purchase on behalf of the deficit areas in India and of the Army."

Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, in the course of a statement in Bombay, observed: "The recent speeches of the Viceroy and the President of the British Prime Minister and other spokesmen of the British Government on the future of the Empire and the present discontent and deadlock in India."

25th. Mr. M. A. Jinnah, speaking at a reception given to him by the Delhi Provincial Muslim League, on the occasion of his 66th birthday, declared that no amount of agitation or mis-representation could deter the Muslims of India from their cherished goal of Pakistan, nor could the Indian or British Government deter them from their determination to achieve their goal, which had become as article of faith with them.

Dr. P. V. Naidu, President of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, in a statement from Madras said: "The Viceroy's memorable speech in regard to the need for the maintenance of India's territorial integrity and political unity has been rightly appreciated by eminent and distinguished national leaders all over India. The Viceroy's statement has not come a day soon. It has come out in the right time and in the right direction."

26th. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, died suddenly of heart failure at Lahore. Sir Sikandar was aged 50.

The Honble Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member presiding over the 20th session of the Bengal Sahitya Sammelan at Allahabad, said: "The building up of bigger industries would be the only solution of the economic problem facing Bengal and Bengalees and that alone would restore to them their rightful position."

Sir J. P. Srivastava, Member for Civil Defence, Government of India, issued the following statement to the Press: "I find that there are wild rumours current in regard to the extent of damage caused by recent bombings of Calcutta and also their effect on the morale of the people. Mr. Ibbotson, Director General for Civil Defence, has been in Calcutta since day before yesterday and is watching the situation there on behalf of my Department. In a telephone conversation with me, yesterday and this afternoon, he assured me that damage to life and property is infinitesimally small, and that the Japanese have failed woefully to cause any panic. There is no truth whatsoever in the reports that Calcutta is emptying out both by road and rail."

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Indian Academy of Science commenced at Bangalore before a gathering of distinguished scientists and scientists workers from various parts of India. Sir C. V. Raman presided.

The Rt. Honble Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference, said, *inter alia*: "The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lastly students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as incipient criminals and

punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This stinging is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms."

28th. The 19th. session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held at Travandrum, Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member, Government of India, presided. The President, in his address to the session, gave a call to Indian Princes to do everything to maintain the integrity of India and to help achieve the Federation of India.

Master Tara Singh, presiding over the Akali Conference held at Sema in Rerozpur district, said: "As long as the present Pakistan proposal continues unmodified, I have to be its chief opponent. If the demand for Pakistan in its present form is accepted, I and the chief sufferer and not the Hindus."

The following communique was issued from New Delhi, re: "Ban on Khakars."—"Since the resolution regarding the Khakars was discussed in the Central Legislative Assembly on September 22 and 23, 1942, the Government of India have been in consultation with the Provincial Governments regarding the possibility of removing the ban which, at the instance of the Central Government, was imposed by them on that association under the Criminal Law Amendment Act in June 1941. Allama Mashruqi has now issued a statement to the Press and has communicated its contents to all branches of the Khakars organization. In the light of that statement, all Provincial Governments have agreed to cancel the ban on the Khakars organization. The Government of India are taking similar action in the Chief Commissioner's Provinces and have also cancelled the order under the Defence Rules restricting the Allama's residence to the Province of Madras."

29th. Mr. V. D. Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, in his presidential address at the twenty fourth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, voiced the unflinching determination of the Hindu Mahasabha to oppose the All-India Muslim League's demand for Pakistan.

He observed: "Just as in America, Germany, China and every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindustan, Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority, are the nation, and the Muslims are but a minority. Therefore, they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept as reasonable in the light of the world formula framed by the League of Nations."

The Madras Government were evolving a scheme of their own for production of standard cloth in sufficient quantity, through handloom weavers. It was stated that a few mills, had already undertaken to provide yarn for the purpose.

The Punjab, Bombay and U. P. Governments lifted the ban imposed by them on the Khakars organization.

30th. Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference issued the following statement from Madras: "In accordance with the resolution of the standing committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, passed at its meetings held in Bombay on the 18th, 19th, and 21st, December, I have fixed January 6, 1943, for the observance of the hartal throughout India for a day. It is requested that managements abstain from publishing newspapers bearing that date. The co-operation of all newspapers in India is solicited to make the day of protest a success.

It was announced that all the Ministers in Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's Cabinet in the Punjab resigned. Later, the Governor granted an interview to Major Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana, and requested his assistance in forming a new Council of Ministers. Malik Khizar Hyat Khan accepted the invitation.

The Governor re-appointed Malik K. Hyat Khan Tiwana as a Minister and in consultation with him, also reappointed all the other Ministers.—Sir Chhoturam, Sir Manoharlal, Mian Abdul Hakeem and Sardar Baldev Singh.

At the open session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Cawnpore, a resolution passed. Mr. Savarkar, who moved the resolution, paid tributes to the services of Pandit Malaviya whom he described as the founder, inspiration and guide of the Mahasabha organization.

India in Home Policy

July—December, 1942

India in Home Polity

Introduction

Human conduct and affairs are judged by their tendencies, and not by the episodes that may crowd into them. Tested by this standard, the Allied Powers appear to see a chink of light through the gloom of the last month of 1941 and the first six months of 1942. Stalingrad, battered and wrecked, yet stood and by this "local victory" stood as the symbol of Germany's defeat in her campaign of 1942.

In north Africa, from the Egyptian El Alamein, General Montgomery was sweeping before him the ever-victorious *Afrika Korps*; his forces had reached Tripoli by the last day of the last week of 1942. It was expected that Field-Marshal Rommel would make a stand there just to keep this harbour and supply base for the reception of the reinforcements that were being flown over to him or being carried in ships through the sea lanes of the central Mediterranean. Forced out of it he could confront the Allied Eighth Army at the Mareth Line—"the little Maginot of pill boxes and cement forts strung along the hills in southern Tunisia"—from the Gulf of Gabes 20 miles inland. But this was not to be. Before General Montgomery's troops was the long African coast in Marshal Rommel's rear—Tunis, French north Africa and Spanish Morocco. A threat appeared there, and the German General had to make haste before he could be squeezed between the Allied armies hastening from the east and the west. On the 8th of November his rear began to hum. On the dawn of that day U. S. A. troops landed along the whole coast line of French north and west Algeria and Morocco. The principal ports of French Africa—Algiers and Oran on the Mediterranean, and Casablanca, Rabat (capital of Morocco), and Dakar on the Atlantic—began to fall into Allied hands. This made the position of the European Axis Powers untenable in north Africa; their foothold there began to collapse; their 10,000 miles frontier from Sicily to Murmansk was opened to Allied attack.

The Commander-in-chief of this expedition was Lieut. General Dwight Eisenhower of the U. S. A. Army. Part of the invasion forces had sailed direct from the United States; part used Britain "as a way station." This expedition has been regarded by the world as a particular U. S. A. job, the first major offensive action taken by the great republic. The British Prime Minister handsomely recognized this fact when he declared that in this venture the President of the United States of America was the Commander-in-chief, and he was his "ardent, acting lieutenant." This lieutenantcy, however, was not incon-siderable. For the original landings of troops for this new campaign, Great Britain provided two-thirds of the war-ships and transports, and 150 *Spitfires*. It has since come out that this invasion was being planned since June, 1941, in the days when General Auchinleck was being pressed towards the Egyptian border and Mr. Churchill was on his third visit to Washington, and the surrender of Tobruk with her more than 25,000 Allied soldiers had exposed Allied deficiencies before

N-W. Africa expedition—a U. S. A. job

all the world. It is not possible for the lay-man to realize and appreciate the huge amount of organisation required for the movement of such an Armada from a distance of three to four thousand miles of Atlantic waters infested by German submarines. It took a year to organize it. In June, 1942, the Commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force came to Britain to prepare his "amateur army of mechanics, salesmen, bar-tenders, boxers, bond salesman, cowboys, lawyers" for the great adventure. The strategic possibilities of this invasion have revealed themselves as we write (August, 1943)—Signor Mussolini has been removed from his position as ruler of Italy which for all practical purposes has been lost to the Axis side; two-thirds of the Mediterranean have been made free for the movement of the Allied navy and merchant ships; 12,000 miles of Allied voyage around Africa with troops and supplies have been saved, equivalent to the saving of hundreds of Allied ships that the Axis submarines might have sunk.

And the talk was not wholly unjustified that the promised "second front" had come. But the strictness of the Russian definition of a "second front" had given it in these terms —"the withdrawal of 40 German divisions will be enough." His chief, M. Stalin, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, was more specific :

"If it (the second front) had been opened, drawing off 60 German divisions and 20 of Germany's allies, it would have been the beginning of the end of Hitlerites. The British campaign is dividing 4 German and 11 Italian divisions...Because there was no second front, Russia was facing 172 German divisions."

But the eight months of 1943 have been more fruitful. And U. S. A. strategy in this front has justified itself. Naturally her Press has taken the world into confidence with regard to the vast and quiet organization by their country that had preceded this move. Confining their attention to their own country, they have told us the story of the pre-Pearl Harbour and post-Pearl Harbour movement of their forces to the ends of the earth.

Long before Pearl Harbour the U. S. had been making preparations to establish a base in Liberia, if need should arise. Pan-American Airways, with U. S. Army and Navy approval, had contracted with the Government of President Kwin Barclay for a clipper base in the tropical country where rubber and coffee grow wild. A huge air-field larger than needed for commercial flying was built. The U. S. A. Firestone, Fire & Rubber Co.'s model rubber plantation is the country's biggest industry.

1941—U. S. troops moved to Greenland on April 9; on April 23—to bases acquired from Britain in Newfoundland, Labrador, Jamaica, Trinidad and other Caribbean islands; on July 7—to Iceland; on November 23—to Surinam (Dutch Guinea).

After Pearl Harbour, U. S. forces spread themselves geographically at an even faster pace. December 22 (1941)—Australia; January 3 (1942)—Northern Ireland; February 19—Dutch East Indies; February 23—Burma; March 4—England; March 17—New Caledonia; March 20—India; late June—Middle East; June 23—New Hebrides and the Ryjs; August 7—the Solomonis. Units had also

From military head-quarters at Washington it was given out that

more than 8,00,000 U. S. soldiers were serving over-seas. The expansion of the fighting forces of the republic has been phenomenal. In 1939 they were—1,74,000; in mid-1940—200,000; in early 1941—9,51,000; December (1941)—16,00,000; in 1943—the requirements are said to be—75,00,000—33,00,000 in the Ground Forces; 20,00,000 in Training and Supply Services; 22,00,000 in the Air Forces. This huge expansion is backed by a budget figure for 1943 which will be reaching astronomical proportions—30,000 crores of rupees.

It is a notable fact that preparations by the U. S. A. for this invasion were not unknown to the European Axis Powers. A Paris radio had told

the world :
 "Important U. S. troop contingents have landed in Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Liberia, French Equatorial Africa, Belgian Congo and South Africa. We have information that a U. S. General will soon be in command of all enemy forces in Africa."

The question has been asked—why with this knowledge the European Axis Powers did nothing to intercept the convoys that carried U. S. troops from their home country and from Britain? Interpreters of these events have appeared to find the key to this inactivity in two extracts made from two speeches of Herr Hitler—one made on the 1st of October (1942), and the other on the day the U. S. invasion of north-west Africa took place.

"We have prepared for ourselves a very simple programme. In the first place, under all circumstances, we must hold whatever must be held.....Let the others attack as much as they wish wherever we have no intention to advance. We must.....wait to see who first retreats."
 "We cannot from week to week look for big victories. That is impossible. The decisive thing is to fortify and hold the position in. You may believe that what we have we hold so fast that no body will ever take it away from us."

We do not know what the European Axis Powers hope to gain by the defensive role they have elected to adopt in their fight in Europe. They have lost in Africa the Italian territories from which they had hoped to drive a pincer movement to the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, there to join up with their Asiatic partner in aggression. They must be aware, and they have not tried to keep it secret from their own people, that their eastern adventure, in Russia, has miscarried, that the enemy they had to contend with there has proved himself stronger than they had hoped for. Lieutenant-General Dietmar, commentator of the German High Command, was the mouth-piece of this recognition. In successive statements made during the last months of 1942, and the early months of 1943, he tried to impress this fact on their minds. As early as the first week of October (1942), he said :

"The war against the Soviet Union is a fight against the most powerful military organization in the world....."
 "There is no other enemy in the world with such artful skill in delaying decisions.....Masses present a difficult problem both to the German High Command and to the German Army....."
 "The German Command and Army were sorely tried by the Russians' unexpected and seemingly improbable tactics, especially at the beginning of the campaign. The Soviet soldier is far more strongly attached than any other soldier to the system in which he finds himself. The authority of the Soviet leadership is limitless."

Since those words were uttered, further reverses have come upon the forces fighting Russia under German leadership. Between the Volga and the Don whole armies have sunk—the Sixth Army and the Fourth Tank Army—more than 3,00,000 strong. Their Commander-in-Chief Field Marshal Paulus has been captured with 13 German and 2 Rumanian generals. The fall in February (1943) of Kursk and Byelorod, two of "the four bastions" on which the whole of the German front depends, the other two being Orel and Kharkov—drew forth a lamentation that discredited Herr Hitler's confident assertions made three or four months ago. And General Dietmar must have summarized the whole of the experiences of the failure in the Stalingrad front in these words :

"For the first time we are experiencing the entire tragedy of the reverse."
 "For the first time an entire German Army has ceased to exist. What we used to inflict on others has happened to us. It is still difficult to realize. We feel it like a sharp pain."
 "The time has not yet come to answer the question how it all happened."

The experiences of the German Army in the Russian front were not the only factor that depressed the morale of the Reich. The campaign of bombing opened by British and U. S. planes on the industrial centres of Germany played not an inconsiderable part in creating and strengthening the effects of this depression as the confession of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* showed : "We are only beginning to feel total war in the west. Home has unavoidably become part of the front". The planning of the various elements of an all-out air offensive against Germany became the subject of wide discussion in the Press of Britain and the United States. It came to be increasingly recognized that "through no other course can American mass production strike so quickly so hard a blow at the actual heart of the enemy" than by the concentration of Anglo-American air power on him. One such plan that we have seen deserves publication as a step towards the understanding of Allied air tactics in this war. The objective of this preparation for attack was the disruption of the life of "31 key-cities of Germany and their suburbs" which constituted "the core of German war production." These were 8 in western Germany—

Bombing of Germany

Bessen, Cologne, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Saarbrücken, Friederichshafen; all these cities and towns are at a distance of 300 to 400 miles from London. There were 15 in central Germany at a distance 600 miles from London—Bremen, Hannover, Kassel, Nuremberg, Augsburg, Munich, Rosenheim Linz, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Dessau, Halle, Leipzig, Chemnitz, Pilsen; the rest—8 in number—were in eastern Germany at a distance of about 900 miles from London—Kiel, Rostock, Stettin, Berlin, Pozen, Lodz, Liegnitz, Breslau. The bombers that were to shatter these centres of German war production belonged to the following classes whose names have become familiar to newspaper readers—B-17—4-engined Boeing "Flying Fortress"—with a radius of 1,000 to 1,200 miles and an average bomb-load of 3 tons; B-24—4 engined Consolidated—with power same as the former; B-25—2-engined North American (used in the Tokyo raid)—with a radius of 800—1,000 miles and a bomb-load of 2½ tons; B-26—2-engined Martin—with power same as the above; British

heavy and medium bombers—the 4-motored Sterling, Lancaster, Halifax and Wellington—with the same average radius and in some cases with much larger bomb capacity. It was also estimated that to release 30—50,000 tons will require about 15,000 bombers per calendar month, assuming ten operations night. The present loss-rate of 4 per cent will require replacement of 600 bombers per month. Loss of pilots, crews, etc., at this rate for six months might total 25,000. It was hoped that the joint Anglo-American out-put of planes and crews will exceed the above replacement by the end of 1942.

We have not yet seen this "all-out" attack. And since these plans were featured, about twelve months have passed. And! Germany's discomfiture in Russia and north Africa should not blind us to the fact that she has been able to hold on to her gains in the Ukraine where round about the Don Basin and the Dneipropetrovsk area in that country, within about 300 miles, there are huge deposits of coal and iron—the essentials of modern warfare. The Russians might have wrecked their factories or carried away their machines and set them up beyond the Urals, as we have told in the last volume of the *Annual Register*. But they could not have destroyed or carried away the wealth that the earth here hid under her. These regions produced approximately 78 per cent of the total coal production of the Soviet Union of which 50 per cent was of coaking quality; approximately 60 per cent of the total pig iron of the Soviet Union came from this region which contained about 55 per cent of the total number of blast furnaces in the Union. German engineers, technicians and industrialists who had helped the Soviet Union to build up her industries knew all that was to be known of Russia's natural wealth, and since the fortunes of war brought them here they could not fail to make the best use of it.

At the same time it would not do to forget that it was the far-seeing and intensive exploitation of Russia's natural resources that have enabled her people to stand erect under the hammer blows of Germany for about twenty four months. Estimates that have been made available to the world give us a clue to the mystery of her miraculous resisting power. She produces one-third of the world's wheat; one-half of the world's oats; 80 per cent of the world's rye; occupies the first place in the production of sugar beet in Europe; her oil production is greatest in Europe—out of the Baku-Batum districts together with the Caucasus came 90 per cent of her petroleum products. In a book published by the Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College, entitled *The Strategy of Raw Materials*, we have the following:

Russia's self-sufficiency

"It would appear that on the basis of percentages of self-sufficiency the Soviet Union enjoys 100 per cent in coal, iron, petroleum, manganese, mica, chromate and potash; 90 per cent in sulphur and pyrites; 85 per cent in phosphates; 80 per cent in mercury, and 60 per cent in zinc."

It has been suggested that it was this incalculable wealth of

Why Germany drove towards the Caucasus

On June 22, 1942, breaking their pact with her, that without control over such resources it was not possible for them to wage the "total war" they were engaged in. This strategy of raw materials apart, there were other considerations that must have influenced them to launch on this fateful venture. One of these considerations or driving forces must have been what has been called the "historical gravitation" of Germany towards the Persian Gulf with a view to try conclusions with British imperialism in Asia. The present war has re-emphasised the importance of this strategy, especially since Japan's eruption into this war on December 7, (1941). Her successes in the Pacific and Indian Ocean areas had made easy the adoption of the strategy that would join up the European Axis powers with their partner in aggression from the Far East. It was contemplated, as shown in volume II. of the *Annual Register* of 1941, that after driving Britain from north and east Africa, the combined forces of the European and Asiatic Axis Powers would pinch from the east and the west India which has become the arsenal of the Allied Powers and their base of operations against Japan. These calculations have miscarried by developments in south Russia and north Africa—from certain points of view more by those in Russia.

Russia's success at the end of 1942 was won at terrible cost. Stalingrad which symbolized this success and suffering was kept on a food ration of 125 grams—about a slice and half of bread; from Russia's sacrifices starvation, cold, diseases, and German bombs more & sufferings than 10 lakhs—one-third—of its population died.

U. S. correspondents have sent harrowing details of these sufferings. A million dead men heaped the battle fields of south Russia; millions more were wounded, captured or missing. During World War I, Verdun had called for the sacrifice of 7,38,000 Frenchmen and Germans. Stalingrad was a bigger horror. The Russians acknowledged the loss of 6 lakhs in three months; declared that 4,80,000 Germans had been slain; the Germans claimed 10 lakhs of Russians as captives since the spring, raising to 50 lakhs the number of their Russian prisoners since June, 1941. Russia's appeal for a "second front", a U. S. correspondent reported in the first week of August (1942), had once been "measured, and patient and deferential to the internal politics of her allies"; but by the time of his report, it had become "hoarse and despairing, like the shout of an exhausted swimmer." Even after Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow in the third week of August, a dispatch from Moscow could write: "There might be war in Britain, in north Africa, in China, in the Pacific; to Russians, deep in their awful present, the global war was an unreal *alibi* for inaction in western Europe." And in their exasperation they did not think kindly or generously of the difficulties of their allies. Correspondents of Allied countries sensed a feeling of hostility which they put in terms of power politics: "Stalin would certainly want to win before he was exhausted so that he could be strong at the peace table. He would certainly not want to wear himself out against Germany while Britain and the U. S. took it easy and grew

strong." Mr. Churchill's visit to Moscow must have been undertaken with a view to remove causes of this desperate feeling.

There was dissatisfaction also with regard to the delivery of war materials promised by Britain and the U. S. A. The parting message of the Soviet leader to Mr. Wendell Willkie, President Roosevelt's "special envoy" to Turkey, Russia and China, was a pointer to this: "Tell the Americans, if you like, that we need all the products they can send. But I would suggest that you under-state the case rather than give any one the impression that you are encouraging Americans to assume a patronising attitude towards us", said he. Soviet officials in London, however, admitted that Britain had met her pledges during the nine months ending June, 1942; but the United States had delivered in New York to Soviet officials 75 per cent only of her promised help. Whether or not these had been delivered to Russian ports was another matter when one considered that 4,000 miles of Atlantic and Arctic Sea waters lay between, and that these were infested by German submarines. An estimate has told us that from October 1 (1941) to the end of 1942, Britain and the United States had sent to Russia more than 6,000 tanks, 5600 planes, and 85,000 motor vehicles. The value of non-military supplies sent through the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation had exceeded 65 crores of rupees, while U. S. Lend-Lease deliveries during the first quarter of 1942 amounted to the value of about 700 crores of rupees.

In this connection it is necessary to recall the handsome terms of the Lend-Lease Agreement concluded in November, (1941) between Soviet Russia and the United States by an exchange of correspondence between Premier Stalin and President Roosevelt. Russia was granted a credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees for the purpose of war supplies. The loan was non-interest-bearing and was given on the understanding that it would be repaid within 5 to 11 years after the war. Later, a further credit of 300 hundred crores of rupees was arranged under a new Agreement which superseded certain of the above provisions. It stipulated that Russia shall return to the United States at the end of the war such defensive articles as had not been destroyed, and that in the final determination of Russia's obligations, "full co-operation" will be taken by the United States of all benefits derived from Russia's assistance in the prosecution of the war. These benefits cannot, however, be measured in terms of money alone. And we can only hope that the bitter experiences of the United States loans granted to the Allied and Associated Powers during World War I will not be repeated after the II.

Before we can leave the discussion of these developments in Europe and Africa, we must refer to one other of the difficulties that appear to have been creating complications for the Allied Powers. This difficulty has risen out of the conflict of ideas, ideals and practices between the major Powers that constituted the leadership of the "United Nations." It is not easy to understand and explain this during war time when censorship has put a ring round every country, and a frank discussion of affairs has become all but impossible. It is not also easy to be aware of the political affiliations of foreign newspapers on whose reports and

Russes in the
"United Nations"
Camp

comments can one build up his opinion on men and matters. It is best, therefore, to share with our readers such reports and comments that come into our hands and enable them to judge for themselves. In the present context we propose to quote from the New York weekly, *Time*, and the London *Overseas Daily Mail*, their criticism of the "political strategy" of the leaders of the "United Nations." On July (1942), the former wrote:

"The label 'United Nations' is dangerous because too many people think that it also signifies a fully effective body for the co-operative conduct of World War II." "It does no such thing. Of necessity it was founded on the false premise that World War II was two wars—one with Hitler, one with Japan. This premise was necessary because, up to now, the U.S.S.R. has been technically at peace with Japan—a fact which none of Russia's allies against Hitler wants to alter. But the fact also is that the 'United Nations' is not and, at least for the moment, cannot be an instrument for the global direction of a global war." "The allied effort in World War II is directed mainly by two of the 28 'United Nations': the United States and Great Britain in the persons of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Russia in one sector and China in another have major shares of the burden, but they have very vague shares in Allied direction."

Commenting on the fact that the Casablanca Conference could not arrange for the setting up of a permanent "Supreme Allied Council" the latter wrote on February 6 (1943):

"The meeting at Casablanca was not an Allied Conference but an Anglo-American conference. For obvious reasons, neither Premier Stalin nor Marshal Chiang Kai-shek could be present, but it is noticeable that neither was represented."

The activity with which Anglo-American leadership made it up with Admiral Darlan, one of the leaders of "Vichy France," did not appear to have appealed to democratic opinion. Mr. Wendell Willkie protested against it, and a U.S.A. paper compared it to co-operating with Vidkun Quisling. General De Gaulle, leader of the "Free French," publicly protested against it. It has come out that though he has had the support of the British Government, the U.S. State Department has been consistently "stiffish and stand-offish" with him and Frenchmen associated with him. General Eisenhower, Commander-in-chief of the North African expedition, has pleaded as excuse the needs of "military emergency". But even U.S. opinion appeared to be divided in the matter. The *New York Times* supported it, and in supporting showed itself prepared to have deals with reactionary leaders. One of its commentators, Arthur Krook, believed to be in the confidence of Washington officialdom, cynically wrote:

"War has forced us, idealists and democrats, to quantitative rather than qualitative morality as the test. If, for example, Goering should offer to come over with a few planes, we do not want him. But if he can bring the *Luftwaffe* with him we will receive him."

The *Christian Science Monitor* represented the U.S. policy creating cleavage opposite view:

"The cleavage between the sympathies of the Allied leaders and those of the French people promises nothing good for the future of French and Anglo-Saxon relation. It is not the French alone who are thinking of the harnessing of Allied dealing with the Fighting French leader. All Allied European leaders agree that the American Government has been snubbing democrats and propitiating reactionary Fascists in Europe."

We have seen it suggested that the British Government does not feel very happy with the diplomacy of General Eisenhower which is that of the Foreign Office of the U.S.A. But it has no choice in the matter; it cannot publicly do anything that goes against U.S. policy and practice. It has also been reported that the Soviet Government has been looking with disfavour on this policy of entering into alliances with the reactionary forces in Europe. As the history of the deal with Darian comes to be more known, suspicion and resentment among democratic peoples have been growing apace, putting difficulties in the way of the cause represented by the Allied Powers. It appears that the policy of feeding "Vichy France" by U.S. wheat and helping it with U.S. oil, and of keeping the "Fighting French" at arm's length, encouraged the Vichy authorities to send one of their own men, General Odie who had been commander of French forces in Africa under General Weyand, to London and Washington for some sort of an arrangement. At the end of 1941, he is said to have approached General De Gaulle to make it up on the argument that Marshal Petain was justified in doing what he did because France could not resist. General De Gaulle rejected this line of approach to explaining the betrayal of the French people. Then General Odie who had been in touch with General Giraud since his escape from German prison went to Washington where he found a readier acceptance of his argument. The result was the Darian deal, and the easier conquest of French North Africa.

There have been other episodes in this game of power-politics in which the U.S. Foreign Office does not appear to have anything to learn from their more experienced opposite numbers in Europe and Asia. Simultaneously with the Darian deal a military U.S. contact with German Generals?

Hapsburg, the claimant to the Austrian throne, is president of this committee. He alone has been authorized to recruit for the special Austria Regiment. And there are rumours that General Odie had told the State Department that while a prisoner in Germany, General Giraud had established contact with certain German generals who could be formed into a nucleus of opposition to the Nazi party and its leader. It is well-known that there is no love lost between the Nazi party and the higher ranks of the German army, representing the old Imperial tradition. There have been Press speculations that the former Chief of the General staff, General Halder, whose relations with Herr Hitler are not very cordial, may be found helpful in such a development. There may be a great deal of wishful thinking in these speculations. But, something that appeared in the London *Times* of September 14 (1942) has been regarded as very significant. It was a write-up of General Halder, "the building up of a personality", as it has been called, of a rival claimant to power in Germany. Speaking of the irreconcilability of the "Potsdam tradition" and that built by the Nazi party, the writer proceeded:

"How deep the dividing abyss was, is clearly exemplified by the personal relation between Hitler and Halder. Halder was a staunch Catholic, an ardent supporter of Brüning, and a close associate of the anti-Nazi bishops. He never took the least

interest in the politics of the Third Reich. By nature, Haldar is a scientist—a clever mathematician, and an ardent botanist, out-spoken and fearless, but unquies-

From a study of indications like these, there appears to be justification for the contention that the "political strategy" of the Anglo-Saxon Powers may endanger the democratic revival and renewal for which millions of men and women have been fighting against reactionary forces in all parts of the world. Axis propagandists have been doing their best and worst to exploit the suspicions created by the policy which has been finding expression through the activities related above. We in India caught up in the coils of arrogance in the high places of the State can enter into the feelings of disillusionment that await the European and American peoples. The Government of the United States has come in for the major part of the blame in this connection; the British Government is being represented as being helpless in the matter, as being unwillingly dragged into this path by the former. Russia is also being represented as playing an independent hand in the power-politics of this war. She has been setting up governments of certain of the peoples whose territories have been overrun by the conquering hordes of the European Axis Powers, as Britain has been doing since 1939. She is reported to have allowed the formation in her own territory of a parallel government for Poland; the peasant leader, M. Mikolajczyk is Premier: three other members belong to the Peasants' Party, three to the Socialist Party, two are Catholic Democrats, and two are Moderate Nationalists. The formation of one Polish Division has been announced which will not take orders from London. A "Free Germany" Movement has been working from Russian soil. It has issued a Manifesto to the people of Germany in which occur the following words, carrying a deep significance for the future alignment of forces in Europe during the coming months or years: "Don't leave Hitler's overthrow to the Allied armies, or Germany will lose her national independence and her existence as a State, and will be dismembered."

We have tried to understand and explain the many forces, personal and impersonal, the many sentiments and ambitions, the many suspicions created by past conflict of interests, amongst European and American peoples that appear to be standing in the way of the fullest co-operation between the Allied Powers. It has yet to be explained why the American State Department should have been "stiffish" towards the "Fighting French", and their leaders. If the facts stated above have even the slightest semblance of truth, we can only fear that the hopes being raised in the hearts of the peoples all the world over, and the promises being made by Allied leaders, will be turning into bitter lies. We in India are concerned in a very distant manner with these moves in the inter-national chess-board. But, being in the war, however unwillingly, we have to take note of these. We have our own argument with one of the leaders of the Allied Powers, and for four years since the outbreak of the present war have been in it without seeing light or the end of it. We know the men we have been

Alfred leadership
suspect

contending with, and what to expect of them. American democracy appears to be realizing consciously and unconsciously that—
 "The central suspicion regarding Winston Churchill was that either he did not realize or he did not care to admit that the war was really global, that on his side the fighting effort, the lives and post-war hopes of many races and colours were involved. Winston Churchill had travelled far to dramatic meetings with Franklin Roosevelt and Josef Stalin. He has closeted himself with high U. S. officers. But he had shown no disposition to draw Russian and Chinese officers into a united command."

This is one side of the problem. The failure of the leadership of the Allied Powers on the field of "political strategy" was brought to the world's attention by Mr. Wendell Willkie in his statement issued from China's war-time capital, Chungking, after his travels through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe, and Asia. He found four things "common" to all the countries that he had visited, to all the people in all countries that he had talked with. These "common" things were their belief in the ultimate victory of the Allied Powers; their intense desire to see the offensive against the Axis Powers started as soon as possible; "they all want a chance at the end of the war to live in liberty and independence"; "they all doubt, in varying degrees, the readiness of the leading democracies of the world to stand up and be counted upon for the freedom of others....." The most important part of his statement was the following :

".....This war is not simply a technical problem for task forces. It is also a war for men's minds. We must organize on our side not simply the sympathies but also the active, aggressive, offensive spirit of nearly three-fourths of the peoples of the world..... We have not done this and, at present, we are not doing this....."

Mr. Willkie had seen and heard enough in the Near East, in the Middle East and in China to give point to his charge. Other observers were also aware of it. Speaking of the countries in north Africa and round about Arabia, the comments of the *Economist* (London) confirm this verdict : ".....political consideration, not technical convenience (U. S. and British Lend-Lease materials) will decide how the Muslim world reacts to a British defeat. It is useless to pretend that the political omens are very favourable." This was written when Marshal Rommel was the chaser in north Africa, and he had chased the retreating British 325 miles to El Alamein in 11 days. In those days of danger the British occupying army in the Nile valley was taking drastic steps against Egyptian notables. It knew that chafing under British rule, a palace group had developed pro-Axis, specially pro-Italian, sympathies, that sections of the ruling class found pleasure in listening to Axis propaganda, to promises of power in their own land. The ex-premier, Aly Maher Pasha, had been jailed; about 200 "possible quislings" had been arrested; a padlock had been put on the Cairo Royal Automobile Club which had been a centre of "pro-Axis intrigue." In September (1942), the British had reasons to suspect that the not inconsiderable number of pro-Nazi Iraqians, the upper classes of these, had been cornering grain and other food stuffs and withholding these from the markets with a view to foment unrest around the British and the Russians who had been in "token occupation" of the country since the dethronement

Events in Egypt & Iran

Of Reza Shah Pahlavi in the autumn of 1941. The United States has been throwing her technical skill and engineering resources to build up at the head of the Persian Gulf ports and supply lines that would be carrying to Russia the instruments of peace and war so much needed by her in her death-struggle with Germany. Anglo-American leaders understood the mind of the Middle East, peopled by men and women of the Muslim faith, as it stood revealed in the comments of the London *Economist* quoted above. And they set about taking measures against any eruption of feeling in the area, as well as against the apprehended German break-through the Caucasus. The British had already had some troops there. But it was felt to be inadequate for the difficulties ahead. And they built up a new army in the area—Palestine, Iraq, Iran—the Tenth Army—with "feverish reinforcements" from India and the other near-about sources. This they put under General Henry Wilson. The failure of Germany in south Russia and the victories of the Allies in north Africa has kept this army quiet, unused except as recruiting fields for the Eighth Army which under General Montgomery had been driving the *Afrika Korps* of Marshal Rommel into Tunisia. Egyptians, Arabs, and Iranians have also remained quiet, watching with keenness the issue of these battles.

And it must be recognized in this connection that the attitude of Turkey, the neutrality of Turkey, including more towards the Allied Powers, has been playing a dominant hand in keeping them quiet. Mr. Churchill's visit to Turkey on the occasion of his meeting with M. Stalin in Moscow, indicated the movement of Attitude of Turkey & Saudi Arabia

War I of the 20th century had fought against Britain and her allies. How and why Turkey has been able to keep herself neutral, the weighing of the many material factors that has kept her so, will be known when the history of the present war comes to be written. It has required no little skill in the leaders of the Turkish State to maintain her neutrality, counted as she has been both by the Axis and the Allied Powers. We would like it to believe that her present rulers have accepted without mental reservations the lesson taught her people by the maker of new Turkey, Kemal Ataturk, that conquest of alien lands and rule over alien peoples do not ultimately pay, that Turkish imperialism under the Sultans has been a curse to the Turkish people. Another factor that must have used its influence in keeping this region quiet is the mystery man of Arabia, King Ibn Saud of Riyadh. He has been maintaining an attitude of friendliness to Britain. We know that it was Britain's help that has enabled this desert chieftain to become the most powerful of the Arab chiefs, to defeat the House of Sherif Hossayn of Mecca, which had aspired to the leadership and Caliphate of the Muslims of the world. History does not, however, say that political gratitude has a long lease of life. We must seek in history for the causes of Arab quietness during this four-years' turmoil round about them. British diplomacy may be one of these; the finance-capital of the United States which has been enabling Saudi Arabia to utilize and bring out of the bowels of her desert earth the oil and other natural resources of the country may be another.

We have attempted above to indicate the tendency of the many developments that have brightened the prospects of the Allied nations in the European and African theatres of war. We have also had to point out to the many difficulties that Anglo-American diplomacy has been piling up for the war-scarred peoples of Europe. But the blame does not lie on their side alone. The accumulated resentments and prejudices of twenty years cannot be erased in the course of a few months. Mr. Churchill, one of the greatest of Bolshevik batters, may for the sake of expediency forget what he did to Russia and said with regard to the ways and practices of the rulers of Russia; M. Stalin for identical reasons may forget this past. But this recent past lives and influences thought and conduct in the living present. To this past we must trace the differences that have been described above, that have arisen between members of the "United Nations". The Allies have also their grievances against Russia. One of these was referred to by an Allied weekly in the following terms:

"Stalin has shown no emotional involvement in the British and United States cause.....While new sympathy has blazed through Britain and the United States interest in the democracies and their aspirations, save only in the matter of destroying Hitler....the democracies' aspirations are not, after all, the aspirations of the Kremlin."

Admiral William Standley, U. S. ambassador to Russia, created a minor sensation when in course of a statement to the Press he drew attention to another aspect of this matter—Russian indifference to Allied interests and aspirations. He complained that the ruling class of Russia did not let their people know of the volume and variety of the help that had been flowing into their country from Allied countries. The attempt to keep them in ignorance of this help is not a minor grievance. It stems out of the differences in ideals and practices during the last twenty years between Soviet Russia and the "pluto-democracies" of the west. And even during the last two years, since the Nazi eruption into Russia and the unasked eagerness with which the western countries have run to the help of the former, there has not been that "easy confidence" between them that alone can make this Grand Alliance a rock on which can be reared the "new order" of human equality and dignity. It is not for us to apportion blame or praise at the present stage of our half-knowledge of men and matters in the field of international affairs. But there cannot be any manner of doubt that the joint family known as the "United Nations" suffers from discords and differences.

One of the most prominent of these has been forced on the knowledge of the world by the controversy between India and Britain that has reached a new bitterness since the beginning of the present war when the Indian National Congress as the organ voice of India's national aspirations for freedom and equality in the comity of modern nations claimed to know her position in the ranks of those States which have been swearing by freedom and democracy in their fight against the Axis Powers. Since the victories of Japan over Britain, the United States and Holland in east Asia, and her threat to India, this claim has become more insistent. And the response

United Nations & the Indo-British problem

of Britain has not been as hearty as would have enthused the "United Nations" have been helpless but anxious witnesses to this quarrel in their house-hold, because it has been felt that the Indo-British controversy was a domestic concern with which the other members of the "United Nations" could not interfere. And these Powers headed by the United States of America appeared to have accepted this contention, to have agreed to say nothing with regard to the "stubborn insistence" of the British that the Indian problem was the "sole concern of Mr. Amery's India Office." But even the extract from an article in U. S. papers goes to show. The writer was Miss Maude Royden, "Britain's foremost woman preacher". "India was no longer the concern of the British Empire solely, nor of the people of India alone.....Every sizeable political party in India, every leader of such a party, demands the forming of a national government in India and the transferring to it of power without limit (except for Wavell's conduct of the war) at once."

.....Americans can do more than any other people to create an atmosphere in which new approaches can be made with some hope of success if they themselves appreciate the difficulties....."

We will have something more to say, in more detail, of this matter in a subsequent part of this study when we deal with India's "home polity" proper. India is not the only failure in the political strategy of the "United Nations", of their leaders who happen to be the United States and Britain. More significant is their treatment of China. The New York weekly—*Time*—reported in one of its issues during the first two weeks of January, 1943, that the "United Nations had lost a campaign" in Washington. We summarize below its description of this episode. From Chungking, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek sent orders that the Chinese Military Mission which came to the U. S. A. last April—to plan a united strategy against the Jap in the Far East—should return home. "No explanation was given. None was needed."

Every one who had followed the work of the Mission in Washington knew that "it had been ignored and rebuffed." No doubt, its leader, General Hsiung Shih-fei, had been "assured a place at the tables where 'United Nations' high strategy is made." He presented his credentials to the President, met the U. S. Army Chief of Staff General Marshall and Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Navy Admiral King; he set up an office in a modest house at Embassy Row in Washington; covered its walls with maps; got ready to proffer his precious information on the war in the Far East. But "nothing happened.....No invitation to sit in on the councils arrived." When news of his recall reached the White House, "a hurried telephone call" went to the Mission's office—"very nearly the first time the telephone had rung there in nine months." General Hsiung, "finally, received an invitation to talk" to the President. With his interpreter he went to the White House, "cooled his heels for half an hour, finally spoke to the President." The story related here can have but one interpretation—that given to it by the Chinese philosopher and author, Lin Yu-tang—"Let me ask the American people a question: Why should not General Hsiung leave? Of what use can his presence in Washington be to the Allied

cause—since the leaders of the United Nations appear to be far from ready to share with China a united strategy against Japan? The enormous reservoir of good-will between China and America is being severely drawn upon.....

This episode and this statement of the non-political Chinese philosopher reveal a state of things that cannot make happy any man of good will in the world. Russia is not satisfied with the political strategy of the "United Nations"; China is not satisfied with the way things are being managed in relation to Allied help to her, devastated as she is by six years of war; India is bitter with the State policy that has allowed a feeling of frustration to invade the mind of her people, and reduce their activities to incoherent protests and outbursts. Thus about a hundred crore of men and women, about half of the world's population, are not being allowed to pull their full weight in the fight between good and evil that has been going on for the last four years. In the Pacific area where Japan has won resounding victories, where she has been exploiting the wealth of human and natural resources of one of the richest spots of the earth for organising her resistance to the Allied offensive that would be coming in the near future, the real and effective spear-head of this offensive, which must be China, is being kept blunted, as this episode of the recall of the Chinese Military Mission from Washington testifies. The failure of the United States and Britain to halt Japan has put China into greater danger than in any period during the first three years of Japan's aggression on her. The report of the New York weekly, *Time*, in its issue of July 13 (1942) tells a story that should have warned Britain and the United States that their "complacency about China" was dangerous. To the people of India it presents a familiar experience.

"China's whole national fabric, corroded by the Japanese attrition, has in the past seven months undergone terrible moral and material shocks. She has found that the Allies, instead of alleviating her position, has increased her immediate difficulties ten-fold. She is bewildered by the crushing defeats America and Britain have suffered."

"Educated patriots in the big cities have a bogged-down, fatalistic faith in the victory of the 'United Nations', but though they hate to admit it they are impressed by Japanese successes.....The 'coolie-in-the-street' is beginning to feel uncertain about the outcome of the war."

Since these words were published there have been a lightening of the clouds over Allied prospects in the different fronts of this world-wide war. We have told of Russia and north Africa. In China also there has been some little progress to report. For weeks during the spring and summer the Japanese had been pushing along the Hangchow-Nanchang Railway with a view to reaching two objectives: (1) a safe supply-line by land all the way from Shanghai to Indo-China bases; (2) destruction of air-bases from which U. S. planes could bomb Tokyo. But the Chinese frustrated this attempt. They wrested 135 miles of the Railway, and after a two-weeks' siege occupied Linchwan; the Japanese had to evacuate Wenchow, one of the only two sizeable sea ports left to China, which had been "an important secret Chinese supply base", to quote the *Domei*, the officially-controlled Japanese News Agency. In the first week of September (1942) Tokyo made an attempt to explain this evacuation; troops were being withdrawn from Chekiang and Kiangsi provinces "to secure.....a position for future action." But other failures required better explanation. In the last week of August,

the Chinese pushed the enemy back through Chekiang province and re-took two of the finest military airbases in China; one at Lishui, only 700 miles from the great naval base of Nagasaki; the other at Chupshien, only a few bomber steps further."

But at the back door of China the British offensive at the end of the monsoon sickened and died. For about three months, Rothedaung, Buthe-daung, Mangsgow, and Akyab occupied important places in newspapers as points of attack where battalions directed by General Wavell were testing the strength of the Japanese formations that were poised there for an attack on India. In the February number of *Asia & The Americas*, Elliot Janeway made a study of the causes that had led to the failure of this attempt. To beat the Japanese the Allies would have to fight their way through all the "key countries" that they have occupied.

"The Anglo-American High Command wants Japan beaten, but it wants to beat Japan itself. At best it visualizes the employment of the Chinese as auxiliaries and of China as a terminal and a landing field when the time come for a counter offensive."

".....The foray into Burma was undertaken without the co-operation of the Chinese. General Wavell is not merely a British Commander; he is a ranking 'United Nations' personage. And yet he has not drawn the Chinese into his plans. He has availed himself of neither their limitless man-power nor of their priceless experience and resourcefulness in fighting the Japanese in this primitive type of terrain....."

"The formula for beating the Japanese in the decisive area close to their home waters has stared us in the face for years. It is U. S. equipment plus Chinese man-power and know-how—nothing more complicated than that."

If there be any truth in this example of non-co-operation, it simply continued the policy that had actuated the British High Command to refuse to accept Chinese help when the Japanese were moving into Malaya in December, 1942. And the fact becomes strange when we are told that a battle-hardened Chinese force was not very far off, waiting to be called upon to take a hand in the fight against the common enemy. Six months ago, that is, in the month of May or June, when the invading army was crossing the Salween river on their drive up the Burma Road, "crack units of China's Army rushed in and drove the Japs back across the river; then they took up a 200-mile long position on the Salween's east bank." During the terrible summer heat and the torrential rains of this "pestilential country," they settled down to what has been called "a night-mare existence." All about were mountain ranges rising thousands of feet high into the air, dropping perpendicularly into the Salween, which the natives of the country call *Wu-ti-Ho*—the River without Bottom.

In the jungles with the Chinese were leopards and tigers, pythons that swallowed whole live hogs, monkeys that stole soldiers' food, wolves that.....tried to steal dead soldiers.....Some of the natives, ceremoniously neutral, stalked the Japanese with poisoned arrows; some hunted the heads of unwary Chinese." The sufferings of the Chinese was made worse by malaria. "This was the worst malaria spot in the world"; the death-rate from this fell disease was higher than from combats between armed forces. The Japanese, however, were better off as they had the southern end of the Burma Road

over which they could transport medicine and other material, move their men back into hospitals. This description gives us an idea of how the Allied troops on their side of the Indian border must have suffered. But the sufferings of the Chinese went for nothing; they had been continuing their useless vigil when the British were trying to push into Arracan. For more than three months, since November (1942), newspapers were featuring the names of places in Arracan where brave deeds were being done, and the Japanese were being pushed back into Burma, the preliminary step for the conquest of Burma. The newspapers and official speculations and anticipations miscarried, and the British had to withdraw, defeated in their attempt to capture Akyab and make it the starting-point of an all-out attack on Burma. And the Chinese forces did not have a call to make a simultaneous move and put the Japanese between two fires.

This pattern of stale-mate in the main-land of Asia was not to any appreciable degree relieved by doings in any another front in the Pacific area. Almost at the beginning of the period of six months the events and developments of which supply materials for this study in the pages of the *Indian Annual Register*, Mr. Forde, the minister of defence in the Australian Commonwealth, issued a statement in course of which he is reported to have said that the Japanese with hundreds of planes and 2,50,000 troops in the perimeter stretching from Timor to Rabaul were in full readiness to launch an attack on Australia. But the Japanese did not afford them this opportunity. The Commander-in-chief of the U. S. Navy, Admiral King, had directed the consolidation of a sea line beyond which the Japanese were not to be allowed "to pass." The line ran straight from Dutch Harbour in north Pacific to Samoa-Fiji, taking the Midway Island at almost in the middle; from Samoa it turned west to New Caledonia. The Japanese were established at Kiska and Attu in the Aleutian group of islands. The possession of the Marcus, the Wake, the Marshall islands and the Gilbert islands allowed them to draw a line opposite the U. S. line which the Allied forces, naval and air, had not been able to pass. The Japanese attack on Dutch Harbour on June 3 (1942) warned U. S. fighting chiefs that it was "the lesser prong of a double assault on the western rim of U. S. out-post." It had achieved a measure of success: Kiska gave Japan a potential submarine base, enough flat terrain to build an air base on, within bombing range of Dutch Harbour and other Alaskan bases. We know by the time we write these lines that the Japanese have not been able to exploit these advantages; they are reported to have surreptitiously left those outposts. In the battle of Midway "the greater prong" of the Jap thrust had been blunted in course of the 4 days battle (June 3-7). The Japanese were, however, busy in the south, round about the Solomon islands, Guadalcanal, Buna, Gona, Lae, Salamua, the Owen Stanley mountain, Port Moresby, the Buna Mission—all these un-heralded names filled columns of newspapers during the months which we have been reviewing.

The strategic positions of the opposing forces

It was not easy to understand the tactics of the opposing forces. Three quotations will explain the difficulty in the way of lay men making anything out of these.

"Japanese feints and lures at the Aleutians, the China sea board, the northeastern frontiers of India, the northern fringes of Australia, and at Russia's far eastern borders, bound the Allies in a web of contradictory plans and policies." "The Allies, dispersing their forces to meet the enemy wherever he was, in essence let the Axis General Staff determine the Grand Strategy of the war. Plainly the Japanese were suffering more from their dispersals than the Allies suffered at points of specific action last week (last week of August, 42)."

"These commandaries were hard to reconcile with the rebuttal that the Japanese forces had inflicted on the U. S. and Australian naval forces at the battle of the Solomons that opened on the 7th of August. 3 heavy U. S. cruisers—*Quincy*, *Vincennes*, and *Astoria*—were sunk; the Australian cruiser *Canberra* and four transports were also sunk. Admiral King in course of a statement has acknowledged that in the Coral Sea-Solomons series of actions his Pacific Navy suffered a loss of 3 air-craft carriers, 7 cruisers, and 13 destroyers; he claimed that the Imperial Japanese Navy suffered during the same actions the loss of 1 carrier, 12 cruisers, 1 battleship and 17 destroyers. A U. S. commentator passed judgment on this statement that "in the terms of the remaining U. S. and Japanese strength—the only terms that count—this balance is favourable to the U. S. in every category except carriers, but the net effect on Pacific sea power is decidedly less than the bare figures from recent actions indicated." We have also to remember that in all their expansions to the south and the west, from Wake to Burma and from Luzon to the Solomons, the Japanese had not probably used more than 2,00,000 men, while China and Russia have tied up 12,00,000 of their men. This story does not bear out the contention that the Japanese have fared worse during the last six months of 1942.

And at the end of the year the problem remained—the Japanese remained in possession of almost all the fishing territories that they had occupied from the A. B. C. D. Powers. They had been beaten back in their attempt to recapture the Solomons; they had inflicted grievous hurt on the U. S. Navy; they had forced on their opponents the tactics of "inching" through the thousands of islets of the mid-Pacific towards the heart of their defense arrangements stationed round about their island-home; by the end of 1942 they had been able to re-drill all the oil wells that their enemies had wrecked in Burma and the East Indies; 55 ships had been scuttled in the Batavia harbour; 50 days of hard labour are said to have opened the harbour to ships of 10,000 tons and less; in the Surabaya harbour they had been reboating 219 ships "at the rate of 1 a day." In the field of industrial possibilities they held 7,500,000 of the world's 84,00,000 acres of rubber, "many of them left intact by the British and Dutch planters." In administration they had set up a college of colonial administration for the training of Japanese young men and women who would be taking up the burden of administering the "co-prosperity" area of east Asia for the benefit of the "Divine House" and the

Japan's successes & failures

divine people. They had set up all the paraphernalia of administration-cum-exploitation that is the mark and note of modern imperialism whether it tries to pass itself off as the 'white man's burden' or concern for the "co-prosperity" of all the peoples of east Asia.

The competing imperialism of the western peoples—British, French, Dutch, and American principally, is up against this new competitor which explains much of the many causes that have led to the outburst of war in eastern Asia. And the Allied failure to appreciate China's role

the Chinese people can be made to coincide. Therefore is it that after China has been fighting single-handed for 4½ months against the Japanese, we find these Powers toppling over one another in their anxiety to render help to her. But they do not appear to have yet realized the needs of this part of the world-wide front. A writer in the New York monthly—*Asia & the Americas*—has indicated this problem for us in the following terms:

"Our problem would enormously be simplified if we simply regarded China's unequipped army as the United Nations Asiatic land army; and our anti-Japanese effort in south-eastern Asia and the Far East were to be concentrated upon supplying that army with adequate quantities of modern equipment. Thus far, the Japanese have proved themselves superior to relatively well-equipped British Imperial troops. They have proven themselves barely superior to unarmed Chinese troops. It is almost certain that the land equipment of the Japanese being what it is, Chinese troops fighting with modernized equipment can rout them."

Since these words were written (at the beginning of 1943), more than six months have passed, and the Allied Powers do not appear to have been able to accept the logic of the suggestion made above. There was the "Chungking Ferry", no doubt! from the posts of India it carried everything: bombs, guns, other arms, medical supplies, even gasoline for "the thin stores of China." In successive despatches by U. S. correspondents the "military supply situation" was described as "desperate". A sample of these may be given here.

"Lend-Lease stuff from the U. S. is piled up in India. Planes, flying over the Himalayas at heights where ice forms on the wings and pilots need oxygen tanks, cannot carry big enough pay loads to dent the Indian piles. Moreover, planes are often grounded and are far too few. If there is anything more to appear in far greater quantities than at present—(*Time*, July 13, 1942).

The meaning of these deficiencies in terms of the limbs and life of China's combatants and civil population, only the leaders of China could know. They felt it in their innermost bones: But publicly they were all gratefulness. On the 2nd of June (1942) was signed the Chinese Lend-Lease agreement at Washington, and the Generalissimo hastened to pledge to the people of the U. S. "word that given 10 per cent of the equipment you produce in America, the Chinese Army will reap for you 100 per cent of the desired result." He made no secret, however, of the handicap under which their armies and people have been carrying on. They lacked "planes, artillery and tanks". He also told the world how they have been carrying on, what has enabled them to carry on. "What has sustained us and made it

possible for us to continue to resist has been the adoption of what I might term 'magnetic strategy', which consists in attracting the enemy to the interior, bogging him there, and holding him at bay by the more vital factor of morale."

This morale has been self-induced in China as a result of the many activities that the Chinese nationalists since the days of Sun Yat-sen have been starting to mould their people in to the heroic mould required for living a self-respecting life amid the conflicts and complications of the modern world. Certain of these activities have been described for us in the book—*China after Five Years of War*—published by the Information Ministry of the Chinese Government, amongst which the "New Life Movement," initiated by the Generalissimo, occupies a prominent place. Outside help and encouragement play no inconsiderable part in strengthening people's morale. This help and encouragement does not, however, flow disinterestedly into individual or group life. In the case of China, also, there has been more of talk than of concrete action by the leading western nations who were in a position to help.

For a hundred years she has suffered all the miseries of a weak nation surrounded by others who were more anxious to exploit her weaknesses than to hold her up. There were intrusions of her sovereignty in political, financial, and administrative life; "special privileges" were extracted from her weak rulers; her marine customs were administered by foreigners headed by the British who had sunk more than 400 hundred cores of rupees in the manufacture and trades of China; foreigners were taken out of the jurisdiction of China's courts. The awakened self-respect of the country has been chafing at these insults and injuries; and the removal of these planks in the platform of the Chinese Nationalist Movement, whether moderate or extremist, the head of the "puppet" Government at Nanking not excepted. For decades and years there have been discussions and exchange of notes between the Chinese Government and representatives of the foreign Governments for the removal of these eyesores. Japan's aggression on China has by the sword abolished these so far as the western Powers were concerned. Even the insults heaped on British men and women at Tientsin by the Japanese soldiery in 1939 did not awaken them to the necessity of hastening the end of these injustices and thereby making friends with China and enlisting her help in the fight with Japan for the hegemony of east Asia that was becoming inevitable. But it was only after Japan has swept all traces of their domination out of the area that the western Powers did feel impelled to make a definite move in the matter.

An announcement was made on October 10, 1942, the 31st anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Republic, that the United States and Britain were willing to abandon the "special privileges" that they have been enjoying for about a hundred years at the expense of China's self-respect and of her intimate mate-

rial interests. The Generalissimo in a statement that was telegraphed from Chungking on October 13 expressed to the British Prime Minister appreciation of the "voluntary abandonment of obsolete privileges"; to the President of the United States he expressed on behalf of his people rejoicings at "the American voluntary abolition of extra-territoriality," and thanked the two politicians for "assisting China to win equality among the United Nations."

Though China does not gain anything now by this renunciation, the act has been regarded as an effective psychological gesture. It is recognized that with the Japanese in possession of the most important eastern provinces of China where modern industrialism has established itself most, many of the injustices of the unequal regime will not be eliminated till the invader has been thrown out of the country. It is necessary, therefore, to understand and explain the history of the regime that at every step offended China's national self-respect and injured her material life. The privilege of "extra-territoriality" was first secured by the western Powers, specially Britain, France and the United States, by treaties concluded after China's defeat in the "Opium War" between the years 1842 and 1844. The meaning of "extra-territoriality" is that foreigners enjoying the right are not subject to the laws and courts of China, but could be sued or tried only in their own courts specially set up in China for the purpose. This built up a system of little States within the Chinese State. It was only in 1926 that Britain agreed that she was prepared to make British residents subject to the new codes and laws of Republican China. In proof of their sincerity the British concessions at Hankow, Chinliang, and Kinkiang were handed back. The restoration to China of the British concession of Weihaiwei which had been promised during the Washington Conference of 1921 was delayed till 1930 owing to the internal troubles in the country. In the year following, negotiations for the abolition of "extra-territoriality" on the part of Britain over the whole of China began; an agreement was initiated, but owing to the invasion of Manchuria by Japan these could not be concluded. The announcement made on October 10 made an end of the regime. An interpreter has under-lined the implications of this step taken by the two leaders of the western world:

"It is a fulfilment of the pledge made.....years ago to surrender all British concessions and special privileges in China; it is the first formal announcement of Anglo-American co-operation in planning for the future of the Pacific; it represents a direct challenge to Japan's 'co-prosperity sphere' and the psychological spearhead of the coming British and United States offensive against the Japanese."

We have also been told the reasons that forced the foreigners to demand these exemptions. When these privileges were extracted from China these were felt to be necessary as Chinese jurisdiction was not adequate to deal with foreign litigants and those accused of crime. But during the "troubled" days of the 19th century these foreign concessions developed into "foreign citadels" in which Chinese officials and police could not function and in which even Chinese demanded

Why "extra-territoriality" was demanded

residents were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of their own Government. It was a situation which no self-respecting people could be expected to tolerate for long. After a century of insults China is on the way to equality and dignity in the comity of nations. The announcement has called forth comments from even Conservative papers that, "we would be happy to believe, betokened a real change of spirit." "It is a recognition of the strength and vitality of the new China that has sprung from the revolution of 1911", says the *London Times*; "it registers an acknowledgment of the Chinese claim to participate in full and equal rights in the deliberations of those who will one day discuss the future ordering of a liberated world."

It becomes possible to understand the significance of the treaty, signed by the British Government in the beginning of 1943, giving effect to the announcement made in October (1942), if we quote certain of its clauses. Art. 2 of the treaty abrogated "all those provisions of treaties or agreements in force which authorized His Majesty's Government to exercise jurisdiction over nationals or companies of His Majesty in the territory of the Republic of China." Another provision indicated the willingness on the part of the Allies to take necessary measures "for the transfer and control to China of the diplomatic quarter at Peiping..... of the international settlements at Amoy and Shanghai." The reversal of Tientsin and Canton was also agreed to. It should also be told that the extra-territorial rights of Germany, Russia and Austria had been surrendered soon after the first World War.

We have tried to bring into a focus all the factors, favourable and unfavourable, that confront the Allied Powers as they meet the new year of 1943. Writing in the August of this year (1943) it is not possible to ignore or remain uninfluenced by the developments in the Mediterranean area that appear to promise them victory in Europe. In the Pacific area they have been "inching" towards the strategic positions that Japan has been occupying since the middle of 1942. Just north of Australia we still hear of fights for Lae and Salamua in New Guinea. These and Rabaul in New Britain go to show that the flow of men and munitions from the United States to Australia and further west through the south Pacific and the Indian Ocean are not quite free, that Japan's "defence in depth", organized round about the Marshalls and the Marianas and in which the name of Truk has been appearing in many of the despatches from this front, stands yet unchallenged. The attack directed against Japan in Burma has had to retire. China fights on with the tricks of help that have been flowing into her from the U. S. A. We have also been told how the Allies propose to bring home to the people of Japan the sorrows and sufferings of war, as these have been experienced by the Chinese. During the last war as well as in the present the people of Germany and Japan, the latter more than the former, have not come face to face with conditions which would tell them of the horrors of war; their leaders have been able to keep war from their home lands. And the opinion amongst Allied military men is being increasingly shared by other men who can influence opinion and direct popular feeling and thought that unless the Germans and the Japanese

Prospects in the immediate future

are made to taste in their homes all the abominations that they have released on Europe and the mainland and islands of Asia, they would not learn decency and manners in inter-national affairs; that a mere military, naval or air defeat far away from their home front would not be able to convince them that wars did not pay; that wars were not all glory and flag-waving; that wars in the modern age intrude into the homes of civilians, maim and kill innocent people, and postpone the arrival of better life that science has been holding before people to hope for and achieve. These arguments have been preparing the world for more horrors spread over more countries before it is done with the politicians and financiers in every major country who are the real war-mongers. The High Command of the Allied Powers, we have been told, is busy preparing such an offensive. We in India who read of these things in books and papers can only watch the march of events, without being able to influence it one way or the other.

But these method of teaching manners cannot be expected to have an abiding effect. The two World Wars that we have passed through do not end the catalogue of wars that have passed through human history and caused ruin to peoples. Punishment of aggressors, as is being contemplated now, has also found place in the records of many countries. But human beings have remained unrepentant and unteachable. Prophets and saints have been striving through the centuries to educate our kind into kindness and humanity. They have not been much of a success. During the last hundred years science showed that mankind could be freed from conditions of competition for bare existence—one of the most fertile breeding grounds of battles and wars—men and women have been dreaming dreams that the Parliament of man and the Federation of the world were near at hand; they have been hoping that science would be enabling us to remove these conditions of competition; that the study of human psychology would be revealing springs of action that could help us to transform and subliminate human nature, and thus enable us to throw off our brute inheritance. Since the outbreak of the World War II, of the 20th century the stupidity and horrors of war which is indistinguishable from mass suicide have revealed themselves more poignantly to the human conscience. And men of vision in warring countries have been trying to analyse all the causes, mental and material, that inflame men and women to consent to their politicians and administrators plunging them into wars in which they will be making the greatest sacrifices in life and limb, in labour and in taxes. The method of punishment has, therefore, to be modified if we are to have a better order of things in the coming years. Men of peace who have been thinking on lines of punishment do not feel happy with their own prescription. Professor Nathaniel Puffer may be taken as a representative of this class. He is associate professor of International Relations at the Columbia University (U.S.A.) In his book—*Basis for Peace in the Far East*—he felt it to be necessary "to carry the war to Japan, to leave ruins on Japanese soil, to destroy the principal Japanese cities and break down the industrial mechanism; she must be "taught a terrible lesson."

Japan must be taught "a terrible lesson"

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weaker nations, has been able to do all the fighting on other people's soil; so has been Germany.

"It is other countries that are scarred; others' villages that are devastated, with men, women and children slaughtered alike; it is others who must live out their lives among ruins. For Japan the safe and satisfying adventure closes with martial celebrations and emotional statification. Only if much of their country is devastated can the Japanese learn that war is a terrible business....."

But this does not end the story. It will be necessary to take measures to enable the Japanese to work, to live and prosper. "This is the second requirement for the Far Eastern peace." A U. S. Vice-President nation as large and as virile as the Japanese cannot be expected to keep the peace for long "if its elemental needs are not satisfied." To the case of Germany these same principles and policies should apply. Japan lies at one door of a continent that has limitless natural resources and that has half the population of the world as potential purchasers of things "made in Japan." Germany, lying at the centre of Europe, looking in the east to the illimitable land-mass reaching the Pacific and feeling barred from the west by the established imperialism of Britain, with the highest industrial potential in the power of work of her people, cannot be denied "her place in the sun"; defeated or victorious the Allied Powers will have to make the same provisions that have been proposed for the expanding desires and necessities of Japan. Mr. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States, posed this question in course of a programme broadcast to commemorate the late President Wilson's birth-day—"What are we to do with the defeated nations?"

"Revenge for the sake of revenge would be a sign of barbarism; but this time we must make absolutely sure that the guilty leaders are punished and is not permitted to rearm. Military disarmament will have to be backed up with psychological disarmament—supervision or at least inspection of Japanese and German school systems to undo as far possible the diabolical work of Hitler and Japanese war lords in poisoning the minds of the young."

"The economic problem of peace is summed up by the average man in a nutshell—if every body can be given a war-time job now why not in peace-time production? The returning soldier and sailor will demand an answer. A common meeting ground on which people of the entire world can stand is the security of plain folk against depression and against war. To unite against these two evils is not really sacrificing anything but only a common-sense facing of facts of the world in which we live."

This rather long quotation puts the thoughts and aspirations of ninety-nine per cent of the world's population in simple language for the guidance of their rulers. Unless these can be put into practice in the laws and enactments of the States, and made into patterns in the life of every man and woman, the blood, tears, and sweat of millions will have been in vain. In the pre-occupations of the war, rulers of States may not like to commit themselves into anything more than declarations that may lose all meaning in the conditions of the after-war period. But the basic necessities that Mr. Wallace indicated in his speech cannot be disregarded without an outbreak of revolt from the peoples whose patriotism, Allied and Axis, would bring the war to some sort of a close. But it has been contended that humans

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did not live by bread alone; they have their desires, ambitions and idealisms that divert them from the pursuit of the material needs of life alone. These desires, ambitions and idealisms seek to take shape in the institutions of social life, whether these be confined within a State or be extended over many countries, near or far. Thought-leaders all the world over are convinced that human life must be organized on a wider basis than at present. They have been thinking and talking of a "world council", of "regional councils" that would help the former to function properly. They have been calling on their peoples to realize the futility and harmfulness of economic policies and practices that have been stigmatized as "high tariff, penny-pinching" and "isolationism". Dr. Hsü Shih, lately Chinese ambassador at Washington, one of the thought-leaders amongst our neighbours, has told us how "science and technology have made the world a physical unity."

"But man's backwardness in political thinking and planning has failed miserably to consolidate this physically united world into a political and moral world-community."

Why humans have failed in this worth-while adventure, it is difficult to find in the many writings that have been devoted to explaining the discontents and difficulties of the modern world. One can go on repeating their arguments without satisfying doubts that have been assailing all thinking minds. There is no doubt that almost all human institutions have been challenged to-day to state their reasons for existence, to justify their ways to the conscience of modern humanity. Democracy which was heralded into the world with such rosy promises and hopes has failed to meet the needs of modern men and women. Totalitarianism has made its way into human affairs. But it is on its trial. Candid friends of democracy are apologetic with regard to its regime which during the 19th century, specially, may be said to have been started by the American Revolution overthrowing British rule over the greater part of North American continent. The many interpreters of historical developments who have been testing the promises of democracy in the crucible of human happiness on this earth, of the happiness of the widest commonality of the world, do not find all the patterns of its life suitable for securing that happiness. They have given reasons why a Napoleon and a Hitler should have emerged into the leadership of their respective peoples.

One of the latest of these, Mr. Edward Carr, one of the chief editorial writers of the London *Times*, "one of the brain-trusters" around Mr. Churchill, has in his book *—Conditions of Peace—* made a distinction between "liberal democracy" and "mass democracy", between propertyless citizens and property-less citizens. And the latter being the majority under the dispensation of modern industrialism hold the balance of power in almost every country in the western countries. Their relation to the State "is that of beneficiaries." And it is the needs and requirements of these men and women which have called from the lower strata of society rulers of many of the States. To this development Mr. Carr refers in the following words :

"Just as Napoleon exploited the demand for liberty and equal political rights expressed in the French Revolution, so Hitler exploits for his purposes the demand

Napoleon & Hitler
did a necessary
work

for social equality and equal economic rights expressed in the Bolshevik Revolution.....Hitler has commended the work which Marx and Lenin had begun, of overwhelming the 19th century capitalist system."

It would be difficult to persuade people in the Allied countries to appreciate, as Mr. Carr has done, the work that Herr Hitler has been doing in the scheme of modern European nations—"the perhaps indispensable function of sweeping away the litter of the old war." But Europe will have to live with the German nation, take them along and be taken along by them to the "new order" of opportunity opened to all, and dignity conferred on all as human beings. In a previous volume of the *Indian Annual Register*, we have referred to the constructive possibilities that lie hidden behind the destructive activities of the Nazi party and its leader—the organization of the European continent as a unit, politically and economically. To this possibility also does Mr. Carr refer when he said,

"Europe should have had its network of frontiers battered down long ago, and merely because the job has been done by totalitarians is no reason why it should be undone by the United Nations in their hour of victory."

The work of post-war reconstruction envisaged in books like these has also to take note of the contribution that Soviet Russia will be called upon to make towards the solution of the many complex problems that will be raising their heads as soon as the "stop fire" order goes over all the battle fronts. It is no use denying that the leading members of the "United Nations" in Europe and America—Britain, Russia and the United States—are not yet *etc. etc.*, of one mind, with regard to this vast subject. In the atmosphere of angry emotionalism generated by the war, many things are being said by the leaders of the warring nations that would have to be unsaid when peace plans will have to be put into force, when warring nations will have to sit down to the hard work of re-construction of the devastated life of millions. This work cannot be done piecemeal, confined to little patches of soil, but must embrace all the countries of all the continents. Mr. Wendell Willkie pointed out in a broadcast to his people after his "grand tour" through thirteen countries in Africa, Europe and Asia the "global basis" of this reconstruction work :

"We must fight our way through not alone to the destruction of our enemies but to the new world idea. To win peace three things seem to be necessary : We must plan for a peace on a global basis. Secondly, the world must be free, economically and politically. Thirdly, America must play an active constructive part in freeing it and keeping it at peace. Our boasting and big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia, China, and the Middle East are conscious of their own potential strength. They are coming to know that many decisions about the future of the world lie in their hands."

Here we have the sketch of a necessary work that must be done, and done so well that the world may not have again to go through the experiences of the last four years. In this work as well as the picture of the small. Who will do the thinking and the supervising of this work, on what principle it will have to be moulded—these are the real war aims that have not yet been

defined. Failure to do so on the part of the leaders of the Allied Powers has been "losing friends" for them, to quote Mr. Willkie again; by the silence on the part of the United States toward the problem of Indian independence, we have already drawn heavily on the reservoir of good will in the East; "India is our problem;.....in the same sense the Philippines are a British problem." The clarification of the war aims, as attempted here by Mr. Willkie, goes to the heart of the matter. It is not claimed that it exhausts the subject, that there are not any other subject that should find a place in the catalogue. Another thought-leader of the United States, Prof. Frederick Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Government, Williams College (Massachusetts) approached the problem in the same spirit in course of a letter to the New York weekly—*Time*. He drew attention to the way in which Lord Linlithgow's Government outlived the Indian National Congress "at a time when no overt act of disobedience had taken place". But the words that pushes India into the heart of the argument framed by Mr. Willkie are the following:

"India has become the acid test of our fitness to survive. To fail here is to fail everywhere. To succeed here is to prove the truth of the President's words: We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage."

From another member of the "United Nations" rose voices pleading for the solution of the Indo-British problem. A U. S. paper in its issue of September 21 (1942) reported that Dr. T. H. Siang, Director of Political Affairs in China, had stated the position of his country in reference to this problem. It was not a British "domestic" matter, but about the deadlock in India

but a moral issue concerning "not only all the United Nations, but the future prospect of the future world order." In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have shown how the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek undertook an arduous journey to India with a view to influence both the British authorities and the representative men of India to make it up. Even the failure of the Cripps Mission does not appear to have minimized their anxiety with regard to India, as is evident from a report published in the same number of the U. S. paper—"Lanchin Currie, President Roosevelt's envoy to China, told Washington that the Chungking Government is pressing for Indian mediation by the President".

This anxiety spread to other nations when the leaders of the Indian National Congress felt driven by the attitude of the British Government to demand that the "external authority" should retire from the country in an orderly and peaceful manner. This demand was precipitated by the way in which Sir Stafford Cripps had handled his negotiations with the leaders of Indian public opinion. In the last volume of the *Annual Register* we have tried to trace the play of the many forces that defeated the well-meaning attempts of the "agent" of the British War Cabinet. His subsequent attempts to justify his own way of doing things landed him into contradictions that were hard to reconcile. In broadcasts to the American people, in articles contributed to U. S. news-papers he gave versions of his Indian negotiations that have been challenged by U. S.

correspondents present at New Delhi and by Indian nationalist leaders. But the harshest criticism of these was passed by a member of the House of Commons, Mr. S. O. Davis: "The Lord Privy Seal must be getting into a very difficult situation over this Indian business. I used to know him when he held a great respect for facts and truth." The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru replied: "Sir Stafford Cripps.... in my opinion bungled and bungled hopelessly as I can say from personal knowledge." The proposals of the War Cabinet that he had brought with him did not satisfy any party or group in India. These were not intended to satisfy anybody. An article in the *Pacific Affairs* of June, 1942, after a detailed analysis of these proposals passed judgment on them that Indian nationalists could not improve.

"But, if the conditions laid down as prerequisites to the new Indian Union are examined closely it will be observed that the role of the Princes and the minorities was made even more decisive than in the 1935 Act. Not only were they were to become the bases of separate Domains, rivaling the 'Indian Union' in his elaboration of this part of the scheme Cripps indicated that 'non-acceding provinces' (and of course the Princely States) could have their own armies if they wished. The whole direction of the plan, therefore, cut right across nationalist conceptions of a single united India."

It may be useless now to refer to Sir Stafford Cripps and his mission to India and its failure. The disappointment and resentment which followed the March-April negotiations, the misrepresentation of the part played by Mahatma Gandhi in this failure persisted in by Sir Stafford, formed the back-ground of the momentous decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee at its meeting held at Bombay on the 8th August, 1942. On behalf of the Government of India, the Additional Secretary to the Government in the Home Department published reports of the many meetings of the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee, the supreme executive of the National Organisation, which help us to understand the various elements of this "open rebellion". The Preface to the booklet was written in New Delhi on the 13th February, 1943. It is entitled—

Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances, 1942—43, "published with authority"

From extracts of articles published in the columns of *Haryan*, written by Gandhi, from extracts made from the speeches of Congress leaders, an attempt has been made to build up the enormity of the step taken by the Indian National Congress under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. In our last volume we have traced this history of the growing impatience of the leadership of India's many political parties with the ways of the system of administration of India that has kept her people immobile during one of the greatest crises in the fate and fortunes of humanity. The booklet helps us to understand the bitterness of this frustration. This is its only value imparted to it unconsciously and perhaps unknowingly by the collectors of the informations put inside its covers. They have sought to dramatize these by a connected story of the "Quit India" movement initiated by Gandhi in an article first published in *Haryan*, dated April 26 (1942). The key-note of the movement has been quoted: "Whatever the consequences,

therefore, to India, her real safety and Britain's too lie in orderly and timely British withdrawal from India."

"The Tottenham booklet is no better than the prosecution story, untested and unchallenged by the side opposite. As a black-out had been put over the country, the public had to fall back on rumours and their embellishments for an appreciation of the events happening round them. The booklet supplies certain gaps said to have been issued by the underground organisers of the disturbances which will enable readers to realize the extent of these activities. The name of "B. Jai Prakash" finds a prominent place in this pamphlet, more than one mention. The story of sabotage that is unravelled in this booklet for the first time in India has been propagandized in foreign countries. It does not appear to have impressed them much, as the New York paper—*Time*—pointed out the humour of the whole affair in its issue of December 14 (1942).

"Indian intellectuals who tuned in to the BBC. short wave radio blinked with surprise. Over the air they were receiving explicit instructions on how to conduct a campaign of passive resistance. After four months of Mohandas Gandhi's non-violent non-resistance, it seemed to the listeners that the bombing BBC. was trying to instil Italians, not Indians, in slow-down technique. The British were carrying coals from India to Italy."

These foreign papers and their readers had earlier information of the disturbances in India, and they based their comments and criticism of men and things in our country on the briefs supplied to them by the British authorities. It is not possible for Indian publicists to have access to any of these despatches; they must depend on the very few that trickle into this country through the meshes of censorship of various strictness. They have to read between the lines of these to understand and appreciate the case of India as it is allowed to be presented to the outside world. From our own experience we can say that we guess more of the truth from papers that have an anti-Indian bias than from friendly papers, the very few that can get entrance into India. In this view of the matter, we give below the cable sent by Mr. Graham Stanford, *Overseas Daily Mail* Special correspondent in India, and published in the September 26 (1942) number of the paper on "the disturbances in India."

"There was plenty of bloodshed, but that is only a minor part of the story. The full gravity of the situation lay in the wide-spread campaign of expert sabotage, heavily financed and skillfully organized, aimed at wrecking India's power to defend herself."

"In fact, the campaign was different from anything India has known before. This was a deliberate, brilliantly organized attempt completely to sabotage the Allied war effort."

"The workers of the great Tata Iron & Steel Company were seduced into striking. And so there was a sudden stop of the stream of war materials from that greatest industrial Centre in Bihar. "The Tata strike was one of many. At one time all the cotton mills in Bombay and Ahmedabad were idle, and the workers were roaming the streets looking for trouble."

"Then the markets were closed down. For a time there was practically a complete stoppage of business life in India."

"And all the time the saboteurs were striking at the railways, up-rooting lines, firing signal boxes, burning stations, and cutting important telegraphic communications upon which the defence of India so largely depends."

"The saboteurs were working to a definite plan. They were striking at places carefully selected to affect the war effort."
"Bihar, valley of the Ganges, which contains the Tata Steel Works—the largest steel-producers in the empire—was a typical example."
"This province holds some of the richest and most extensive iron mines in the world. It supplies iron and steel works in both Bengal and Bihar. It is the most important manufacturing centre in the world."
"It ranked top of the list with the saboteurs. If they beat Bihar they might win India—or lose it to the Japanese. That's how they figured it as they plotted the campaign in their ever-shifting hide-outs. So terror and destruction stalked in this valley of the Ganges."
"You could not buy food in many places, and there was a general close-down of shops."
"It is important to remember that millions of pounds are invested in the movement; that Congress has the backing of some of the country's wealthiest businessmen and industrialists. They have poured out money to finance the movement." "India simmers with bitterness and discontent. Every day a little more hate is injected into the general picture. Until this hate is turned upon the common enemy—the Jap—there can be no security in India."
"When the disturbances were at their height I sat in the office of a high Government official and heard him say: 'It will be touch and go for many days yet.' At that time I could not cable that remark."
We do not know when this cable was sent out of India. It could not have been in August during which there prevailed the greatest tension. And Mr. Stansford's high Government official does not appear to be an authentic witness and judge of matters, if we are to trust what appeared in the New York weekly—*Time*—in its issue of August 31:
"The position of British Raj in the Indian Civil Disobedience movement was summed up by a man in New Delhi: 'You Americans think that we are sitting on top of a powder keg. We're not. We're sitting on an anthill. We may get ants in our pants, but we'll ride it out.'"
The comments of the paper were based upon the perception that truth in this matter lies in the middle, that "at week's end neither August movement the British nor the Congress party had won anything but turmoil and hatred." One can well understand why the British and, following their cue, their cousins beyond the Atlantic should be angry with this movement which would result in the dis-organisation of many of their arrangements made in India for the projected move against Japan with this country as the starting-point of these operations. The Home Member in the Executive Council of Lord Linlithgow in course of his speech made in the Legislative Assembly at New Delhi took great pains in pointing out that there was considerable evidence of "the technical knowledge displayed by the saboteurs;" that "much of the damage caused must have required special implements which could not have been produced at a moment's notice—wire cutters to cut telegraph wires, spanners to remove fish plates from railway lines." The interpretation he has put on the timing of the movement—"at a time when there was little fear of the development of an enemy attack, with which the movement had possibly been planned to synchronize," appears to be unjustified, as his remark about there being little fear of an enemy attack ought to have told him. All the propaganda that the British have spread over the world over this matter hinges on the danger to Allied arrangements made in India. The despatch from the Indian correspondent of the *Overseas Daily Mail*, every paragraph

of it, ends with the refrain that the movement was intended to halt Allied offensive against Japan, to harm the chances of a joint Anglo-American and Chinese drive against the common enemy. The official speakers at the debate in the Central Legislature harped on the same topic.

And it is no wonder that for once again British propaganda has been effective in persuading the world that Gandhi and the other leaders of the Indian National Congress are pro-Axis, pro-Japanese. This in spite of the repeated declarations of the Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad and Mahatma Gandhi. Opening the momentous session of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on the 7th of August (1942), the former said:

Let the British Government sign India's independence and simultaneously we will sign our agreement to the United Nations to fight along with the Allies against all aggressors."

The latter writing in the columns on *Harjun* on the justice of the claim for "the ending of British power" which is *Swaraj* for India, tries to reason out the causes why the Congress had felt impelled to choose the particular time for "the contemplated mass action."

He paraphrased it thus :

"India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it is so, and what is more, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, nay, a decisive part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know that if India does not become free now, the hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese should they effect a landing. We feel that such an event will be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can avoid it if India gains her freedom. To distrust this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster."

Human words could not express more clearly the feelings and sentiments that actuated the leaders of the Indian National Congress to persuade the British authorities to part with the power that has kept the people of India helpless witnesses of the wretchedness that has followed revolutionary changes in the State organisation of countries in the various continents, specially in their immediate neighbourhood

in Burma, Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies. It would remain a wonder to the future historian of these times why the British authorities could not put their trust in the declarations made by the Nationalist leaders of India. The thing could only be due to the unnatural relation that has been subsisting between India and Great Britain where the easy confidence of fellow-workers for human good has never been allowed to grow and develop. The ill-feeling into which the two countries have been drifting more deeply as the years of their relationship have lengthened has become now a subject of concern not only to the Indo-British politician and the administrator but to every friend of humanity. Immersed in the war work the leaders of the Allied Nations, Britain and the United States at the present moment, do not appear to have had any time to devote to the Indo-British problem raised to the human plane. Their Press has been as blind with very few honourable exceptions. And those that have been clear-sighted have found it difficult to maintain their equanimity in face of the drum-beating of imperialists and men and women who find themselves as their temporary allies.

Unnatural relation
between India &
Britain

To take one example from the Press of the United States. The *Washington Post* which is said to be "close to the Administration" has been one of the most vigorous of critics of the policy of the Indian National Congress. For days previous to the August resolution, since Mahatma Gandhi first gave expression to the "Quit India" idea, the paper has been unsparing in criticism of this novel method suggested to an imperialist Government peacefully and orderly to give over charge to the representatives of the subject people of the power and prestige that it has been exercising and enjoying for centuries. In the third week of July it wrote: "If the Congress Party should ratify the proposal it would for ever condemn itself as the enemy of civilization and freedom." But in the third week of October it could suggest that "it has been the fear of the Japanese that has started the agitation, and India's fears should be removed." A "reassuring word" was as easy to give as it was in the case of Egypt; "but of course it must be accompanied by deeds." *Review* which sent the extract of its article speculated about the reason for this appreciation of a part of the Indian stand-point, and spoke about the coincidence of Mr. Willkie's return to Washington from his tour. The *Post* also suggested "Sino-American assistance in mediation in India." And then paraphrased how the Allied "war aims and peace aims meet an acid test in India."

A Sample of
American Press
opinion

"The Americans realise these implications of the trouble in India but any constructive approach to the new problem in India created by civil disobedience requires something more than British or even United Nations' assurances of all-out protection." "Such a settlement requires recognition by the British that mediation might very well be helpful in taking the poison from the present atmosphere. For, if this is recognisably 'all for one and one for all', as it is, the British should admit the principle of third-party interest in war-time settlement."

The paper was, however, careful to remark that the Indian problem should not be allowed to "become a source of dissension between Britain and the United States." Yet the British were not happy. The people of the republic do not maintain a steady attitude. The London *Economist* gives expression to this feeling when it suggests that due to "clever large-scale propaganda in the United States on behalf of the Congress", American opinion becomes now and then "increasingly critical" of the British regime in India, specially now when "no progress has been made on the British side towards securing a settlement of the political differences in India." There was friendship during the Cripps Mission when it was felt that "a settlement was being held up simply by the inability of the Indian parties to agree among themselves." Then there was a reaction when the full story of the failure of the Cripps Mission and other U. S. correspondents, Gandhi's suggestion started the pro-British swing again. This continued for about two months, with the customary reaction which the London weekly sorrowfully records. It traces this see-saw of attitude to the "obvious historical reasons." The reference was evidently to the causes of the American War of Independence when the 13 States on the Atlantic sea board broke away from the British empire. The people of the country

The see-saw of
Anglo-American
relation

are constitutionally inclined to regard all matters appertaining to the British empire and in particular to India with the deepest suspicion, that is to say, largely because of the unfortunate tradition and because of the subtle Congress propaganda—which is no new thing but began many years ago—there is a large section of American opinion which does not really want to see the British side of the case."

There may be truth in this complaint of the London weekly. But there is no doubt in any mind in India that the "large section of American opinion" to which reference has been made in the above quotation do not carry that weight with the ruling classes of the country which would use its influence to heal the difference that have erupted into the attention of the world existing between two members of the "United Nations." Mr. Churchill has been successful in his appeals to the common traditions of the "Anglo-Saxon" countries, specially those that exist between Britain and the United States. In Vol. I. of 1940 of the *Annual Register*, we have discussed this subject. And in tracing the history of the new friendship between the countries we quoted from the book of the French writer, Andre Siegfried, the evolution of the "secret doctrine", handed down from father to son, that the United States should remain "Protestant and Anglo-Saxon". This is how it "guarantees for Britain an undisputed and privileged position" in the life of the greatest republic of the modern world. Indian nationalists who have any inclination towards the U. S. as a prop in their fight for political independence should do well to remember this history. The London *Economist* has made a grievance of the fact that "subtle Congress propaganda" attempts to influence opinion and State policy in favour of India. But realists amongst us should entertain no hope that this will ever be so successful as to inaccommodate the spiritual and material ties that bind Britain and the United States. In more than one volume of this book we have tried to bring knowledge of these elements of Anglo-American relationship as a factor in the future political and financial order of the world. These elements count far more than any sympathy and admiration that certain sections of the American people may have had for the spiritual and philosophic message that India might have sent since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy and of the Emerson group of U. S. thinkers and scholars. The work initiated by Swami Vivekananda and other members of the Ramkrishna Mission which a Bengalee author in the exuberance of his enthusiasm has called the establishment and extension of "the Ramkrishna Empire" over wide spaces of the world is a work of centuries before it can create any force in the political life of this particular country. These considerations take away much from the expectations, most of them unexpressed, that were prevalent in our country that the liberty-loving Americans would be throwing their weight on our side in our tussle with Britain. These were totally unrealistic; and in the ultimate ordering of things it may happen that this dis-appointment will have a sobering effect on our conduct of international affairs.

American criticism of British empire has, therefore, to be taken with the proverbial grain of salt. Britain possesses many avenues

of approach to the core of American life, spiritual and material, of which we cannot have any knowledge. U. S. criticism may sting the British, but during the centuries they have developed a certain hide that is proof against stronger pricks. The possession and exploitation of an empire over which the sun never set have imparted this quality to the British make-up. There may be truth in the criticisms. But these are as much applicable to the conduct of American foreign policy. For various reasons "the land of the free" has followed British lead in international affairs or Britain could make it appear that she was following the American lead. *The Atlantic Magazine* refers to such an episode when it pleaded for "coming to terms with the Congress," and warned the people of the danger of following the British lead in the present crisis.

"Twenty years ago a similar British Government with American support backed the reactionary war-lords of China as against Sun Yat-sen and the nationalists movement. Six years later they had to come to terms with the nationalists war-lords. Chinese history may help us now to see that it would have made more sense to imprison leaders of the Muslim League than leaders of the Congress."

This remonstrance and others that can be quoted have not helped to ease the Indo-British controversy. Of the leaders of the "United Nations" China and the United States have been unsuccessful. Soviet Russia has been silent. The British in their world-wide sampling of world opinion against the Congress movement has not cared to have published any criticism from Russian papers for or against it. So the situation has been left to Britain to mishandle it in her own way. We can believe that the British people are not happy with this condition of things, that they may be feeling that their present leaders cannot do the right thing by India. Even British public men appear to feel that this suspicion exists. Sir George Schuster, one-time finance member of the Government of India and now a member of the House of Commons, in a letter to the London *Times* expressed this feeling. Condemning the Indian National Congress for what it had done or initiated in August, he pressed for a lead out of the impasse. Could this lead come from the present members of the British Government? No, he said.

"Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspired leadership or rise to the needs of an occasion. British leadership must be conceived in a new way. The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics it is Indian ministers that should hold the platform. Of the Dominions which at one time were known as "Britains beyond the Seas" we have not heard that any help has been extended by any of them to solve the problem, effective enough to be chronicled. One exception has come into our hands that we should like to give publicity to. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation of Canada was founded by Labour and Farmer parties about ten years ago, and according to a "Gallup poll" it has been found securing the support of 21 per cent of the electorate. On October 27 (1942) its National Executive issued a statement on the Indian situation insisting on the "urgent need of seeking an immediate solution of the deadlock in India."

U. S. following
British lead in
China

It pointed out that the "Indian situation was the direct concern to all the United Nations both as an important factor in reaching an early and successful conclusion of the world conflict, and as a symbol of the kind of peace for which we are fighting." It gave expression to the apprehension that "repressive measures, obstinacy or violence of language, can only serve to deepen the crisis, to endanger the war in the Pacific and to weaken seriously the morals and confidence of the United Nations." It suggested, therefore, that

"Negotiations should be resumed by a Committee acting under the auspices of the United Nations, led by Britain, China, Russia and the United States. This A Canadian plan is necessary not only because the issue is of vital concern to the India and the British Government have lost confidence in each other." "The Congress leaders in India should be among those invited to resume negotiations and should be released from prison immediately, on the understanding that Congress would not carry on civil disobedience and that Government would discontinue its repressive measures.

"Negotiations should be based on the acceptance of the principle of self-government for India now as well as after the war." "The National Executive of the CCF believes that Canada has a particular responsibility to play its part in seeking a democratic settlement of the Indian Crisis. She is not only one of the United Nations but is the senior Dominion of the British Commonwealth and a country enjoying close relations with the United States."

"The National Executive therefore requests the CCF national president and leader to urge upon the Prime Minister that he take all necessary steps to secure a re-opening of negotiations in India along the lines outlined above."

There have been other voices that have pleaded for the restoration of peaceful conditions in India. A. U. S. paper reported some time at the end of August (1942) what the Socialist leader, Norman Thomas,

who was the Socialist candidate as a rival to Mr. Roosevelt, after a conference with the U. S. Foreign Secretary Cordell Hull, had said that their Government had "unofficially" offered to serve as a "mediator" who is keenly "desirous of helping both sides reach an agreement on the issues so that India might make her full contribution to the United Nation."

We have read angrier protests against "the folly which seeks to save India from her enemies by a policy of terrorization endorsed by her friends", to quote Prof. Fredrick Schuman's words. And his proposal was no less concrete than those made by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation quoted above.

"This is America's opportunity, for only America enjoys the confidence of all. Let Americans everywhere ask their President to join with the leaders of China and Russia in proposing arbitration of the Indian conflict. Let the proposal expressly contemplate the preparation by a United Nation Tribunal of a plan for an independent India, linked in war and peace alike to the British Commonwealth and the United Nations as a free and equal power....."

We know that America could not do what Prof. Schuman had proposed. They could not do so because they could not ignore "the material crisis" that faced them, because they could not afford the luxury of harping on "moral values". As ordinary men and women they could react to the "Quit India" movement in the only way that ordinary men and women can be expected to do. The feelings of these people were vividly expressed in a New York *Herald Tribune* article:

"Those who are not with us in this struggle are against us. And Americans did feel

those whose acts and attitudes, whether intended or not, would deprive us in whole or part of the enormous military advantage derived from the possession of India, can hardly expect the Americans to regard them with anything but hostility." It is response like this to the feelings of ordinary Americans that compels the Administration to follow the policy of non-intervention that it has elected to do in the matter of India. Replying to a friend of India "an authoritative Administration spokesman" is reported to have said: "We'll even suppose all you say is true. Do you expect us to go to war with our Ally, Britain, at this moment to achieve independence for India"? It is because the British Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, understood the implications of this attitude that he did speak in the way that he did in the House of Commons on September 10 (1942). He could play with the census figures of India trying to prove that the Indian National Congress did not represent the majority of the Hindus of India, not to speak of the other minorities. He could gloat over the fact that India's many races are "divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated." And he could by suggestion and insinuation incite all the separatist conceits in India. "Outside that party (the Congress) and fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Moslems in British India who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables as they are called, because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 255 millions in these three large groupings alone out of the 390 millions in all India. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress party." And the part of the speech of Mr. Churchill that caused the utmost pleasure to his supporters appears to have been the following:

How Mr. Churchill exploited this feeling

"It is a political machine built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests."

This is the British brief that appears to have been accepted by the ruling classes of many of the Allied peoples. Mr. Herbert Matthews has devoted a special dispatch to the *New York Times* in tracing the many factors that make up the Indo-British problem. He chose finance to indicate "the battleground between the British and Indians." Calcutta is Britain's industrial stronghold, and the Managing Agency system is "the channel through which the British dominate a large part of Indian industry." This has been a point of attack chosen by the Indian businessmen. And many of them have been in alliance with the leaders of the Indian National Congress supporting them in various ways. "Practical businessmen" in Calcutta are reported to be "greatly worried by the prospect of independence, although they do not expect that it will come for some years after the end of the war." Their jealousy of the rising generation of Indian businessmen is reflected back by the attitude of the latter whose leaders have been losing patience with the present regime. The

Indian finance-capital & the Congress

"Birla Brothers of Bombay finance the All-India Congress," Mr. Matthews underlined Mr. Churchill when he said:

Mr. Birla is out openly to oust the British and he subsidises the Congress heavily. The Indians talked to (including Mr. B. M. Birla, Sir Radhakrishna and Mr. J. C. Mahindra) are not afraid that Jawaharlal Nehru's socialistic ideal will gain the ascendancy. Even if he runs the show, the Indians believe that he will be 'sensible.'

Mr. Churchill's rhetorical purpose in calling attention to the backing given by Indian businessmen and financiers to the Indian National Congress was not complimentary. But those who know anything about the clientele that the Conservative Party of Britain serves will derive some enjoyment out of this outburst. They know that these represented "billions in investments—with iron representation around 10 Downing Street", that the "City" in London was the master of the Government which Mr. Churchill heads today. Historians, British historians, have told us how Britain has built up her empire, by breaking all the Ten Commandments of the Bible. And an American writer has sympathetically analysed the cruel choice that confronts her today. "Britain's whole economic system has been built on a foundation of imperialism, and to expect them to destroy with their own hands that foundation is to expect them to make greater sacrifices for the new world order than any people has made thus far." This statement explains the meaning of Mr. Churchill's declaration that he has not become Britain's Prime Minister to "preside over the liquidation" of that empire. And the cruel choice we have referred to has been put into words by another American writer: "If he (Mr. Churchill) was fighting for freedom, he might have to risk Britain's greatness. If he was fighting for empire, he might risk losing the war." The New York weekly—*Life*—in an "Open Letter" to the people of Britain tried to rub in the contradiction that must have been dividing the mind of many a Britisher: "Quit fighting the war to hold the empire together and join with Russia and with your other allies to fight the war by whatever strategy is best for all of us. If you cling to the empire at the expense of the United Nations' victory, you will lose the war.....because you will lose us."

These idealistic declarations of a section of the American public do not, however, represent any effective group in the Administration of the United States. We have discussed in a previous page how undeniable is American support to our fight for political democracy. We have in more than one volume of the *Indian Annual Register* discussed the various ways in which Britain can influence and twist the administrative policy of the republic. Since the outbreak of the present war, specially since Mr. Churchill became Prime Minister of Britain, he has been straining every vocal nerve to popularize the "Anglo-Saxon" theme—the prospect held before the English-speaking peoples of ruling the destiny of the world by a combination of the experience in imperial rule of Britain with the youthful energies of the "Britains beyond the Seas" whether these be included in the British State system or beyond it. And it is not beyond human calculation that powerful sections of American society will be succumbing to the virus that British publicists and politicians have been injecting into their body politic.

The temptations
before American
finance-capital

Phrases like "the American century", "manifest destiny" point out to the direction of the wind of feeling, interest, and a sort of idealism that finds pleasure in contemplating the dominant part that the United States will be playing in the future ordering of the world. Human history does not tell us that any people has been able to refuse the invitation of such a destiny. And it is no criticism of American men and women if they feel that they would be fulfilling world purpose if they accepted co-partnership with Britain in managing the "dependent parts" in the empire of their "old country". Our disappointment with the policy followed by the Roosevelt Administration with regard to the argument between India and Britain need not exasperate us and blind us to the fact that we have to deal with ordinary men and women with their desires, ambitions, love of power—desire to play the "big brother" to others, to display their wealth and its symbols—in judging American policy in relation to our country. This appreciation of human nature, this cynicism, is the first step towards that realist approach to politics that only will enable us to stand against the slings and arrows of adversity and harshness, unbowed and undiscouraged.

We have tried to understand one element of the many that must have influenced American policy and practice. There is another that has made it easy for the imperialist publicists and politicians of Britain to persuade their consins across the Atlantic. *The New York Times* in an article that appeared in its columns on the eve of the August meeting of the All-India Congress Committee put emphasis on this—the fear of "civil war" in India between the Hindus and Muslims—the "fear" that weighed with the British authorities, that forbade them to "take the chance of abandoning India to a civil war". This has been the British brief—not a new thing but as old as the establishment of British rule in this country. By our own conduct the people of India seem to accept the truth of this contention. It is no wonder, therefore, that even radical thinkers like Bertrand Russell who are troubled in their conscience by the failure of Britain to "awaken the people of India to a knowledge of what this war means for them"—even they are willing to put it forth as an argument for the continuance of the Churchill technique of government. Bertrand Russell has been living in the United States for a number of years far away from the din and clamour of British life. In course of a letter to the *New York Weekly—Time*—in the last week of September he indicated his reaction to the movement initiated by the Congress resolution.

"Civil" war between Hindus & Muslims

".....I deplore the present conflict in India. I do not think it would be possible, as the Congress party demanded, to hand over the Government to a war, and bitterly at odds among themselves on many important questions. Apart from the difficulties naturally involved in a change while a Japanese invasion is imminent, the replies to Sir Stafford Cripps made clear that a British withdrawal now would leave India in chaos and anarchy, if not actually in civil war, which would result in an easy conquest by Japan."

Mr. Churchill could not have phrased the British brief better than Bertrand Russell has done. Evidently it is based on the report or reports that Sir Stafford Cripps must have carried to his people in State papers, in private talks and correspondence. We must wait for decades before these are made available to the public. In his House of Commons speech on the 11th of September, 1942, he said: "The stumbling block to India's political freedom is the fact that the British Government is not prepared to hand over the Government to a war, and bitterly at odds among themselves on many important questions. Apart from the difficulties naturally involved in a change while a Japanese invasion is imminent, the replies to Sir Stafford Cripps made clear that a British withdrawal now would leave India in chaos and anarchy, if not actually in civil war, which would result in an easy conquest by Japan."

of Commons speech, in his broadcasts and articles in newspapers, we have not seen it suggested by Sir Stafford that Indian politicians whom we had talked with were, any of them, anxious to exchange "masters", that any step taken by the British to transfer real power to the representatives of the Indian people, to "a professedly representative collection of Indians hastily assembled", would result in the dire consequences predicted by Bertrand Russell and the New York daily. Many of India's politicians have broadcast what they would do or not do if real power were transferred to them even during the war. When the history of these times comes to be written and people would be in possession of the facts then, we have no doubt, the world would be wondering why with all the good will in the world extended to India by so many peoples and their leaders the heart of her people could not be enlisted on the side of the Allied cause. Then will it find out that the "essential obstacle" to this event had been the unwillingness of the British authorities to part with power. Mr. Arthur Moore, till a year back editor of the Calcutta Anglo-Indian daily, in a statement to the Press, brought this fact out. He dismissed with impatience the plea that it was the absence of agreement among Indians that stood in the way of Britain transferring her power to India. He quoted extracts from two of the speeches made by Mr. Amery to prove the hollowness of this plea. Speaking in the House of Commons the Secretary of State for India had said on September 11 :

"There is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government."

On October 1, again speaking in the House of Commons, he had said :

"In any such national government that were constituted there would of course have to be ultimate responsibility to Parliament."

The significance of the last quotation lies in the fact that it was regarded as some of a reply to Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member in Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, who in course of a speech made in the Central Legislative Assembly at New Delhi on September 18, (1942) had said that "any proposal which has the unanimous support of the Hon'ble members opposite cannot be lightly treated by any Government here or in England."

"Hon'ble Members have been talking about 'national government' and that is a cry coming from all corners of India, but is it realized that national government cannot be imposed but it must be the creation of the fairly unanimous will of the people ? With the consent of all parties, it comes in automatically where there is a government of the people and in places where there is a foreign government it has to be formed first by the people themselves and the proposal is submitted then to the Government of the day, and if denied, the so-formed national government asserts its will."

"I cannot conceive that if such a government is formed, His Majesty's Government can possibly resist it."

The quotations made in Mr. Moore's statement from Mr. Amery's speeches throw overboard any hopes that Sir Sultan Ahmed might sincerely have entertained in his heart. Mr. Moore's pungent comment on the Amery thesis—"nor would any British Dominion call that self-government or tolerate the interference of Parliament"—ought to silence exposed

A make-belief
that was soon

all the well-meaning politicians in India who are ever anxious to restore confidence in the intentions and declarations of the type of British politicians represented by the leading members of the present British Government. Sir Sultan Ahmed and politicians of his class who, even though members of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council, cannot initiate any talk of constitutional reform or advance in India even in the *harem* of this Council, should be serving their people better if they tried to test the virtues of the many powers that they are said to enjoy and exercise as members of the Government in India. The country has demanded with one voice without being handicapped by differences in political beliefs and economic affiliations for "the transfer of *de facto* power now" to the representatives of the Indian people; in their many speeches none of the Indian members of the Linlithgow team has shown that they do support this demand and are prepared to state their known and unknown claims to political wisdom on the success of this "fairly unanimous will of the people." It would add to the political illumination of their people if they honestly confessed that they had no power in this behalf, as was done by his new colleague, Sir Mahomed Usman.

He did it in course of replies to the interpellations addressed to him as representing the Government in the Council of State. These throw light on the exact position of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council, exposing the pretensions of politicians who make a parade of their rights and privileges as members of the Delhi-Simla bureaucracy. The public will remain grateful to Sir Mahomed Usman for bringing them knowledge of the inner springs that move the Government of India. Mr. P. N. Saprú asked the innocent question whether the Government proposed to re-open negotiations for "the formation of a Provisional composite Government at the centre"? The Government member, Sir Mahomed Usman, replied that this was "a matter primarily for His Excellency the Governor-General and His Majesty's Government, rather than the Government of India." The dialogue that then started is so interesting that we do not make any apology for quoting it in full:

"The Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam: Do we take it that the formation of the Central Government is not a matter for the Governor-General in Council but that the Governor-General acting in his discretion?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman: It is a matter for His Excellency the Governor-General and His Majesty's Government, and not for the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru: Are we to understand that the Government of India has no concern with the subject and that it does not consider itself called upon to make recommendations on the subject for the consideration of His Majesty's Government? If this is its view, what is it for? What are these wise and patriotic men in the Viceroy's Executive Council for?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman: It does not fall within the normal jurisdiction of the Executive Council.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú: Am I to understand that the sole responsibility for advising His Majesty's Government as regards the nature of the constitution that should be worked in the *interim* period rests exclusively with the Governor-General and that the Governor-General in Council has no voice whatever in regard to this matter? Is this the position which the Indian members of the Council have accepted?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman: If the Governor-General consults his Executive Council, he gets its opinion.

"The Hon'ble Mr. P. N. Saprú: Am I to understand further that the Indian members of the Executive Council have no desire to offer on their own

initiative any advice to His Excellency the Governor General in regard to the manner in which the future Government of India should be composed ?

"The Hon'ble Sir Mahomed Usman : The Government of India Act does not recognise the position of Indian members of the Council as such."

"The rather long quotation from the proceedings of the Central Legislature exposes the utter unreality of the many constitutional changes that we are asked to believe are steps towards democratic self-government in India generously taken by the British Government. Constitutional *pundits* may hold forth on their many virtues. But the instinct of the vast majority of our people has appraised these at their proper value, that these are not intended to lead us anywhere into the region of *Swamy* for our country. It is in the back-ground of this knowledge that the efforts of non-Congress politicians in India for a political struggle for the duration of the war have to be studied, and their failure understood. Mr. Rajagopalachariar, ex-Premier in the Congress Ministry in Madras, has been most active in trying to induce the rulers and the ruled to follow the path of wisdom. The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. R. Jayakar whose success during the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations has built for them a tradition as clever peace-makers have been unwavering in the same field. The leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, specially its Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, have laboured in this thankless task. The mind of the country was reflected in the appeal addressed to the Prime Minister of Britain on September 10 (1942) by Indian public men amongst whom were the Chief Ministers of Bengal and Sind, Messrs Fazlul Huq and Allah Bakhsh, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, Ministers of Bengal, Sardar Baldev Singh, Minister of the Punjab, Master Tara Singh, President Shiromoni Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, Mr. Mahomed Zahir-uddin, President All-India Muslim Conference, Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor Benares Hindu University, Sir Golub Chand Narang of the Punjab, Dr. S. Anasari, General Secretary of the Azad Muslim Board, Mr. Meher Chand Khanna, President, N.W. Frontier Province Hindu Mahasabha, Mr. K. C. Neogy, M. L. A. (Central Legislative Assembly), Mr. Giani Kartar Singh, M. L. A. (Punjab), Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Working President of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha. The constructive suggestion that they made represented the common demand of all sections of political opinion in India :

"A national government pledged to the support of the war against the aggressors, consisting of representatives of major political interests, with complete autonomy in the internal administration during the period of the war and unfettered freedom thereafter, will satisfy the demand for independence put forth by all the political parties in the country."

To this appeal the British Prime Minister could send a reply that was totally repelling. Political India regarded his speech made in the House of Commons on the same date as the considered view of the British Government with regard to the hopes and aspirations of the Indian people. Four months later, the statement issued on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Non-Party Conference sounded the same appeal and gave expression to the same feeling of frustration. The speeches made by British politicians during the

Differences
amongst Indians
stand in the way

months were described as "savouring of propaganda," designed to convince "the doubting Americans and the sympathetic Chinese" that the root cause of the Indo-British conflict lay "deep in the historic diversities of race, religion, culture and political outlook of the Indian people". The war has enabled the bureaucracy to monopolize and utilize all the powers of the State, to curtail the liberties of the people, shaking their confidence and losing their co-operation. And the confession made by a certain member of Lord Linlithgow's Executive Council that "the initiative for discussing vital political questions agitating the country in the Executive Council can be taken not by them but only by the Governor General" ought to be enough to prove the true state of affairs. The impression has also been created all the world over that political freedom cannot arrive because the vocal political parties in India cannot agree to a definition of what constituted this freedom, that these do not agree to a common formula of "the functions and powers of the State as will evolve out of their agreement, that the demand for "Pakistan" by the Muslim League, of a Khalasa by the Sikhs, of the demand of the All-India Depressed Classes Conference made at its Nagpur sittings for "the transfer of Scheduled Castes from their present places of habitation to separate Scheduled castes villages away from and independent of Hindu villages"—these separatist conceits and ambitions are hard to reconcile and made to serve as stones for the structure of an independent State.

The All-India Muslim League Working Committee may reiterate on August 20 (1942) its 1939 stand that they were "ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden and defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties, on the basis that real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government in the provinces and the provinces within the frame-work of the present constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future constitution." But when it passed this resolution it did not realize the difficulties it was creating for itself in reaching agreement on the needs of the immediate situation by the clause of its August 20 resolution which said: "The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a provisional government of India in order to mobilize the resources of the country for the purpose of the defence of India and successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally." The President of the Indian National Congress, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Mahatma Gandhi had offered to facilitate the formation of a provisional government for the immediate present by the leader of the Muslim League, "provided the Muslim League co-operated fully with the Congress in the demand for immediate independence without the slightest reservation, that independent India will permit the operations of Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help both China and Russia." To this offer the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha made its protest in a resolution passed on August 31 (1942): "The Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of nationalism and to the ordered evolution of free India if, as has been suggested

Separatist conceits
and ambitions

in some quarters, the Muslim League alone with its present avowedly anti-national outlook is invited to form the government at the centre, and the Hindus will never accept such a government."

British apologists plead that on the rock of these separatist conceits and ambitions have been shattered all the attempts that they have made to build up a united Indian State, free and independent, an equal among equals in the comity of modern nations. The British brief that civil war will follow even "the orderly and peaceful withdrawal of British power from India" has been accepted by certain other members of the Alliance of which Britain and the United States are managing partners today. No body in India or outside is happy with the developments that have precipitated the crisis. The Chief Minister of Bengal, Mr. Razul Huq, appealed for sanity and rational judgment in meeting the situation; the Chief Minister of the Punjab, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, was asked what would he do if he were the Governor General of India; he is reported to have replied: "Commit suicide," giving voice to a pessimism that appeared to be more than justified. Sir Sikander, however, appeared to think that the Britishers were not standing in the way of agreement between the different parties in India; and he called upon all of them to face the Pakistan issue. He said at the same time that so far as he was "aware" the leader of the Muslim League "had not defined Pakistan"; it was "a slogan" yet. The "self-determination of territorial units" formed the corner-stone of the "Scheme of Indian Federation" which he had sketched in July of 1939; the principle of this scheme did not "differ from the Cripps offer." It is clear, however, that this principle differed wholly and totally from what is at the back of the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League. And it is a misfortune that Sir Sikander should have been removed from the field of his mundane activities before he could influence opinion amongst those of his co-religionists who swear by the Pakistan "slogan."

"The cry for an undefined Pakistan"

"There were other Muslim public men and publicists who regretted that when the Indian National Congress was "off the scene", the leadership of the Muslim League should have failed to take the initiative in wresting power from British hands. Dr. Syed Abdul Latif of Hyderabad (Deccan), one of the earliest of the protagonists of Pakistan—one of the ideas and ideals implicit in this separatist scheme—was one of them. In his pamphlet entitled—*The Cultural Future of India*—published in October (1938), he had outlined the division of India into "Hindu Zones" and "Muslim Zones." Since then many personal and impersonal factors have played their part in accentuating the differences between Hindus and Muslims in India that had driven Dr. Latif to write his pamphlet. In Vol. II. of the *Annual Register* of 1938, we discussed Dr. Latif's scheme, drawing attention to the perils inherent in it. After about five years of experience of the ways of politicians who have been exploiting his brain child, the learned doctor of literature appears to have seen light. In an angry statement issued from Hyderabad (Deccan), on the eve of the All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay, he criticized Mr. Jinnah for his lapse in manners in dealing with political opponents, specially

"The 'real Muslim problem' and the Nizam State"

be "language and style" of his July 31 statement "so alien to Muslim cultural traditions." And to us who have been one of the earliest of the critics of Dr. Latif's scheme, the sight cannot but be enjoyable when we see him tearing to pieces the arguments that are trotted out to support it. Recognizing the difficulties that would be created for the Muslims, he said :

"The real Muslim problem does not concern so much the Muslims of those parts where they form a majority and can, on that account, look after themselves under any constitution, as it concerns the Muslim minorities from Delhi, Lucknow, Patna downwards to Cape Comorin who will be rendered eternal orphans under Mr. Jinnah's plan. Besides, Hyderabad, the strong-hold of Muslim culture and the rallying point for Indian Muslims, will be permanently segregated from the main current of Muslim life in India and, who knows, eventually smothered for ever."

Dr. Abdul Latif is a child of Asaf Shahi traditions. In criticism of his scheme, we wrote the following in Vol. II, of the *Annual Register* of the year 1938 :

"In the hot-house of Hyderabad (Deccan) many a crudity can be made to grow and flourish which would wilt and wither in the free air and sunlight of heaven. We know that with the fall of Muslim power in northern India, this State in the Deccan has been the Mecca of Muslim dreamers of dreams of the restoration of Muslim supremacy in the country. Readers of the books of William Boscawen Blunt, a British friend of Muslims if ever there was one, especially his book—*India Under a Ripon*—can have glimpses of these men. Dr. Abdul Latif is or appears to be a lineal descendant of one of these men. His thesis shows that 20th century Islam in India cannot throw up better men than those who would build Chinese Walls round about certain areas in the country to elect of free choice to live in glass houses so that their culture may blossom under artificial sunlight. Dr. Abdul Latif and the school of thought that he represents forget the lesson of the words of Julius Germanus, Ph. D., Nizam Professor of Islamic Studies in the Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, Bengal, in his book—*Modern Movements in Islam*—that "the inspiration for progress in Islamic culture came from outside Arabia and had its origin in non-Arabic sources," that "only deserts can remain isolated, and only deserts can shelter a society separated by its ancestral and pristine exclusiveness from the rest of mankind."

To us this criticism stands as good as ever, even though in the hands of Mr. Jinnah and his followers the Latif Short-sightedness of Pakistanists has undergone stranger transformations, so strange that one of the parents of the idea, Dr. Latif himself, has been driven to indite a stinging criticism of the men who have done so. These men have been

"nursing unsophisticated Muslim masses on slogans of a brand of Pakistan the full and numerous implications of which, I have reason to believe, he and his Working Committee have neither studied nor attempted to grasp."

These words bear out the opinion of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan that Mr. Jinnah has not "defined Pakistan." Dr. Latif may be feeling that his disciples have disfigured beyond recognition his Credo majority principle will smother the Nizam State

Hyderabad has angered him more than the ignorance or incompetence of the Muslim League Pakistanis. For, there can be no manner of doubt, that if a credible majority be made the guiding instrument of a State, the State of Hyderabad, as we know it today, will have to fade out. The population of the State is divided thus: about 130 lakhs Hindus and 20 lakhs Muslims. By the Muslim

League ideology the majority population of Hindus should decide the fate and future of this State; the Muslims, being a minority, can have all the safeguards that minorities can legitimately claim. And it may be that with the growth of linguistic nationalism the 70 lakhs of Telugu-speaking people will float into the Andhra Province to-be-born; the 40 to 50 lakhs of Marhatti-speaking people will go to the Maharashtra of-the-future; and the 30 lakhs of Kanarese-speaking population will go into Kananda Province-to-be. This evolution may fulfil the destiny which Dr. Iqbal has apprehended for his State. Therefore is it that we find a thought-leader amongst Hyderabad people impatient with the antics of the Muslim League contrary.

There are other Muslim public men and publicists who have been showing increasing anxiety with regard to the recklessness of the policy that has been inflaming communal differences in India. The *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* (an organization of Muslim divines), the Red Shirts of the N-W-Frontier Province, the All-India Muslim Conference are in this connection prominent in the public eye. These and certain other organizations have co-operated in forming the Azad Muslim Conference with a view to neutralize the poison that the Muslim League has been injecting into the body politic of the country. The guiding spirit of this organization is Dr. Shaukatulla Ansari who has remained true to the legacy of nationalism left us by the late Hakim Ajmal Khan and the late Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, both of Delhi and both Presidents of the Indian National Congress. The eight organizations that constitute the units of the Azad Muslim Conference have at present to swim against the current against the tide of fanaticism that is easy to release by raising the cry of Islam in danger.

An episode in the Bengal Legislative Assembly during its September (1942) session illustrated this. A member of the Ministerial Party, led by Mr. Fazlul Huq, moved or attempted to move an amendment to a motion moved by the leader of the European group supporting the official campaign of repression started after the passing of the Congress resolution. The Opposition led by Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin made it impossible for the mover of the amendment to proceed. In course of the heated discussion that ensued wherein the Deputy Speaker Syed Jalaluddin tried his uttermost to conduct the business of the House, the leader of the Opposition took the plea that the amplification of the motion sought to be moved by Syed Badruddin concerned the entire Muslim community; and in elaborating this theme he cried out: "there is not a single Muslim member who believes in *Lailaha Illallah Muhammaddur Rasul-Allah*"....; here he was interrupted. This cry was not called for and could have but one purpose—to whip up the feelings of his followers in a sitting of a legislature where the eruption of such feelings should have had no place. It is against this policy and practice of the Muslim League that the Azad Muslim Conference has been fighting. One of its constituents, the All-India Muslim Conference, has, however, a more extended purpose. It is something like the Depressed Classes Conference which has been fighting against the cruelties and cruelties of the Hindu social system. In the language of its President, Mr. Zabeeruddin, his organization

What it is fighting against

"represented the vanguard of the social revolt of the lower stratum of the Muslim community against the class Muslims who mainly occupied the seats of power and formed the bulk of Muslim League membership."

We have tried to outline above the many influences that have worked towards worsening the relation between India and Britain in one of the fateful moments of history. We have to recognise first that by failing to discourage separatist tendencies amongst the many peoples that make up the composite life of India, we have allowed imperialist-minded Britons to pose as guardians of our destiny before the world. Louis Fischer's picture of the spirit that prevails at the Viceregal Palace at New Delhi today recalls to memory the days when Lady Minto presided over it in Calcutta soon after Lord Curzon's hat that had sought to divide the Bengalee people. State policy in India may try to create and put difficulties in the way of our political ideal. But on the success of our strivings for unity of purpose and action, on our ability to remove these difficulties in the way, will depend the realisation of our hopes and aspirations for political freedom. The many agitations against bureaucratic mishandling of affairs, against the placing of India's interests at the mercy of those of Britain, against the emasculation of the fighting spirit of the people—all these have been steps towards ridding us of our weaknesses. During this process other weaknesses of ours have come to the surface. The history of India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy has been the history of these strivings of ours after better life. The men and women of that generation were moved by the same impulses as, after a century, we are. The impediments that our short-sightedness or greed may put in our way, in the process of getting these out of our way we will strengthen ourselves. This is the psychology of all the politics in India, the testing stone of the genuineness of all our activities. Since the advent of Mahatma Gandhi into the leadership of our national efforts, our people are being called upon to fight on two fronts—one against the State in India controlled by non-Indians, the other against the many individual and group weaknesses that stand in the way of our goal.

Our century-old fight against internal weaknesses

British imperialists, however, find it difficult to place him in their scheme of things. The Secretary of State for India in the Churchill Cabinet has called him the "arch saboteur" because he has dared to challenge their pretensions and put to the test their declarations about freedom and democracy. He is the leader of "fifth columnists" to their perverted imagination. These people forget what their regime owed to him, to his philosophy of non-violence. Mr. Amery's leader of to-day may be alarmed and nauseated by the sight of "a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, striding half naked up the steps of the Viceregal Palace.....to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King Emperor." President De Valera and Michael Collins were more than seditious, and Mr. Churchill's leader of the early twenties had to "shake hands with murder" when negotiations began for the ending of the "Black and Tan" regime established in Ireland for breaking the spirit of the Irish people. The Churchill and Amery methods of political controversy cannot have an abiding place in the pages of history. Already these have grown

distortion of him

111

relevant. One of the elder statesmen of the British Empire, Field Marshal Ian Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, allged this when he said :

"It is sheer nonsense to talk of Gandhi as a fifth columnist. He is a great an. He is one of the great men of the world, and he is the last person to be sed in that category. He is dominated by high spiritual ideals. Whether those eals are always practicable in our difficult world is another question."

Pearl Buck, reviewing Louis Fischer's book—*A week with Gandhi*—explored the way in which English Tories and their hirelings had made a "monstrous figure" of this frail man. "There has been more debate and discussion and fury over this old man in the last year than there has been over any other person in our generation except, perhaps, Hitler." And Mrs. Buck thinks that this "distortion of our times" is best illustrated in the British view of Mahatma Gandhi.

"If they were able to appreciate Gandhi, they ought to be thankful that he has believed in non-violence, for this has prolonged the British Empire in India..... Gandhi has held back the spilling of blood for this generation. It is doubtful whether he can hold it back much longer."

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the Indian National Congress consequent on the passing of the resolution on "Quit India" by the All-India Congress Committee, and the outbreak of violence that followed this arrest bears testimony to what Pearl Buck said. The Government of India booklet brings out the wide ramifications of the movement. We have referred to it already. The Government of Bengal published on December 6 (1942) a communique which said :

"Their intention in which for some time they had at least succeeded, was to isolate Coastal and Tamul sub-divisions and to eliminate completely all signs of ordered government and the administration established by law. To that end they had set up and they are still unfortunately maintaining in areas where authority has not been completely restored a regime of intimidation, persecution and extortion directed against the representatives of Government and those amongst the inhabitants who are, or are suspected to be, in favour of the maintenance of law and order..... Officers administering departments of Government within the locality had been detained, or evicted, or in some cases cruelly beaten..... Subversive elements contrived to establish as the machinery of their ascendancy, centres of administration with a parody of all the paraphernalia of ordered government—parallel district organisations, so-called courts and jails, centres for the training of 'volunteers' and a number of so-called 'thanas'.

The Chief Minister of Bengal, Mr. Fazlul Huq, who was Home Minister also, in his speech made in the month of February (1943) in the Bengal Legislative Assembly gave finishing touches to this story :

"Government have in their possession abundant evidence to show that for some time previous to the adoption by the All-India Congress Committee of the Allahabad resolution on the 8th August, there was something like a network of parallel administration set up in the district of Midnapur..... there were Commissioner, the District Magistrate, the Sub-Divisional officers, there were Criminal Investigation Department, the Intelligence Branch, and the Police and so forth of the Congress..... that after the 8th August when lawlessness broke out in Midnapur, these Police officers of the Congress arrested persons, and the jails of the Congress which were called Gandhi jails were filled with persons arrested by Congress volunteers. And there was evidence to show that many of these persons who called themselves volunteers and the Police of the Congress actually

committed acts of violence on villages who resisted their attempts to prevent law and order.

Mrs. Pearl Buck appears to have sensed right when she said that "Gandhi is too wise a man not to know that his work is nearly done.... now he

knows frankly that another must come forth. The present & the new leader will not believe in or practise non-violence." The outburst of violence raises the question—is it the prelude to the end of the Gandhi

era? This question will be exercising the mind of the rulers and the ruled alike for sometime to come. The reprisals of the police

and military have accented feelings that will continue to fester Indo-British relations. The stories told by members in the September

session (1942) of the Central Legislature—the Bengal Assembly and the Council of State—and in the Bengal Assembly, show that

civilised governments, even democratic governments, do not come very creditably out of the test when popular feelings get out of control.

What has been done in India in 1942-43 does not differ from what O'Dwyer and Dyer did in the Punjab in 1919.

A member of the Council of State, Rai Bahadur Sri Narain Mahtha, giving his experiences to his fellow members on September

23rd (1942) said that "these sights will haunt" him to his dying day. In course of his tours through

Bihar villages as leader of the National War Front organization, financed by Lord Linlithgow's Govern-

ment, his eyes saw "all wealthy shops in the bazaar looted; entire villages burnt not by the mob but by the soldiers and by the

police"; and "even the simple-minded villager has begun to compare British methods of maintaining law and order with what he has

been told about Axis methods in occupied countries".

A leader of the Anglo-Indian community and a nominated member of the Central Assembly, Mr. Anthony, found it difficult to "dogmatise or

apportion blame unequivocally" in the medals of an almost bewildering variety of sentiments—"of national

pride, of a sense of frustration, and a spirit of negation."

Mr. P. J. Griffiths, a spokesman of the European community in the Central Assembly, who has resigned from the

Indian Civil Service to serve his community, in his speech during the debate on the official motion on the disturbances in India, indicated

the "three factors" that played their part in "producing the disturbances" These were—"profound and widespread mistrust of British intentions

which exists in large classes of the Indian public"; the plain fact that "in all parts of the country people are finding it hard to get

food grains, kerosene, and many other essential commodities and if they get them at all, they have to pay very high prices"; the third

factor is "the determination of the Congress Party to have its own way at all costs." Mr. Kshitish Chandra Neogy drew attention to

the bitterness caused by the working of the "evacuation" and "denial" policy adopted by the Government. On the 4th April last, as "many

as 35 villages" in the district of Nookhali (Bengal) were "simultaneously evacuated at the shortest possible notice"; five days later the Government

officials concerned recommended "scales of compensation" so poor and so arbitrary that "no civilised Government can support it." It was a

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panic measure. The people were "not allowed to take away their standing huts from their villages"; the sites in which they were to live was of their own choosing; the Government did their duty or thought that they had done their duty to the people by simply driving them from the homes of their fathers. And any body coming to the help of these people incurred the displeasure of the bureaucracy.

The case of Sri Satish Chandra Das-Gupta, life and soul of the Khadi Prasthan of Sodepur (Bengal), the summary way in which he was called upon to leave the district of Noakhali within 24 hours, lays bare a mentality that is conceited with the enjoyment of power irresponsible and unanswerable to public opinion in India, and unresponsive to the feelings of the people. For more than 20 years he has been serving the people whenever they were distressed by nature or by men. He gave up all personal and family concerns and dedicated his superb powers of organisation, his technical knowledge and inventive genius to the service of the poor and the lowly. As one of the organisers of the north Bengal flood relief work, as secretary of the Sankat Tran Samity, through which the sufferers from the earth-quake in Bihar and from other acts of nature in any part of the country were served, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta has built a place for himself in the affections and estimation of people of different strata of society in far distant parts of this country. For many years workers of the Khadi Prasthan have been organising constructive activities among a section of the people of Henti. To this area, made fruitful by their labour, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta came about the middle of 1942; he was quietly doing the work that he had chosen for himself. When the movement of selective Satyagraha was started in 1940 Gandhi had desired him "to stay outside of it and devote (yourself) exclusively to rural re-construction."

He chose Henti in the district of Noakhali. But he could not shut his eyes to the sufferings caused to the people by evacuation orders passed on villagers in his neighbourhood. He organised medical relief for them, treating about 200 cases of virulent cholera with success, the death rate being only 10 to 12 per cent.

To this man of peace and constructive genius came an order in the after-noon of July 19 (1942) asking him to leave the district within 24 hours. In reply he intimated his inability to do so leaving his work of service incomplete. In his letter to the district magistrate, he stated all these facts and more—how he had taken up with the Bengal Ministry the matter of the removal of the many grievances of the evacuees, of proper compensation for disturbance to their life and provision for land whereon they could build their life anew; how he had informed the Revenue Minister, Mr. Pramad Nath Banerjee, that the Bihar Government had been paying 15 per cent "for crop value of evacuated land as against the proposed 50 per cent as at Henti." The Bengal Minister and his secretary, Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., were all sympathy for the sufferers, but they could, it appears, do very little.

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It has not yet been explained why there should have been the difference in the rate of compensation as between Bengal and Bihar. In his letter to the district magistrate, Satish Chandra Das-Gupta attempted to enlist his help on the side of a purely humanitarian plan and project, and related to him the history of his own efforts in this behalf; he also told him how the experiences of the April evictions had been sorrowful in the extreme, a petition addressed to the same officer by villagers bearing out the truth of this plea: "When we see the present condition of evicuees, we can hardly put any reliance upon promises and assurances regarding the future which may come from the Government." Satish Chandra Das-Gupta was put inside the Alipore Central Jail where he has been devoting his abundant energies to set right the Dairy and the Weaving Department of the Jail.

But this is not all. Things have happened in the country which shows the State in India in one of its most repulsive moods. The Government adopted the policy of "a tooth for a tooth, an eye for an eye"; in reply to brick-bats bullets were sent. It is no body's case that brutality did not characterize the happenings at Chinur where as in places of Bihar policemen were killed or burnt to death. But the Government reprisals that followed did not leave observers in doubt that persons exercising powers of the State did not much differ whether they belonged to the Nazi or Fascist group or to the democratic and Bolshevik group. Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Finance Minister of Bengal till the middle of November (1942), related in the Bengal Legislative Assembly the story of "provincial autonomy" in action. In course of his speech explaining the circumstances that had led to his resignation, he narrated the doings of the police and the military in the district of Midnapur where, according to official version, had been established an "alternate" Government.

Detailed information was handed over to us, including list of houses that were raided and burnt by or under the direction of the police and the military. I handed over one such long list to some of the biggest officials in the Home Department on the very day of the fateful eclipse of October and urged them to see that the barbarous acts complained of came to an immediate end."

The spirit revealed in the activities related above continued rampant even when the districts of Midnapur and the 24-Parganas were struck by typhoon and cyclone, dealing death to more than 30,000 people in course of 15 minutes. This disaster did not "wash away all the bitterness and the sore from the minds of the officials and the local public alike", to quote the poignant words of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee; it did not "bind them together in noble determination to alleviate human sufferings." The police and the military are organized animalism out on the civilian population when it suited the temper or policy of the managers of the State. We are living in times when the managers of States have to encourage and exploit this animalism for the service of "total war", and they cannot afford to be too squeamish in judging of these outbursts of the beast in men. There-

fore is it that we find Lord Linlithgow's Government almost philosophically unconcerned with these happenings even after the heat and excitement for the maintenance of law and order have subsided. The district magistrate of Midnapur is credited with inditing a report, "recommending that in view of the political misdeeds of the people not only should Government withhold relief, but it should not permit any non-official organisation to conduct relief in the affected area for one month," to quote the words from Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee's speech. This policy was recommended with a view to teach the "rebels" a lesson. The mad "policy of relief by day, and raid and repression by night" was not found contradictory by any of "the high command of the happy govt. at the Secretariat." This in spite of the agitations expressed by the political leaders of Midnapur, kept within prison walls, and carried to the Government by the Ministers themselves to end all political controversies and activities in the district and concentrate all attention on the saving of lives and relieving the distress of the people. In sheer disgust with the farce of "provincial autonomy" and from a sense of helplessness with conditions such as were revealed at Noakhali and Midnapur, Dr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee was left no choice but to resign. His letters to Lord Linlithgow and the Bengal Governor Sir John Herbert explaining the whole series of causes of the present discontents have been put into the list of "proscribed literature". "A Minister's accusation of autocratic misrule need not be replied to with facts and figures but must be suppressed under arbitrary rules"—this procedure exposes the unreality of the power that is said to have been transferred to Indian Ministers in the provinces.

It is understandable that the Indo-British bureaucracy in India should have been driven to "adopt the policy of reprisals directed against the "rebels", open and secret. But their failure to tackle the food situation in the country, to maintain the "food front" intact as a requirement of the "total war" in which they were engaged, imparts a sinister meaning to all their activities. Their Price Control Conferences, their "Grow More Crops" have proved to be mere window dressing to impress the world. The Government of Lord Linlithgow failed to read the signs of the coming danger or refused to read these signs. It may be a barren controversy today when thousands of men, women and children have been dying of starvation in the cities and villages of Bengal to exchange arguments with regard to responsibility for this state of affairs. But there is a value in this reexamination if we are to be guided by one of the greatest masters of reexaminatory literature, the present Prime Minister of Britain, when he uttered the words: "The use of reexamination about the past is to enforce effective action at the present." In India, however, the angry controversies in the Central Legislature and in the Bengal Legislature have not borne any fruit except exposing the anti-social activities of profiteers, speculators and their supporters and patrons in different runs of State authority.

The upward trend of prices in the country becomes vivid when

we compare the cost-of-living index of the working class people as it has moved from 100 (the pre-war base) to 218 on the last day of the last month of 1942. The average price of varieties of rice has leapt to above 600 per cent, that of *atta* by 600 per cent; the price of coal shooting up more than 200 per cent; the price of cloth more than 300 per cent. Confronted by a situation that was forcing vast masses of the people to the brink of starvation, the Government of Lord Linlithgow did not show by their activity that they were anxious about it. They had organized a vast campaign of purchase of food grains for their military, for the needs of "strategic feeding" of peoples in Iran, Iraq, Syria, Palestine, Egypt and even Soviet Russia, compelling the people of India to go on short ration so that these other peoples may live and support the Allied cause. The activities of the "United Kingdom Commercial Corporation", financed by the British Government and drawing sustenance and prestige from this all-powerful connection, have been decisive in forcing exports from India. For, it has not been possible for the Government of India, a subordinate branch of the Government at London, to disoblige this powerful commercial institution in its demands on the resources of this country to be sent by it out to any part of the world where British interests and policies required these to be sent. The full story of such purchases, as were done by the "United Kingdom Commercial Corporation" and the other agencies of the Government, both central and provincial, will never be known. The Government are unwilling to make a full statement of these matters; and the various devices they have adopted to shut out enquiries have made the public more suspicious.

In Bengal where an "autonomy ministry" is said to be functioning, the members of the Ministry have been hard put to it in satisfactorily explaining the circumstances that had led to the appointment of various "agents" for purchasing rice and paddy on Government account for the purpose of feeding their military and other essential services, as also for what has been called the "denial policy", the policy of denying to the expected Japanese invaders any "surplus" food products in possession of cultivators and other people of the countryside in the coastal areas at the top of the Bay of Bengal. In discussions raised in the Bengal Assembly, and through interpellations addressed to the Government, the veil thrown over these transactions has been sought to be lifted a little with not much of a success. Names of well-known businessmen have been brought into the arena of discussion and vague suspicion—Shaw Wallace & Co., Ispahani & Co., Mirza Ali Akbar, H. N. Datta & Sons, Steel Bros., to mention only a few. They were appointed by the Government as distinguished from the Ministry to buy rice and paddy on their account with a view to remove these to safer places far beyond the reach of the Japanese invaders. The world does not know how this paddy and rice were used—what proportion was used for the military and the other essential war services, and what proportion for the civilian population and what proportion for the "strategic feeding" of foreign countries. It is difficult to trust the figures that have

Government
purchases & rise
in prices

been given of these purchases and disposals. But this the world knows that these purchases were responsible for the creation of conditions that encouraged profiteering. The control of millions of mannds of food grains that passed into the hands of a few individuals or groups of men favoured what is known as "cornering", and panic set in. The Central Government on whose account these purchases were made did nothing to halt the progress of this panic. People rather saw prices of food grains jumping up; and public men and publicists who have read of the process by which scarcity and famine conditions had been created before saw in these Government purchases the beginnings of a catastrophe in the life of their people. Those of Bengal recalled the 1769-70 famine that had coincided with the establishment of British rule. It had ravaged the eastern districts of Bihar and the western districts of Bengal, killing off one-third—about one crore men, women and children—of the population. The peasantry of those days had complained that "the military wrung from them their last chance of subsistence."

In the present year the country, thrown into a "total war," apprehended worse conditions; Government's silence and evasive communique of assurances added to the confusion of things. In the Bengal Assembly a European member in moving a resolution in the last week of March (1943) when the Razul Haq Ministry was tottering to its fall, criticising the Government for their failure to deal with black markets and speculation in and hoarding of foodstuffs, drew attention to how things like these were being managed. In England a profiteer was punished with a maximum penalty of 14 years' penal servitude; in Bengal "he has been rewarded with progressive removal of price control, embargoes and polite warnings." His concluding words were startling :

"In the resulting state of profiteering we are afraid that many persons in high places have not been free from suspicion, holding the view that Government policy has aided and abetted profiteering and speculation, we have no option but to regard this as a fundamental issue....."

In course of the same session, a member of the Opposition, said to be the senior partner of the firm of Ispahani & Co., charged the "Purchasing Officer" of the Government as "himself...buying above the maximum price". It came out also that while the Government "agents" had bought rice at Rs. 6-4 as, at the highest, that rice was being sold to the Army at Rs. 11 and to the Ceylon Government at Rs. 10-8 as. Paddy was bought at Rs. 4-0-4 p., and sold at Rs. 5-6 as, at the highest. This profiteering either by the Government or by its "agents", stated the "state of profiteering" of which Mr. Hamilton has spoken. The Government of Lord Linlithgow has not frankly stated what has been the value and amount of their own purchases, and in the absence of these facts there have been surmises and suspicions that have added to the sense of insecurity created as the result of British defeats in Burma, Malaya and in the Bay of Bengal area. And speculators and profiteers have been exploiting the situation for all that they were worth, and in the process have been able to drive their countrymen to starvation and famine.

Government
profiteering in
rice & paddy

It is difficult to explain why the Government should have adopted this ostrich policy with regard to the scarcity of food-stuffs that threatened wide areas in the country—Bengal, Malabar, Cochin, Travancore, to name a few. The people felt in their bones the guanoings of hunger; and as early as September, 1942, the Bengal Legislature was voicing forth the sufferings and fears of greater sufferings felt by the people. The Bengal Ministry, headed by Mr. Fazlul Huq, or the Bengal Government, made the declaration that "in the opinion of the Government", there was "sufficient quantity of rice for the whole Province of Bengal," while the people were buying rice at double the price existing a year before, that is, at three times the pre-war price. And the Central Government was looking helplessly on while profiteers, speculators, hoarders, and the rest of the clan of parasites were fattening on the distress of the masses. An All-Parties Conference resolution held up this failure for the judgment of all times in very moderate terms: "Judging by the Government's industrial policy, during the war and the failure to provide the people with sufficient food at reasonable prices, it has failed in vital matters affecting the nation in this crisis." The many U. S. correspondents who had come to India in the wake of U. S. forces were confronted with scenes of poverty and wretchedness in material life that appeared to have startled them. One of them wrote to his paper: "For many Indians the line between perpetual hunger and real starvation is thin. Last week (the third week of December, 1942) that line was thinner than ever."

And while Lord Linlithgow's Government has been apologetic in India pleading that all have blundered, it has been bribing the Secretary of State for India with stories of hoarding and profiteering that were intended to transfer the whole blame on the shoulders of the people of India. Side by side the policy of silence was being imposed on Indian and foreign correspondents who might be tempted to tell the full story of the break-down of civilised government. An Anglo-Indian paper—*The Civil & Military Gazette* of Lahore in which Rudyard Kipling had tried his hand in singing songs of the imperial glory of Britain—has been driven to expose this trick:

News of food
scarcity rationed

"The fact is that foreign newspaper correspondents are not permitted to cable abroad even the bare facts of deaths and hospital admissions due to starvation issued daily in Calcutta by the Director of Information to the Bengal Government. Some account of the prevailing distress is permitted to be cabled provided the bare, horrible facts are toned down by descriptions of Government measures to alleviate the distress—measures which are so often good intentions.....Correspondents must not tell the British and American public the blunt facts of the situation."

As we write, this knowledge of British failure carried to all parts of the world has not eased the situation for the famine-stricken people. Food from outside India, rice specially, cannot be had for the mere asking. To arrange for transport of wheat in these days when the seas are infested by submarines and ships are difficult to get from the needs of war, is a question of weeks not of days—the precious weeks that may mean death to millions in India, while Canada, the United

States and Australia may not know what to do with their bumper crops. In countries placed in such a predicament the State would have taken the lead in conserving food products or increasing their stock by the efforts of their own people. In Britain they have been doing it. The world has been told that the British people who had been producing food to last them for three months only, the rest coming from beyond the seas and oceans, have since the war began been producing double their accustomed quota. Women have been set to agricultural work in increasing numbers under the impulse of a dire national need. Though the number of people employed in British agricultural activities are fewer now by about 3 to 4 lakhs than during the last war, the production of food-stuffs has grown from more to more by the use of tractors. In June, 1939, these numbered 53,000; in July, 1940, these numbered about 75,000. In India Lord Linlithgow's Government initiated with the beating of big guns a campaign of "Grow more food", spending on this account about a crore of rupees through the provincial administrations. When the member in charge of "Lands", Sardar Jogendra Singh, was holding forth on the great things expected of this campaign, he was asked whether he could supply tractors, fertilisers, seeds and other essential things to get the quick results that were needed. He confessed his inability to do any of these things. The result has been stalling through the country in the shape of skeletons that were once men, women and children. A report of the Bombay Agricultural Department shows that in the year 1941-42, the area under rice diminished by more than 2½ per cent; that under wheat by more than 12 per cent; that under millets by more than 6½ per cent; only cotton and ground-nuts showed an increase. In the district of Hooghly in Bengal the cropped area showed a decrease of about 45 per cent in course of the last 50 years, neither the people nor the Government being able to halt this rot. Even after the money spent in the campaign in this province during 1942-43, a sum of about 21 lakhs of rupees, the area under the rice crop showed a decrease of about 3 per cent. These figures tell their story how the agricultural-minded Governor-General has been able to organise the food front in India.

But this is not the end of the story of the distress of the people. Flood has been made scarce. And they have been going about in rags. All this while they have for generations, at least for two generations, been making sacrifices to build up the mechanized cotton textile industry in the country. From a rough estimate one can say that since 1902 when the stirrings of "Swadeshi" feeling were spreading over the country, they have helped the industry with a bounty of Rs. 400 crores of rupees; a certain amount of this in the shape of preference for Indian mill-made things "even at a sacrifice", as the Congress resolution of 1906 had it; a certain amount was paid in the shape of higher prices for "Swadeshi" cloth by the imposition of countervailing duties as against British and Japanese textiles. Mahatma Gandhi has told us in his book—*Hind Swaraj*—how shamelessly the Bombay and Ahmedabad mill-owners exploited the "Swadeshi" sentiment of the Bengalee people roused to fury by the Gurzonian partition of their

Profligating in
cloth industry
trade

province. We had expected that the brood of these exploiters would be vanishing under the inspiration of the all-India awakening which Gandhi has been working for. But the experiences of 1943 and 1948 have belied these expectations. Indian cotton-mill-owners and traders in cloth have shown themselves to be as unscrupulous and greedy as their predecessors of our youth during the "Swadeshi" days. A pair of *ghoies* that could be supplied to the customer for Rs. 4 was sold for Rs. 10. During this long-drawn torture of the people we have not heard of any leader of the textile industry and trade making an effective public protest against the spirit of profiteering that has seized their members. We have known many of these mill-owners as patriotic men, helping the cause of the "digging Indians". Many of them started their life under the inspiration of the "Swadeshi" movement of the first decade of the 20th century. But it will be counted against them that things should have been allowed to happen in their industry and trade that ground the face of their own people. By tolerating these things they have not shown themselves to be better than the conductors of the system of administration that has made possible the "All-India Disgrace" of bringing conditions of famine into India, as the *Calcutta Anglo-Indian* daily has described the economic debacle. For, there cannot be any manner of doubt that only a few amongst our industrialists and businessmen have come out of the test with clean and unprofiteering hands. An Indian publicist has to record such a verdict with sorrow and shame.

The last six months of 1942 thus ends with India-wide frustration caused by State policy, aided by profiteering and speculation that have brought the people face to face with the dread word and fact—famine. In both these developments men of Indian birth have by their weaknesses and greed played their ignoble part. It is a common-place in any talk on Indian politics to say that lack of faith as between India and Britain stands in the way of the solution of the Indo-British problem. The growing complexities of World War II, of the 20th century have brought this to the fore, to the forefront of international affairs. In things big or in things small, this lack of faith has been erupting into attention. In the failure of the Cripps mission we saw it; in the discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly on the appointment of expenses as between India and Britain initiated by Mr. Jammadas Mehta on the 22nd of September (1942) we noticed it; speaking from the bitter experience of the last great war Indian members went on pressing for a clear exposition from the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, lest India be "presented with a *fait accompli* or were going to be asked for a *post facto* approval of the decision" taken by the Government, to use the words of Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Malaviya expressive of a deep distrust of British financial practice. Mr. Churchill's "fatuous casuistry" with the census figures of India can be traced to the same cause.

Absence of faith—
cause of Indo-
British tension

the census figures of India can be traced to the same cause. British policy in India is victim to an inner contradiction during a war which is said to being waged in defence of democracy and freedom. It finds itself punishing those activities in India that the War

Contradiction between profession and practice

Cabinet in London encourages people in Europe under Nazi rule to carry on to sabotage Germany's war preparation. George Edinger writing in the *Overseas Daily Mail* of June 27 (1942) has described the horrors perpetrated by the Nazis in "occupied Europe", and in doing so appealed to international agreements that bar such barbarities: "Taking hostages is against all international law. According to the Hague Convention, 'No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on a population on account of the acts of individuals.' In India the Government that represents him has been manfully imposing 'collective fines' on the people, making a specialty of choosing the Hindus alone for punishment as helping the saboteurs. British imperialists blinded by the enjoyment of irresponsible State authority over India's millions has no appreciation of the funny side of this contradiction. They have been playing with the faith of millions in every part of the globe. We have seen how the Press of the United States was very critical and condemnatory of the "Quit India" idea of the Indian National Congress and the disturbances that have followed the arrest and detention of Congress leaders and other nationalists whose number has reached more than fifty thousand. But in October (1942) we find the London *Times* bemoaning that "American opinion is now once more predominantly critical of the British official attitude...." We have read what complacent officialdom in Delhi-Simla thought of the disturbances that kept engaged its police and military for more than two months. In August—September it like standing on an ant-hill. Since then India has been kept busy with hunting for food in dust-bins, driven there by a man-created scarcity. A Governor-General who began his career in India with the distribution of stud-bulls as a symbol of agricultural advance has his last days in India clouded by conditions of famine. The world has been watching with painful suspense the issue of the battle between the self-respect of India and the needs and necessities of an imperialist Britain. We do not yet know what it will be in the near future. It may appear that the "revolt" of awakened India has been beaten down; that there is no India to take account of; that there are only Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians to claim patches of the country for their own and find satisfaction in growing from these dung-heaps; it may appear that scarcity of foodstuffs has driven the urge for political freedom from the minds of the people. But history does not uphold such short-sighted satisfaction. The soul of nations has a habit of waiting for decades and centuries to assert its self-respect. Mr. Churchill's predecessor in office declared that the Government of India Act of 1935 will "settle" the India question for a generation at least. It has not even for half a dozen years. What was said of Ireland by a historian is of universal application: "The Irish Free State may 'settle' the problem of Ireland for a generation, perhaps for two, perhaps for a decade—but it does not settle.... Ireland. For always Ireland waits. Always that unconscious soul of her waits, under the pressure of events, for opportunity to rise above the threshold of consciousness, to dare upwards, to astonish the world—and Ireland....."

What of the future

So will it be in India—(Specialty contributed by Sri Suresh Ch. Deb).

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

Laws passed in Provincial Assemblies

AND

The Central Legislative Assembly

AND

The Council of State

Proceedings of

The Viceroy's Extended Council

Six New Members appointed

It was announced from New Delhi on the 2nd July 1942 that H. M. the King has been pleased to approve the following appointments to the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.; Dr. B. R. Ambedkar; Sir E. C. Benihal; Sir Jogenindra Singh; Sir J. P. Srivastava, K.B.E.; Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed Usman, K.C.I.E.

The present members of the Viceroy's Council are: H. E. the Commander-in-Chief; Sir Jeremy Ratsman, Finance Member; Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member; Mr. M. S. Aney, Member for Overseas Department; Sir H. P. Mody, Member for Supply and Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member; Mr. N. R. Sarker, Sir Feroz-Khan Noon, and Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar.

The following appointments to portfolios have been made:—
Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar as Member in charge of Information in succession to the late Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari.

Sir J. P. Srivastava, as Member in charge of Civil Defence, in succession to the late Hon'ble Dr. Raghavendra Rao.

Sir E. C. Benihal and Khan Bahadur Sir Mahomed Usman as Members for War Transport and for Posts and Air respectively consequent on the appointment of Sir Andrew Clow, late Member in charge of Communications, to be Governor of Assam.

The Hon'ble Malik Sir Feroz Khan Noon, as Member for Defence.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, as Commerce Member, to succeed the Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar (who will remain a Member of the Council) on his appointment as a representative of India at the War Cabinet.

Sir Jogenindra Singh as Member in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands in succession to the Hon'ble Mr. Sarker.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as Member in charge of the Department of Labour in succession to the Hon'ble Sir Feroz Khan Noon.

The portfolio of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will in future be designated the War portfolio. The new Defence Member will be responsible for the work at present discharged by the Defence Co-ordination Department, together with such other matters relating to the defence of India as are not included in the portfolios of War and Civil Defence.

For the second time since the outbreak of the war the Viceroy's Executive Council has been expanded, says a Press Note. The need to create a Membership for Defence to provide for India's representation at the War Cabinet and in the Pacific War Council and to divide the heavy single charge of Communications has involved the addition of three members to the Council's present strength.

As in the previous expansion of 1941, the purpose of the present expansion is to associate representative Indian opinion more closely in the conduct of the war and to provide for the increasing burden of war work, within the framework of the present Constitution.

Membership of the Viceroy's Executive Council has been increased from 12 to 15, with eleven non-official Indians, one non-official European and three European officials (including the Commander-in-Chief). At the outbreak of the war the strength of the Council was seven with three Indian members. In July 1941 expansion five new portfolios were created and Indians were placed in charge of them. In the present expansion the Indian majority has been further increased to 11.

Six new members has been appointed to the vacancies arising from the deaths of the Mr. Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari and Dr. E. Raghavendra Rao, and the appointments of Sir Feroz Khan Noon as Defence Member, Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar to the Pacific War Council and the War Cabinet, and Sir Andrew Clow as Governor of Assam and the splitting up of the Communications portfolio into War Transport and Posts and Air.

The Viceroy's Executive Council as expanded and reconstituted provides for the first time representation for the Sikhs, the Depressed Classes and the non-official European community. With the communities already represented the Council provides a cross-section of the principal communities and interests in India who have shown themselves ready to co-operate in a War Government under the conditions imposed by the existing constitution.

His Highness the Jam Sahab of Nawanagar and Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, while representing India at the War Cabinet, will have the same status as the representatives of the Dominions. Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, while in London, will continue to be a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Council of State

Autumn Session—New Delhi—21st. to 29th. September 1943

STANDING COMMITTEES FOR INFORMATION DEPT.

The Council of State commenced its autumn session at New Delhi on the

21st. September 1943, Sir David Devadas presided.

Mr. Sri Narain Mehta and Pandit Kunzru raised the question of the Standing Committee for the Department of Information and Broadcasting, occasion

having been provided by Sir Mahomed Usman's motion for election of two members

to serve on a standing committee for the Department of Posts and Air. Pandit

Kunzru said that at the request of the late Sir Akbar Hydari, Party leaders had

nominated members to serve on the Standing Committee for Information and

Broadcasting. He wanted to know why no meeting of the Committee had yet been

called. Mr. Shauar Lall explained that no Committees had yet been formed to

advise the Department of Information and Broadcasting.

The Council accepted Mr. P. N. Sanyal's amendment to Sir Mahomed Usman's

CAR ALLOWANCE FOR MEMBERS

resolution relating to motor car haulage allowance for the members of the Council

and appointed a Committee to report by the end of this session. The Council

then adjourned.

22nd. SEPTEMBER:—A debate on the political situation in the country was

initiated in the Council this morning by Sir Mahomed Usman. He spoke as follows :

Soon after the arrest of the Congress leaders on August 9, there were concerted

acts of violence and sabotage not only in Bombay but in Madras, the Central

Provinces, Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar. They were specially directed

against the railways, telegraphs, post offices, police stations and other

Government buildings. The provinces of the Punjab, Sind and Northwest Frontier

were remarkably free from these attacks. The extent of the damage done was very

great. About 258 railway stations were destroyed, of which about 180 were in Bihar

and the east of the United Provinces. Forty trains were derailed, as a result of

which casualties to railway staff were one killed and 21 injured and casualties to

other personnel in accidents arising from the disturbances were three killed and 30

injured among Government servants or troops and 2 killed and 23 injured, among

passengers. Great damage was done to the railway engines, the permanent way and

the rolling stock. About 540 post offices have been attacked, of which 50 were

completely burnt and 200 seriously damaged. There have been till now about

3,500 instances of wire-cutting. About one lakh worth of cash and stamps were

stolen from the post offices, and numerous letter boxes were removed and destroyed.

Further, about 70 police stations and outposts and 140 other Government buildings

were attacked, the majority of which were burnt. Attacks were also made on many

municipal buildings and private property. The total damages done to the railways,

posts and telegraphs alone, taking into account the loss of earnings, would be much

over a crore of rupees.

The total damages done in the Nagpur District of the Central Provinces is

estimated at Rs. 1,25,000 while in another case in the Central Provinces, Rs. 3,50,000

were looted from a Treasury (one lakh has since been recovered). In the United

Provinces, a private doctor's dispensary was sacked with a loss of Rs. 10,000. In

Delhi, the total damages to buildings is estimated at Rs. 8,86,601. The situation has

much improved. Sporadic acts of sabotage and mob violence are still being

continued.

To control and suppress these disturbances and to maintain law and order in

the country, the following measures were taken.

The Congress Committees were declared to be unlawful associations and

important individuals who were likely to organise and lead mass movements and

create disturbances with the object of paralysing the administration were detained.

As this movement was intended to interfere in the prosecution of the war

and to paralyse the war efforts action was taken under the Defence of

India Rules. The Penalties Enhancement Ordinance, the Special Criminal Courts

Ordinance and the Collectors Fines Ordinance were put into operation. Certain

restrictions on the publication of news were imposed in the best interests of the

country. In the disturbed areas, the fullest use was made of the police who had, on several occasions, to face very difficult situations and were forced to open fire on riotous mobs. As a result of this, about 390 people were killed and about 1,600 wounded. A large number of policemen were injured and 32 were killed. British and Indian troops were used in aid of the civil power in about 60 places. They were forced on many occasions to open fire, the casualties being 331 killed and 159 wounded, and the military casualties being eleven killed and seven wounded. The air force was employed for reconnaissance and patrol.

The police and the military have been called upon to meet a very grave situation in various places. I should like to take this opportunity of expressing the appreciation of the Government of the excellent work done by them. It is a duty most faithfully and loyally—on many occasions under very difficult circumstances. As in all engineered movements the general public had nothing to do with these disturbances. In several cases labour has been forced to take part in them. It is a matter for satisfaction that the Muslim community and the Scheduled Castes have as a whole stood entirely aloof.

The cutting of telephone and telegraph wires, removal of rails, demolition of bridges, impeding the war effort and running a parallel Government were all actions issued by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, which were published by the Government of Madras.

Mr. Sanikar Rao Deo, a Member of the Congress Working Committee, who has been arrested and is now detained, speaking at Marol and Ghatkopar in the Bombay suburban district on the 26th and 29th of July, said that he thought the entry of Japan into the war should be an encouragement to Indians, who should and did derive pleasure from the successes of the Germans. He went on to suggest that the mass civil disobedience movement would take the form of a general strike in all factories, mills and transport undertakings which would cripple the war machinery.

The fact that the method adopted for interfering with communications was of the same pattern in all parts of the country and the selection of military areas and objectives for special attack seem to indicate a common guiding policy with the definite object of inviting Japan to attack India. No party which sincerely desires to rally the country whole-heartedly in resistance to the enemy could possibly, in any circumstances, have let the country in for what has happened since the 9th of August.

For all these disorders Congress cannot be absolved from responsibility, as Mr. Gandhi and the other Congress leaders had been preaching for some time an open rebellion against the Government of the country apart from the terms of the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee. Some say that Government had been hasty in taking action. If we had only delayed taking action, this dangerous movement to rebel against Government and to impede the war effort would have taken such tremendous shape as to cause irreparable damage to this country. The Congress alone is responsible for the present situation and for the destruction of life and encouraging and promoting these acts of violence and sabotage, the Congress has done the greatest disservice to this country at a time when Japan is at the very doors of India. The action taken by the Government is, therefore, thoroughly justified.

Sir A. P. Patro said that long speeches could not improve the situation in the country and the need of the hour was sincere co-operation of every section of Indian people to win the war. He claimed that Swaraj after the war had been definitely assured and questions relating to the constitutional issue need not be raised during the war. Referring to the demand for a National Government, Sir A. P. Patro said that the biggest mistake India made was not to take advantage of the two opportunities offered to her people, firstly, in the August Offer and secondly, in the Cripps Proposals. In this connection he referred to Mr. Jinnah's declaration in the Assembly two years ago that during the war provided the Hindus agreed to a balance of power with Pakistan in the Central Executive, Sir A. P. Patro felt that Mr. Jinnah's offer still held good and the only method of reaching a settlement was to agree to it.

Mr. M. N. Datta (Bombay) emphasised that a National Government at the Centre was essential not only to ring up the war effort but also to create the atmosphere necessary to repel any aggression. Therefore, the demand for

a National Government must be viewed with sympathy. Mr. Dalal stressed that the Cripps offer was now out of the picture and urged that further efforts must be made to satisfy the demands of the Indian people. Mr. Dalal severely criticised the latest statement of Mr. Churchill on India.

Mr. P. N. Sapat said that none outside a lunatic asylum could condone the disturbances that had broken loose in the country after the arrest of the Congress leaders. At the same time he felt the speech of Sir Mahmood Hasan in the morning exhibited "utter lack of responsibility and statesmanship." He pointed to the feeling of estrangement against the Government in the country

the responsibility for which, according to him, rested with the Government. People had been alienated from law and felt that the Government were preparing them not for freedom but for maintaining the *status quo*. The eleven "wise men" on the Council of the Governor-General, who were completely ignored by Sir Stafford Cripps, but whose services have suddenly been recognised by Mr. Churchill, "are regarded by us as glorified Secretaries. They are an imposition from above and not the representatives of the Parties in the country." In a rapid survey of the Indian situation during the last two years, Mr. Sapat declared that the British Government had no real use for the Muslim League. It was exploiting the League's attitude to deny India her freedom. "The Cripps scheme was so devised that Britain would have been able to maintain her hold on India for all time to come and there would have been no union of India," Mr. Sapat declared. He also criticised Professor Cuppland's booklet on the Cripps mission and said that it was a mere piece of propaganda for American consumption. Similarly, Sir Stafford Cripps' statement that the Governor-General-in-Council was like the American President and his Cabinet was a "deliberate misrepresentation at the cost of India." Mr. Sapat then showed how the constitutional position of the Executive Council had deteriorated after the Act of 1935. He said that law and order had become the sole concern of the Governor-General and matters relating to Indian States had been taken away from the purview of the Governor-General-in-Council. Reference, he said, had been made to the declarations that Swami would be given after the war by the British Government. These declarations, Mr. Sapat maintained, amounted to India achieving self-rule through an agreement amongst various parties, which had been left undebated. In this connection he referred to the Congress offer that the power and authority of the Government could be transferred to the Muslim League and said that if the Government were sincere in its professions, they should negotiate with the Muslim League if not with the Congress.

Mr. Sapat affirmed his faith in the unity of India, notwithstanding which he would be prepared to agree to the principle of self-determination for the Provinces, provided the Provinces were re-shaped and redemarcated in accordance with the Lahore Resolution of the League. He urged the Muslim League to open negotiations with the Congress and the other parties, adding that there could be no humiliation in negotiating with one's own countrymen. An earnest effort should be made to reach a settlement, and if we fail we should not hesitate to refer our dispute to the United Nations, he urged.

In conclusion, Mr. Sapat said that the responsibility for the disturbances was not his, nor had he had any responsibility for the policy which had resulted in the disturbances, nor for Government's action in meeting the disturbances. He had not been consulted. On these grounds he said, he refused to support the Government's present policy.

Sir Hissamuddin declared that the present movement had not affected the loyalty of the classes who were the backbone of the Indian army. Recrimination was going on with increased tempo and he could personally vouchsafe for that fact. The Mussalmans had kept aloof from the present movement and so had the people in the Indian States. The Ruling Princes, he said, had handled the situation admirably well. Sir Hissamuddin congratulated the Government on its prompt action and said that he was confident that India would get her freedom after the war. The Council at this stage rose till the next day.

23rd SEPTEMBER:—The debate to-day was opened by Mr. Sri Narain Mehta who asserted that the present situation in India was the natural result of Britain's attempt to arrest the progress of forces which had been at work since the last war. When the storm that had long been brewing in Europe finally burst in 1939, India would have been satisfied with a declaration of her independence. The country wanted that Britain should act up to her professions so freely made, but

all that Britain did was to set up one party against the other and to represent to the world that self-rule for India was an impossibility. Proceeding, Mr. Sri Narain said that this movement was neither a students' movement nor a Congress movement nor even a fifth column attempt to sabotage India's war effort. "It is the desperate gesture of a nation, before whom you have dangled the offer of political freedom."

Rai Bahadur Ramasaran Das said that the Government were suffering from 'propaganda complex'. Having made up their minds not to part with power, they realised that they must one day come into clash with the Congress. They thought that the Congress could be crushed at a stroke. Having assumed that the Congress movement would have no backing, they gave to the world a daily picture of 'all quiet on all fronts'. For some weeks, they were told that there were hardly any disturbances worth the name, and the All-India Radio even ceased mentioning the matter. Suddenly the Government appeared to have changed their propaganda technique and had now let loose an account of arson, looting, murder and sabotage to show that they had been faced with open rebellion and that but for the loyalty of the military and the police and the Government servants, the rebellion might have paralysed the machinery of the Government. "I suspect", the member said, "that the motive behind the propaganda is to keep the Congress leaders locked up in jail during the war".

The Rai Bahadur had no hesitation in saying that the Defence of India Act had been misused. The real position was sought to be hidden under the plea that there were eleven Indian members on the Executive Council. "It is our misfortune that their number is being exploited to deceive the world regarding the true state of affairs in the country." The speaker also referred to the rate of Indianisation in the army and the differentiation shown to Indian officers in the matter of rations. He concluded: "I hope that the Indian Councilors will play an honourable part in securing India's freedom and the Government will give up the propaganda stunts and face the realities of the situation."

Mr. R. R. Hadow (European Group) said: "It is true that the Congress have for the present fallen from grace, but I have no doubt that they will rise again and create further mischief with the financial backing of certain Indian business magnates. Let it be clearly understood that we do not wish to leave India. We ask for no special treatment or concessions not granted to the citizens of the country. We hope to continue to assist the country to further advancement in all respects." Referring to the demand for a National Government, Mr. Hadow said: "To change horses in mid-stream is always a hazardous operation, and should never be attempted except when, if successful, the result justifies the risk. But with an allegedly representative party showing no desire to join with others in presenting a united front against the common enemy and the other major party standing aloof, it is impossible to form a truly National Government. In the interim, I would beseech all Indians to forget their differences and to exert every effort to the gaining of early and complete victory."

Mr. Mahomed Hussain doubted the benefits of the debate and blamed the Indian Members for not placing any constructive suggestion before the Council. The Indian Members should have evolved some formula which might have eased the present situation, if not solved the deadlock. He made bold to say that the test of the present policy, whether it was successful or not, would come if the country was invaded by Japan. He also asserted that amongst the masses there was a great deal of anti-British feeling and "the present movement had accentuated this feeling". Mr. Hussain condemned the disorders, and said that no Government worth its name could surrender to the challenge of open rebellion. The Congress took its decision without consulting any party, and in spite of the warnings given to it by leaders of the other parties. He, however, urged some steps to be taken immediately to secure the co-operation of at least those and parties which were ready for co-operation. He suggested that the Government should convene a conference of the members of the Central Legislature and evolve a formula for easing the present situation in the country. The formula so evolved should be submitted to the Viceroy for necessary action. Sardar Bahadur Sobha Singh wondered if it was a compliment to his community that the Leader of the House had refrained from mentioning the part it had played in the present crisis, which had enabled the Punjab to pass through these difficult days without any serious and untoward incident. It would not be out of place to mention here the desire and determination of the community to merge

itself in the nation as a whole and to stand for the integrity of India and to claim for non-Muslims the right of self-determination in all such areas in which they were not in majority in case it was conceded to others. He paid a tribute to Sir Jogendra Singh and said that the whole community was behind him.

Mr. Padabab (Muslim League) blamed the Government for the present disorders in the country, which, he asserted, were the direct result of pampering the Congress. Mr. Padabab said that the offer of Mr. Jinnah for whole-hearted co-operation still held good.

24th, SEPTEMBER:—Sir Jogendra Singh, Member for Education, Health and Lands opening the discussion to-day said:

"I have listened to the debate with deep concern and a feeling of frustration. It would be futile at this stage for me to dissect the carcass of deplorable events. No Government can rejoice in these fateful days if it is compelled to maintain law and order, when all its energies should be directed in preparations to meet the perils, which it may be, at any moment, called upon to face.

"Nothing is lost; indeed, everything would be gained if we face the realities, stick all party and communal differences and enter upon our heritage. We can then ask His Majesty's Government to close this sorry chapter of misunderstandings, negotiations and declarations by a definitive Act, and endow India with Purna Swaraj. By giving at once England and secure India as a willing partner in her struggle for survival. Would to God a wave of wisdom sweep away the cobwebs of distrust and disbelief on both sides and between the communities in the realisation, in the words of Sadi, "that we are limbs of one another". Even Mr. Jinnah may see that he cannot create a holy land unless he sees in those amidst whom he lives the face of a brother. May I take this opportunity of mentioning that Mr. Jinnah was wrong? Muslim representation in the Army stands at 32 per cent and the others provide the remaining 68 per cent.

"Let Gandhi!! worship at the shrine of non-violence and Mr. Jinnah sharpen his knife to carve out a Pakistan, but let the Central Legislature do the one thing that is needed, and act as the representative of millions who desire peace and a better living, whose hearts throb in unison in thousands of villages who are aware that all religions teach that concord is a blessing and discord a curse, who, in spite of preachings which have been raging in full blast, have lived for centuries and live now as good neighbours.

"Let us forget that there are such organisations as the Congress and the League. Let us no more waste our stock of emotions in vain pursuit of theories which have no relation to facts. Let the representatives of the Princes and the people come together and resolve the deadlock. Let them present a united demand for fulfilment of the promise, which was re-affirmed by the Prime Minister only the other day. My lips can utter no word of indifference regarding the aspirations of all the people of India. Let us work for the realisation of these aspirations.

"My friend, the hon. Mr. Sapru and others have spoken of the eleven contentible who have joined the Government. My friend the hon. Mr. Sapru seems familiar with the writings of John Morley. He must have noted the controversy over the appointment of a single Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Lord Linlithgow can, in any case, claim that he has secured an Indian majority in his Executive Council, while the great positivist thinker and Liberal statesman could not reconcile himself to the appointment of a single Indian.

"I can assure the hon. Mr. Sapru that we hold these positions in trust. I have not shielded the Act or the Rules of Business, but I can affirm without any fear of contradiction, that we exercise all the powers which the Members of the Executive Council have exercised. Further, it is not our purpose, to make Bibles of the fading script of Rules, which may not suit the new complexion of the expanded Council. It shall be our endeavour, of all my colleagues, who think alike, to transform the Executive Council into a Cabinet, if you also play your part, and endow us with power, but if you leave us in splendid isolation then you rob us largely of our powers to carry out your wishes. I feel like asking in the words of *Ghalib*, what kind of friends are these, who have turned into advisers and critics, they who ought to have been busy in translating their sympathy into action?"

"I can assure you I have not come, in this last stage of my journey on this earth, to waste my days, but to serve my King and my country, to advocate to the best of my power the views of those whom I represent, to stand for the integrity of India, to utilise every opportunity to secure what the heart of India

desires and to make a larger happiness more universally possible. "May I say, with all humility, that the mantle of a Minister cannot cloud the spirit of a man who no longer wishes to please men but to please God."

Pandit H. N. Kunzru paid a warm tribute to Sir Jogendra Singh for the tone and tenor of his speech. It showed, he said, that the Indian Members of the Council were fully alive to the situation in the country and were keeping the Viceroy well posted. While he recognised the duty of the Government to put down disorders, he emphasised it was also its duty to understand the causes which had manifested themselves in the form of the present disorders. He regretted that Sir M. Usman would not even accept the responsibility of raising the constitutional question in the Executive Council.

After citing instances of what he characterised as excesses committed in the name of law and order, Pandit Kunzru pleaded that an impartial enquiry should be instituted. He was not a Congressman, nor did he agree with Congress policy. Notwithstanding this, he repudiated the allegation that the object of the Congress was to invite Japan to India. As for the responsibility of the Congress for the present disturbances, he said the Congress leaders had been clapped into jail even to inform their colleagues or followers of the Congress plans. "The disturbances reflected the feeling of the country in respect of the present Government. He asserted that "when people rebelled it was not their fault but their misfortune." The Government should realise their responsibility towards the people for whom they said they were trustees.

The people had been exasperated by the policy of the British Government since the war. In the two expansions of the Governor-General's Executive Council, for instance, the key portfolios were still retained for the Britishers. All political groups in the country were unanimous in the demand for the transfer of power to Indians, but Sir Stafford Cripps declared, they should remember that Defence would not be transferred even if there was a united demand for its transfer. "I have still to learn that the Muslim League is not for freedom of the country or for transfer of power to Indians", he declared. The Congress and the Sapru Conference made similar demands, and it was the refusal of the British Government to part with power that had led to the present upheaval. The British Government were carrying on intensive propaganda that it was the lack of unanimity amongst the Indians that stood in the way of their transferring power, but they had not yet declared that they would transfer power if there was unity amongst the Indian parties.

Referring to the Pakistan demand, Pandit Kunzru wanted to know from the Muslim League what effect it would have on India as a whole, what would be the boundaries of the proposed Pakistan and whether the plebiscite would be for the Muslim population or for the entire population of an area. While on this subject, he hoped Indians would have patriotism enough to settle their differences.

Referring to anti-Gandhi propaganda, Pandit Kunzru warned the Government that they would not succeed by such tactics. He made two constructive proposals. Firstly, he said that power must be transferred to Indians without delay, but, during the war, the power of veto in matters relating to Defence could be retained by the Viceroy. Secondly, the veto of the Viceroy in matters relating to the financial and economic field should be eliminated by conventions. Mr. Hoosain Imam (leader, Muslim League Party) criticised the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief that India could be defended by armed forces. "It is only we, the representatives of the recognised parties, who can pull you out of the present morass", he declared. The expansion of the Executive Council, he said, had not helped the Government, nor was likely to help them. Referring to Pakistan, he welcomed the change in the attitude of Messrs. Kunzru and Sapru, and said that territorial readjustments were envisaged in the Lahore Resolution of the League.

Pandit Kunzru: Why do you not define the territories now?

Mr. Hoosain Imam: How can I define the territories unless the principle of self-determination is agreed to?

Proceeding, he said, that the plebiscite in the areas concerned would be confined to Muslims only. Just as the Muslim minorities in the Hindu Home-lands would have no right to demand a plebiscite, in the same way and for the same reasons, the non-Muslim minorities would have no right of self-determination.

in the Muslim Homelands. He wondered why the non-Muslims were so afraid of a Muslim plebiscite when, according to them, large sections of Muslims, headed by Moulvi Fazlul Haq, Khan Bahadur Allah Bux and Miran Zabeeruddin were with them and were opposed to the League.

Referring to the Congress, he said, that it was not representative of the whole of India, and the sooner it realised that fact, the better it would be for all concerned. The Congress had closed the door for negotiations, by declaring that there could be no settlement unless the British quit India.

Mr. Hoosain Imam, referring to the present impasse, said that the refusal of the British to part with power was responsible for the deadlock. He demanded a clear, unequivocal statement that the British were prepared to transfer power to the representatives of the recognised parties. "More expansion of the Council and Indianisation without transfer of responsibility will not meet the case. We must have the power to regulate and check the members of the Government."

Referring to Mr. Hadow's claim that horses could not be changed in midstream, he asked whether British was not in midstream after the fall of France when there was a change in the Prime Ministership in that country.

Mr. Hoosain Imam blamed the Congress for not reaching a settlement with the Muslims before launching the movement. "We would have been in full with the Congressmen to-day and our demand would have been irrefragable," he declared. Mr. Imam reminded the Government that the Muslims were out of the Congress movement to-day because of the League and deserved better of Mr. Churchill than the mere right of self-expression. He also criticised the Government for its unpreparedness to meet the Congress challenge, but said that as he was not consulted by the Government or the Congress, he refused to apportion blame for the present disorders to any party.

Sir J. P. Sivaswami, Member for Civil Defence, speaking as the youngest member of the Executive Council, said that the Indian Members had made every endeavour to resolve the deadlock. It was true that their efforts had not yet succeeded. He took the opportunity to explain the position of the Executive Council. He said that under the Act of 1919, they were not allowed to initiate measures for constitutional progress. They could not frame a constitution affecting themselves and never had the Council initiated such a step with the probable exception of the Midddiman report. The Act made this clear. "But I do not say that the Executive Council cannot use its influence. I can say, without any fear of contradiction, that we are treated most liberally and never has there been any occasion when the Governor-General has turned down our advice. We are allowed to function as a composite Cabinet, and what the law does not permit, has been allowed by conventions and practice."

"I am under an oath of secrecy and cannot divulge the secrets of the Council. I may however add that we are not oblivious to the conditions in the country. We are convinced that something must be done. Members of the Council can be of great help when the demand for a National Government is made. I, however, wish that speeches made in the Council were made not here but outside. It weakens our stand. We are up against communal and other dissensions. A National Government has no room for sectional or communal dissensions and unless we have a Congress-League settlement, we are helpless."

I recently used my influence to persuade the Mahasabha to try to reach a settlement with the Muslim League and other parties. I assure you that the Indian Members are at your bid and call. We regard you as our masters. But you must come to us with a definite united command, and I assure you that we will carry out your orders."

Referring to the efforts of the Government to reach a settlement, Sir Jwala Prasad said that soon after the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy invited Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to strengthen the home front. His Excellency made certain proposals for setting up a representative Executive at the Centre. According to his information, Mahatma Gandhi demanded the right to nominate all the members to the Council. To this, the Viceroy could not agree, nor would the 52 leading public men whom the Viceroy had consulted. Soon after, the Congress Ministers resigned. This Sir Jwala Prasad regarded as the biggest blunder of the Congress, for otherwise they would have been found to end the deadlock. He had accepted Federation, the bogey of Pakistan, might not have been created. The August Offer and the Cripps Proposals were two more steps taken to reach

a settlement, but both the attempts failed. The Cripps Offer was made, he said, to placate the Congress and the League. Referring to the present disturbances, Sir Jwala Prasad said that soon after his arrival at New Delhi, he was informed that the Congress was making preparations to launch a mass movement. "We were faced with a life and death struggle. With Japan threatening from the East and Hitler from the West, we could not take risks. We had no alternative but to take action against the Congress leaders. But the steps then taken were not designed to be punitive or vindictive. We were all agreed that minimum force should be used and the Congress leaders should be treated with all respect and comfort. Things, however, had turned out differently."

Mr. Parker (European Group) said that a few weeks ago a major political party announced its intention to organise a rebellion. In most countries the Government would immediately have arrested and probably shot the leaders of such an organisation. The Congress seemed to him to have chosen their time to stir up rebellion. It is always easier to excite the masses at times when food is difficult to obtain and expensive when it is obtainable. The Congress, however, must have known that the unfortunate people whom they were urging to damage communications, would themselves be the first and greatest sufferers. The second important result of their rebellion was to reduce the efficiency of war effort. It was therefore clearly in the interests of the people of India and of the United Nations for the Government to take the preventive measures they did, and he doubted if anyone of them placed in similar situation would have delayed the action longer.

Referring to the immediate future, Mr. Parkar said that "there cannot, for the time being, be any suitable recipient of the powers which it is urged should be transferred. Perhaps, the best hope of changing this position lies in some of those now, and for some time past, acting as the controlling forces of the Congress party being replaced by others, including, I hope, some of the able men who have taken part in the Congress activities in the past." Winding up the debate, Sir Mahomed Usman said that there were no strong reasons to assume that excessive force was used by the police and the military. Therefore, there would be no enquiry into their conduct. "The hon'ble Mr. Sapru said that in quelling the disturbances, Nazi methods were adopted. I would like to assure the House that Nazi methods were never adopted by the British Government in the administration of this country at any time. If they had been Nazi-minded, they would not have brought parliamentary institutions like the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State into existence nor allowed a discussion on the present situation. If to-day, barring the Congress, the whole country stands behind the British Government in the prosecution of the war, (Mr. Sapru : Nonsense) it is due to the sense of British justice and fairplay which they have introduced into the administration of this country. The hon'ble Mr. Sapru had, Sir M. Usman continued, condemned the speech of Mr. Churchill, pleaded for the abolition of the India Office and condemned the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps. They all knew that when Sir Stafford Cripps, well-known for his sympathy with the political aspirations of India and a great friend of the Congress, came to India and carried on his talks with all the important political parties, he discovered that the real object of the Congress was to get unlimited power for itself. "Mr. Amery had been trying to protect in any political settlement the interests of the Muslim community, the Depressed Classes and the Princes and other interests. For this offence his office should be abolished. Instead of being grateful to the Prime Minister for making the Cripps proposals as the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament he is condemned, because he spoke the bitter truth that the Congress does not represent the whole Indian nation. When the Muslims have all practically gone out of the Congress and have come under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, the Congress has lost its national characteristic. If further evidence of this is needed, you will find that the Muslims throughout India obeyed the mandate of Mr. Jinnah and completely abstained from joining the present civil disobedience movement," he declared. Quoting extracts from the speeches of the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for India on the future of India, Sir M. Usman said that the resolution of the political problem lay in Indians' hands. If they did not agree among themselves and did not show any spirit of give and take, why blame the British Government?

ALLOCATION OF DEFENCE EXPENDITURE

25th. SEPTEMBER:—The Council to-day passed five official Bills and a non official measure as recently passed by the Legislative Assembly. It rejected, by 22 to 11 votes, Mr. Hoosain Imam's resolution urging that for the apportionment of war expenditure between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, a new basis be framed in consultation with the representatives of the parties in the Central Legislature.

The official Bills included two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code, a Bill to amend the Rubber Control Act, a Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act and the Repealing and Amending Bill. The non-official Bill, which was sponsored by Mr. P. N. Saprú was designed to confer supplemental powers on the Federal Court.

Speaking on his resolution regarding allocation of Defence expenditure, Mr. Hoosain Imam declared that the questions involved in the financial settlement were of such vital importance to India that they could not but demand their right to be consulted before a final agreement was reached. Analysing India's case he said that although British troops were stationed in Egypt, that country did not contribute any money towards their cost. He explained that in the case of Egypt, the cost was not apportioned on a geographical basis but on the basis of the interests the army garrison served. The capacity of the country to meet the cost of the defence measures was another factor taken into consideration in apportioning the cost of the Egyptian defences. The speaker pointed out the case of the American army in India which was cost-free to India and said that he saw no reason why Britain should not treat India on the same basis.

Mr. Hoosain Imam also claimed that had the Indian army been raised by a National Government its cost might have been nearly half of the present cost. Proceeding, Mr. Hoosain Imam said that he did not agree with the Congress that India was not a party to this war and, therefore, should not be called upon to make any contribution towards its cost. Having made his position clear, he claimed that India was vitally concerned in regard to the quantum and method of apportionment of the defence expenditure. Deducting from the Egyptian analogy, he said that the army in India, both British and Indian, was maintained both for Indian and Imperial defence. "India to-day was the base for operations against Japan and against Germany, and it was only right that India's expenditure should be in accordance with her own needs. The new situation demanded a new arrangement. Lastly, the resolution demanded consultation with the Legislature before the agreement was finalised.

The resolution was opposed by Sir A. P. Patro and supported by Messrs. P. N. Saprú and H. N. Kunzru. Sir A. P. Patro held that the resolution was redundant as, in his opinion, it was premature to disturb the existing agreement. As for the demand for consultation, Sir A. P. Patro said that there was already a Standing Finance Committee, which could always be consulted by the Government. Mr. P. N. Saprú declared that there was no desire on their part to escape a legitimate share of defence expenditure. The issue before them was what was a legitimate and reasonable share. He wanted the Finance Member to give an assurance that the Government would take into their confidence the representative leaders of parties in the Central Legislature before an irrevocable and final decision was reached. If they came to the House with their minds already made up, any discussion would only be of an academic nature.

Mr. Saprú proceeding said: "During the last three days, we had been listening to the mighty achievements of the Indian members of the Executive Council as to what they have done and what they could not do. I trust that the financial questions under discussion are not beyond their purview and that they would use their full weight to reach a settlement in the best interests of India and also that they will lend their support to our demand for consultation." Pandit Brijday Nath Kunzru said that the principle on which the present agreement was based, speaking in the abstract, was not open to criticism. The system of apportionment, however, he said, was very important. Want of a system during the last war had disastrous results for India. In determining the apportionment, it was natural that the representatives of the people should desire to be consulted. He admitted that there was a Standing Finance Committee, but that body had no representation of the Council of State on it. After referring to the Chiefed recommendations and their bearing on the financial capacity of India, Pandit Kunzru said that the war budget had increased from 64 crores in 17

1940-41 to Rs. 51 crores in the current year. He particularly wanted the Finance Member to indicate how the defence expenditure of the countries situated like India was financed. He said that the Finance Member had already announced in the Central Legislative Assembly that he would provide them an opportunity to express their views if there was any new basis of agreement. He wanted to be consulted before any new basis was arrived at.

Lastly, Pandit Kunzru enquired what would be the financial or other implications of the Lease and Lend supplies from the U. S. A. He referred to the recent statement that the supplies were not a mere gift and there would be some *quid pro quo*.

Sir Jeremy Raisman observed that any discussion regarding the financial position of the country and regarding its capacity must, to a large extent, be either abstract or unrelated to the current situation. If it took place at a time other than the Budget Session when complete figures would be available and would be presented to the House. That was his first difficulty. A second and even more acute difficulty was that the whole subject of the defence financial relations between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government was at present under consideration by the Government of India and in those circumstances it was virtually impossible for him to make any useful statement. The facts, he said, had all been presented to his Indian colleagues in the Executive Council, who were in full possession of the whole subject; and nobody need have any apprehension whether they would fully exercise influence in securing an arrangement which was satisfactory to this country. Even if there were any doubts about his own anxiety to protect Indian interests to the utmost, he might say that the present constitution of the Government would make it impossible for any dereliction of duty of that kind to take place.

The Finance Member said that he would ask the supporters of the resolution to consider whether, in all circumstances, they would commit themselves to a definite recommendation that a new basis of some kind should be framed. Might it not be that, on a review of all the circumstances, and, particularly if they had knowledge of the point of view taken by the other principal party in this matter—His Majesty's Government—all their efforts would be concentrated on endeavouring to maintain the present basis?

The question of consultation with the House must, as he had pointed out in the Assembly, depend on the nature of the decisions which the Government of India were disposed to adopt. If the Government of India were contemplating or were faced with the possibility of a new type of liability or something which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement, then, it would undoubtedly be ground for considering, whether, at that stage, legislation should not be given an opportunity to express its views on such a departure or such a new liability. But if the situation were otherwise, it would not necessarily follow that a useful discussion would take place before the Budget Session. He had already indicated in the other place that the Government of India would consider the desirability of issuing a statement sufficiently in advance of the Budget Session to enable members to consider its implications before they actually came to deal with the budget.

As regards the question of Lend-Lease, the Finance Member read extracts from President Roosevelt's fifth report to the Congress, particularly the passage in which the President observed: "If each country devotes roughly the same fraction of its national production to the war, then, the financial burden of war is distributed equally among the United Nations in accordance with their ability to pay; and although the nations richest in resources are able to make larger contributions, the claim of war against each is relatively the same. Such a distribution of the financial costs of war means that no nation will grow rich from the war effort of its Allies (Cheers)."

The Finance Member remarked that whatever might be the final position in regard to the financial settlement between India and His Majesty's Government, India would certainly not secure less than what would be her due under the application of this principle enunciated by President Roosevelt. (Hear, hear.) But, that might not be the whole story. It might be that India would find some difficulty about subscribing fully to that principle. India might find that for her contribution to the war to be evaluated under the principles enunciated by the President would involve a heavier burden than she was prepared to contemplate. He hoped that, in the light of his remarks, members would come to the conclusion that, if they wished to help the Government of India to secure the most satisfactory ultimate allocation of the defence charges, they should not press the resolution.

Mr. Hoosain Imam declared that the Finance Member was conciliatory, but evasive. The issue before them was whether they had the right to be consulted. The Finance Member had evaded that issue. Proceeding, he said that he failed to understand how the Government could avoid a new basis for the agreement. "The old basis is out of date and vague. It depends on elucubrations, and interpretations by the War Office. We want something more definite and precise." He made it clear that India would never agree to a fifty-fifty basis as it would place a disproportionate burden on her. He further maintained that the whole basis of defence expenditure had been altered by the war situation in the Far East and the Near East.

The Finance Member said that if the Honourable Member's complaint was that no supplementary budget had been presented he had to say that such course was not practicable, without proper estimates of the revenue position, and he had no such estimates.

Mr. Hoosain Imam said that he protested against the policy of denial. "Yesterday, we were asked to come up with a united demand. We have made a united demand to-day, with no better results. The Government by their policy is throwing their friends into the lap of non-co-operators. With their present policy, it is useless to keep up the farce of the Central Legislature. It is better that the farce is ended and the Legislature abolished. The Government could carry on with the 'advice and consultations' of the eleven gentlemen of the Executive Council."

The Council divided, and the resolution was rejected by 22 votes to 11. The House then adjourned till Monday the 28th. September.

U. K. C. CORPORATION'S ACTIVITIES.

28th. SEPTEMBER:—The Council to-day discussed non-official resolutions. It adopted the resolution of Mr. P. N. Sapat, "inviting the attention of the Governor-General in Council to the widespread apprehensions among the commercial community in India at the alleged growing monopolies of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation in India and elsewhere so far as the export and import trade of this country is concerned and recommends to him to take all proper steps to allay these apprehensions with all convenient speed."

Mr. Sapat, moving the resolution, said that his main object, as far as the operation of the resolution was concerned, was to enable the Government to make a comprehensive statement on the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. Mr. Sapat said that in business circles the Corporation has been regarded as the second East India Company, and he wanted to know what were its aims, objects, the authority under which it worked and the manner of its operations. According to his information, the Corporation was set up to organise British trade in the Balkans and subsequently in the countries in the East. His Majesty's Government continued the whole of its capital. With the backing of the British Government, it was alleged that the Corporation enjoyed a privileged position in India and was able to obtain favourable treatment from Commerce, Supply and War Transport Departments of the Central Government.

The speaker pointed out that the Indian traders had built up a position for themselves in the countries of the Middle East, and he saw no reason why the Government of India should be a party to the export of goods to those countries through the Corporation and over the head of the regular Indian trade channels. Mr. Sapat gave details of various items of export and said that sugar was exported to Iran through the Corporation under conditions which resulted in large profits for the Corporation. It was apprehended, he said, that Indian traders would lose their trade to the Corporation in due course, and it was the duty of the Government to remove their apprehensions.

Mr. Sapat said that international trade was getting mixed up with politics, and unless the Government of India took the necessary steps, Indian merchants would be elbowed out in the markets of the world.

Rai Bahadur Kamsarandas, supporting the resolution, wanted to know why India had been singled out for the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and why the Government permitted the Corporation to make large profits by purchasing goods at controlled prices through the agency of the Government Departments. Similarly, he was surprised that shipping freight was made available to the Corporation. It took over 30 years, he said, for the Indian traders to build connections in the markets of the Middle East and now the Indian Government were undoing their good work by assisting the Corporation. He

regarded this as another example of racial discrimination and urged the Govern-

ment to make a stand for Indian interests.

Mr. Hoosain Imam further supported the resolution. He said that the Government was always on the side of big Indian business, when there was a conflict of interests between the big and small Indian business. The Government, however, invariably favoured the big British business as against the big Indian business. As for the British Government, the Government of India were its subordinate branch. He asserted that it was the right of his country to be protected against all onslaughts either from the British or foreign interests. Governmental or otherwise. Mr. Imam, proceeding, raised the specific issue of finance and asked how the trade with Russia was being financed and how the commercial activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation were being financed. "I know how anxious the British Government are to wipe out our sterling balances now held in London, by fair or foul means and we have to take special care to protect them and prevent their being frittered away," he declared.

Mr. Hoosain Imam said that the Reserve Bank was helping the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation by methods which could be regarded as a sort of subsidy to that Corporation. He also criticised the policy of exporting food grains to countries like Ceylon, which had never treated Indian nationals fairly. The speaker asked the Indian Members of the Council whether the question had come before them and what had been their attitude to it. He urged that they should take up this matter in the Executive Council, if they had not been consulted so far.

Pandit Hridaynath Kanunru claimed that it was natural that there should be apprehensions amongst the Indian businessmen, when an organisation of the type of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation, with the backing of the British Government was endeavouring to expand British trade in the Middle East and other countries. As for sugar, the speaker said that it came to the same thing, whether sugar was sold to the British Ministry of Food and the Corporation acted as mere transporters, or it was sold direct to the Corporation. The effect as far India was concerned, was the same namely that sugar was purchased here at low rates and was sold in Iran at comparatively very high rate.

Pandit Kanunru wanted to know the functions of the Middle East Supply Mission and what relation it had with the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation. He also enquired why the Supply Department did not deal direct with the Middle East Supply Mission. As for tea, it had been said on behalf of the Government that the total exportable tea had been purchased by the British Ministry of Food. He hoped that it would not be another case of sugar exports from India referred earlier by him. Pandit Kanunru asked why an organisation similar to the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation had not been started by the Government of India to expand Indian trade abroad. Such an organisation, he said, would have brought Indian businessmen in direct touch with business interests abroad.

The Commerce Secretary, Sir Alan Lloyd, said that the Government would be willing to accept the resolution if the mover agreed to the addition of the word "alleged" before "growing monopolist activities" in the resolution.

Mr. Sapru accepted the amendment.

Sir Alan Lloyd, proceeding, said that the Government had received a letter from the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry on the subject. The Government intended to give a detailed reply to that letter and he said that they would have no objection to their reply published in the press.

Referring to the resolution, Sir Alan wanted the Council to distinguish between war-time trade and post-war period trade and said there was no intention to set up another East India Company, or make the Corporation a permanent organisation for post-war trade. His Majesty's Government had taken upon themselves the responsibility for the supplies in the Middle East countries, and instead of securing these supplies through a State Department, they were doing it through the Corporation which was another name for a Governmental Department. The Corporation was not a profit-making body and supplies were organised through it because, left to private trade, it would have led to maldistribution. The Corporation was a war organisation and there was no intention to make it permanent. It was purely a Government show and its members worked in honorary capacity. The Corporation was working on expense basis.

The Commerce Department, Sir Alan declared, watched the activities of the Corporation with almost jealousy. It was their business to protect the interests of Indian trade and help Indian business to develop to its utmost capacity.

There was no question of their "willingly surrendering." The Government's attitude was that nothing should unduly interfere with Indian trade and even when the purchases were made by the U. K. C. G. they were done through ordinary Indian trade channels. The Government gave certain facilities in regard to war supplies while no special facilities were accorded in respect of non-war supplies. It was for the war supplies, for instance, that the Supply Department made purchases from the market rates. As for the Middle East Supply Centre, it was a Government organisation engaged in the direction of supplies and not in trade. In conclusion, Sir Alan said that the problem was not of such a gigantic magnitude to warrant a full-dress debate by the Council. He explained that during the last three months the total exports through the U. K. C. G. amounted to only 10 per cent of the total trade to the countries of the Middle East, while the remainder 90 per cent was carried by Indian merchants. In the case of sugar, the U. K. C. G. only acted as transporters, the British Government having purchased the sugar from India. Sir Alan reiterated that there was no intention to oust Indian businessmen from the export trade of India. The Council adopted the resolution as amended by Sir Alan Lloyd.

MODIFICATION OF PRESS RESTRICTION

Pandit H. N. Kunzru next moved the following resolution:—

"The Council recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that the restrictions imposed on the Press which have given rise to serious dissatisfaction should be modified so as to take fuller account of the rights of the Press and the public and that, in particular, press censorship of news reports and statements should be abolished except in so far as it may be necessary for military purposes."

Pandit Kunzru said that the resolution was of importance not merely to the Press, but also to everyone who lived in this country. He might go further and say it was not merely of national importance but of international importance, for it was of the utmost importance at the present time that the Allied countries should be as much in touch with one another as possible. The result of the restrictions might be to make the country, as a whole, feel that it was surrounded by a wall which cut it off from the outside world.

Pandit Kunzru traced the origin of the system of Press-advising started in 1940, in order to afford guidance to correspondents, and went on to describe the various stages through which the system passed until now Press-advising had become practically compulsory. The original system, however, had worked fairly satisfactorily; so had the subsequent system of consultation in regard to statements of important persons. The Government, while admitting that a large body of Editors had discharged their duties with a due sense of responsibility and in such a way as not to impede the war effort, said that there had been a small but diminishing section of the Press, which unfortunately did not show it was alive to its responsibilities. The Standing Committee of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, however, expressed the opinion, that the failure of several Provincial Governments to honour the Delhi Agreement, Pandit Kunzru referred to the stance of the United Provinces Government, which took action against the *National Herald* and the *Sainik*. Whatever the faults were of these newspapers, he submitted, there was no reason why the advice of the Press Advisory Committee should not have been taken, after giving the Committees an opportunity to exercise the normal influence.

During the last few months, Pandit Kunzru, proceeding said, the Government of India, not satisfied with the power of the Provincial Governments and their refusal to consult the Advisory Committees, began to tighten up the arrangements for the control of the Press by the imposition of Press restrictions and by letting the system of consultation diminish in importance. In a letter written by him to the President of the Newspaper Editors' Conference, Sir Richard Tottenham admitted there was only a diminishing section of the Press which had given cause for complaint, but he went on to make suggestions which made it appear that Press advising was practically compulsory. Further tightening of press restrictions came after the All-India Congress Committee passed its resolution of August 8, continued the speaker. The Government then prohibited the publication of news unless it was derived from official sources, three news agencies and correspondents regularly employed by

the newspaper concerned. Editors of newspapers were also warned on August 10 against opposing measures taken by the Government to deal with the mass movement. This warning, said the Pandit, showed more eloquently than the restrictions, the spirit and temper in which the Government of India meant to insist on the observance of the restrictions. It was true that Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar tried to clear up the position at a Press Conference that all that the Government desired was that no Editor should follow a line which would foment trouble or create unnecessary feeling against the measures adopted by the Government. The assurance given by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar did not go a long way to satisfy the Press. The Information and Broadcasting Department, said the speaker, was outwardly an independent Department, but in reality carried out the policy of the Home Department. The Pandit asked why the Department, which was responsible for the restrictions, did not itself come forward to explain those restrictions.

The restrictions, the Pandit proceeded, created serious dissatisfaction; the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference protested against it and submitted a representation. The restrictions were found irksome by foreign correspondents published in the country, but with regard to news sent out of the country, and news coming from those countries to India. Generally speaking, messages giving the nationalist point of view were Press-advised to the last stage and important passages were deleted, so that they might fail to convey a true picture of the state of things existing in the country. Similarly Press comments from America and England of a pro-Indian character were not allowed to be published in India. An instance was President Roosevelt's reference to the applicability of the Atlantic Charter to all nations. He asked why adverse American comments were allowed to be published without let or hindrance in the Indian Press and favourable comments of the Chinese Press were not allowed to be published. The Home Department, he declared, should realise it was dealing with citizens and not with aliens.

So great was the severity of the restrictions, the speaker further pointed out, that not merely Indian correspondents but foreign correspondents sent a joint memorandum to the Viceroy complaining of the system. It was also understood that one or two American correspondents went out of India for the purpose of giving America a true account of the situation in the country.

After the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference expressed dissatisfaction with the restrictions, the Government of India invited a deputation of the Committee to meet them. At this Conference it was alleged by the Government of India that they succeeded in getting the agreement of the Standing Committee to the institution of pre-censorship of all news. Yet, from the correspondence which took place between Sir Richard Tottenham and Mr. K. Srinivasan, it was perfectly clear that the Standing Committee never agreed to wholesale pre-censorship. Finding the Government of India were adamant and not prepared to trust the newspapers to discharge their responsibility fairly, the Committee, as a way of getting relief from the severe restrictions, agreed to pre-censorship only of news belonging to certain categories, not all categories. Sir Richard Tottenham undoubtedly stated in his reply that the Home Department were not prepared to make any such distinctions. But, said the Pandit, while the Government of India had the power to insist on their own restrictions, they could not in fairness claim that the system had the consent of the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference. The Conventer of the Standing Committee had denied and Mr. Srinivasan, the President of the Conference had supported this denial. The Government, said the Pandit, could use their authority and prevent a fair and accurate picture of the state of things in the country being known to the people of the country and outside, but they had no right to twist facts and make it appear that they had popular consent for the measures imposed on the Press. The Pandit gave instances of what he termed unfair Press-advising. He referred to some instructions issued to the Press in Delhi, one, for instance, against the publication of names of persons arrested in connection with the movement. Sir Richard Tottenham, intervening, indicated that these instructions were confidential.

Pandit Kunzru asked if the Press was a private concern and was it Sir Richard Tottenham's contention that the people concerned were not to make representations to the representatives of the people? If so, where were they to go? Did it mean that while the Home Department could crush the Press, the Press

was not to have the right even of complaining of their hardships to members of the House? He was not reading out the exact words from these instructions. Pandit Kunzru went on to refer to the action taken against the Benares Hindu University. Not a word relating to this serious incident had been allowed to reach the public. Was there an iota of justice in this? The Government owed it, in fairness to the Hindu community, to allow the news to be published.

The existing system of restrictions, the speaker said, was working in such a way that the people and the Press felt that the Government of India were not merely controlling the publication of news which might be of military importance or tend to promote disorder, but also suppressing news relating to the Nationalist movement and the excesses committed in suppressing the movement. They prevented accurate news relating to the state of things prevailing in the country from reaching America, China and Britain here. That was the most serious charge that one could bring against the Government of India's policy. Without refusing to recognise the extraordinary character of the present times, he brought this charge against the Government. He hoped that the debate would immediately lead to a change in the attitude of the Government of India. He hoped that before long the Government would realise they were creating great distrust and dissatisfaction and by using unfair methods and preventing this country and the world at large from getting an objective and accurate picture of the state of things prevailing in this country, the Government were turning against them even those who deplored the policy of the Congress.

At the conclusion of Pandit Kunzru's speech, the House adjourned.

29th. SEPTEMBER:—Mr. Datta, Mr. P. N. Saprú and Mr. Hoosain Imam took part in to-day's debate and Sir Richard Tottenham replied on behalf of the Government. Mr. Datta, supporting the resolution, recognised that some restrictions were necessary on the liberty of the Press during the war and in times of disorder, but the limits of those restrictions should not exceed those meant for military purposes, and there was substance in the demand that there should be no censorship of news reports and statements. In the face of the severe control over the happenings in India now, he asked, were the public to form an estimate of the situation? A more ominous aspect of the situation was the tendency of certain Provincial Governments to start their own newspapers, for instance, in Bihar, where there was a complete black-out of private newspapers. He failed to see how the Government of India could permit such a development, and he hoped that the mischief would be nipped in the bud. The situation required that responsible newspapers should have the utmost freedom and be encouraged to co-operate in the task of restoring peace in the land.

Mr. P. N. Saprú referred to one result of the restrictions and said that people did not believe anything written in the Press, but though that the disturbances were of a much greater magnitude than the Government wanted the people to believe. From the people's point of view, it was essential that the United Nations, whose success we ardently desired and with whom we were prepared to co-operate, should know the exact truth and nothing but the truth.

Mr. Saprú referred to Mahatma Gandhi's speech at the A. I. C. C. in which for half an hour the Mahatma dwelt on his personal relations with the Viceroy and said these relations were even more cordial than with Lord Halifax. Even those portions of Mahatma Gandhi's speech, said Mr. Saprú, had not been allowed to be published in full in India. Sir Richard Tottenham apparently did not think that these compliments to the Viceroy should be broadcast. Mr. Saprú asked why after Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's resignation, and why no Standing Committee of the House had been associated with the Information Department. Was it because the Home Department wanted to muzzle the Press? Was it the Government of India's wish to see more newspapers shut down in this country? Mr. Hoosain Imam said that most thinking people in India would like to help the Government in preventing the spread of the fire. In these difficult times, the Government were justified in putting some restraint on the Press; and the Press would be wrong if it fought for its liberty, for, in order to save the greater liberty, it was essential that the smaller liberty should be given up; but there was a limit beyond which it was not right or proper that either the Government or the Press should go. While Sir Richard Tottenham might not personally be responsible for all the actions on the Press censors, yet the Home Department

could not remain inactive in the face of actions which went against their policy. The samples cited before the House and in the Press did make out a case that the Press Advisers were using their powers in an improper manner. At this juncture, the Government should try to get the support of the citizens, and if it were not possible to get that support, the least that the Government could do was to avoid a conflict with the people as much as possible. When the Press complained of certain restrictions, how did it happen that more stringent restrictions had been imposed? He could not understand the present situation in which the Editors said that there was no agreement on the imposition of the present restrictions, while the Government said there was an agreement on them. Sir Richard Tottenham began by remarking that the mover had referred to certain matters which went beyond the scope of the Home Department; but as he was answering on behalf of the Government, he would comment on those matters also.

The mover had referred to Press-advising and had given examples of what to the speaker seemed unintelligent press-advising. That was not the concern of the Home Department; and in so far as those examples might be indicative of undue zeal on the part of Press Advisers, Sir Richard had no doubt that the Information Department, which was the department concerned, would be prepared to look into the matter and issue such instructions as might be necessary. Restrictions on foreign correspondents, again, was not a Home Department matter. That department had no power whatever to control messages of foreign correspondents. They came under Military Censors; and the operation of Military Censorship must for very good reasons be kept secret. Sir Richard reminded the House that press messages leaving this country left by the beam wireless and they could therefore be heard by the enemy. That aspect of the matter must be borne in mind by Military Censors.

As regards reference to complaints made by Foreign Correspondents, Sir Richard quoted from an interview given to the A. I. R. by the Correspondent of the *International News*, a well-known man, who stated that there was nothing unusual about the "brigands of the blue pencil" in India; and that during the five days of the A. I. R. C. meeting in Bombay, for instance, the censorship was as intelligent and liberal as he had ever seen in any country. The allegation that a message giving President Roosevelt's speech had been interfered with by the authorities in India had been made some time ago and was very carefully investigated. Sir Richard assured the House that in no utterance by President Roosevelt have had one single word been altered by any authority in this country. The Government were completely unable to find the origin of this allegation.

Sir Richard went on to give the assurance that any action that the Government might have felt compelled to take with regard to the Press had not been taken lightly or heartily, but after weighing most carefully what the rights of the Press on the one hand and the importance of the Press and the very great influence it wielded and the expediency of maintaining good relations with the Press. Especially in the Home Department, he maintained, the policy had been and always would be to maintain and if possible to improve those relations. He also honestly believed that ever since the Advisory Committee System was introduced nearly two years ago, whatever the difficulties and setbacks it might have encountered, that system had produced one result, at least, of outstanding value to both the parties. It had brought representatives of the Government and the Press into personal contact across the table, and closer and more intimate personal relations had thus been established. He paid a tribute to the great help and understanding that the Government had received from many eminent editors and said that the Government and the editors had got to know each other better and respect each other's point of view. Moreover, the Government of India had had the benefit since the beginning of the war of two gentlemen as Chief Press Advisers, who were liked, respected and trusted by all editors in the country. Sir Richard proceeded to remind the House that the subject "Books, Newspapers and Presses" occurred in the Concurrent Legislative List, which meant that both Central and Provincial Legislatures were competent to make laws on that subject; but the administration of the law was a provincial concern; that the Central Government might and did

suggest policy to the Provincial Governments, but the Provincial Governments must be left to carry out the policy and to judge the effect on the law and order situation of the publication of news regarding disturbances of the peace. He expressed gratitude for the admission made by the mover and his supporters, that censorship of news was necessary for military reasons and that their position was not that censorship was in itself unworkable, but that censorship for certain purposes was wrong. Sir Richard referred to the Home Member's speech in the Assembly defining the Government's two-fold purpose, firstly, to deny publicity to a good deal that occurred at the time when it occurred, because it would have provided the Japanese with an almost direct invitation to invade the country, and secondly, the disturbances were infectious and news of other parts of the country. He himself was anxious, for the more news that a great deal more news should be published; for the more news was put out, the more advantageous it was from the Government's point of view as showing what they were up against and justifying the measures they had had to take against them, but military authorities said 'no,' and when the matter was discussed with them, it had to be admitted that they were right. Interruption of communications was a matter about which news would have been of great value to the enemy, and a very large part of the disturbances was nothing but interruption of communications of one kind or another. Was it only the Japanese who were the enemy, he asked? Was there not another enemy in India and had not the Government the duty and right to prevent him from getting news in the same way as the other enemy? From the two points of view he had referred to some restrictions on the news was absolutely necessary.

As regards the nature of the control, in so far as the Central Government is concerned, there had only been one general order issued under the Defence of India Rules, and that was on August 8 prohibiting publication of any factual news relating to the movement except news derived from Government sources or from recognised Press agencies and from recognised Press Correspondents who were required to register themselves with the District Magistrate. The order imposed no kind of restrictions on publication. It merely secured control over the origin of news, and it was designed to secure that whatever news was published came from reputable and reliable sources. The press agencies themselves willingly agreed to submit their messages on this subject for press advice, that is, the man on the spot where the events took place. The Government had hoped that Press correspondents would do the same, but they were not under any legal obligation whatever to do so. Of course, if they did not and if they sent messages which contained unauthenticated or objectionable news, the Government could cancel the registration of that correspondent, with the result that all messages from him on that particular subject would be illegal. People said that it was merely a roundabout way of imposing censorship, and Sir Richard agreed that there was some weight in that criticism. On the other hand, the order to which he had referred did not impose censorship directly on any editor or correspondent. It did give discretion to all responsible editors and to all responsible correspondents, and there were a number of papers which had found it possible to comply with that order, and at the same time publish a very fair and large amount of news about the disturbances which had been suppressed and which it would have been in public interest not to suppress. About the news connected with the Benares Hindu University, the personally believed it would not have been in the public interest at the time of its occurrence to publish it, but he added 'Mr. Hindo of Madras did publish it on September 16.

As regards Mr. Gandhi's speech at the A. I. C. C. it did not come under the order to which he had referred concerning factual news relating to the disturbances or to the mass movement, and it might have been submitted for press advice by the press agencies and it was probably, the press agencies themselves (he was not sure about this) who decided not to publish the whole of the speech in the papers. Another point about this order was that it referred only to factual news. It imposed no kind of restriction, whatever, on editorial comment. In that

important matter, the Government did leave the entire discretion to the editors. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the Information Member, made it perfectly clear at a press conference that there was no ban of any kind on expression of political views as such.

Any impartial observer coming to this country and reading our newspapers, would agree that the Press here had a very wide latitude in the nature of political views and criticisms of the Government that it published. "The plain fact," he continued, "is that a certain section of the Press in India—and I do not think it is more than a small section—has made up its mind to encourage this movement at all costs. We have in our possession a Congress circular issued in the United Provinces towards the beginning of August, which definitely instructed Congressmen, if the leaders were arrested to look to certain newspapers, which were named, for further instructions as to how to carry on. That is to say, certain newspapers were specified as agents of the Congress Party for the purpose of backing this movement. That particular section of the Press, making an excuse of the restrictions imposed but really as a political move designed to bring pressure on and to embarrass the Government, decided to close. I am glad to think that they have failed in their attempt to embarrass the Government. At present, I understand that not more than fifty papers or so are out of publication out of a total of several thousand newspapers in India. And as far as I can see, the absence of these papers has not made any very great difference. The only effect I can imagine they have had is that they have put out of employment a number of people whose living depended on work in these papers. That small section of the Press is a section with whom we found it impossible to do business."

On the other hand when at the Editors' Conference held the other day, the more responsible and reasonable Editors said they took objection to that part of the Government's general order which affected the relations between the correspondent and the Editor, the Government said they were quite prepared to meet them in every way they could, and it was the Editors and not the Government who suggested that if the papers could not be left complete freedom to publish anything on this subject to be submitted for scrutiny to a specified authority, and also to arrange for representatives of the Press themselves to be associated with that scrutiny. He did not mean that the Press volunteered to accept pre-censorship. What they did was to say that if they could not be allowed to publish anything at their own will, then this was a more satisfactory method of doing it. He personally admitted that he had never been very much in favour of pre-censorship, but that was what the Government were asked to do and the Government accepted that proposal so far as the Chief Commissioner's Provinces were concerned, and they recommended it to all the Provincial Governments. The present position was that certain Provincial Governments had accepted it and in these Provinces, the Government of India had cancelled their original order. Certain other Provincial Governments were considering it and certain further Provincial Governments, in consultation with their Editors, had decided that they did not want to change the system. As regards Delhi, it was true the new system had not come into full operation, but that was not the Government's fault. The Advisory Committee here was asked on September 6 to nominate representatives of the Press to be associated with the scrutinising officer, and the Chief Commissioner told Sir Richard that he had not yet received any reply.

"I do hope", Sir Richard said, "I have said enough to convince the House that we are not unreasonable, although we are not in a position to accept this resolution. We cannot accept it for two reasons. Firstly, because most of the restrictive orders now in existence are orders passed by Provincial Governments and we cannot accept a cancellation of those orders on their behalf. That must be done in consultation with them. In the second place, we cannot accept the resolution because I believe that if all restrictions were withdrawn, immediately a certain section of the Press would take advantage of that to endeavour to work up enthusiasm and popular feeling for this movement, which I think will be most regrettable."

"On the other hand," said Sir Richard, "I do maintain that the restriction that have been imposed are no more than have been found necessary to meet an entirely exceptional situation and as soon as that exceptional situation ceased to exist, no one would be better pleased than ourselves to see these special

restrictions disappear also. I am fully prepared to send the whole of this debate to Provincial Governments and ask them to consider what reduction in the restrictions would now be possible; but I am afraid I cannot do anything more than that. We are prepared to co-operate with any section of the Press which is prepared to co-operate with us; but equally we are determined to resist any section of the Press which attempts to stimulate or encourage this revolutionary movement which, I believe, the House as a whole deplores and condemns."

Speaking personally, Sir Richard thought that one word had done more harm to India than anything else and that word, which was not an English word was "Non-co-operation." "If," he said, "that ugly word could be banned, censored, suppressed and abolished by every class and community, including its own, what is called the Indian problem will cease to exist." (Cheers).

The resolution was finally rejected by 23 votes to 9.

POWER OF MILITARY COMMANDERS

Earlier in the day, the *President* ruled out of order Mr. *Hossain Imam* empowering Military Commanders to require persons to assist in doing work for them. Mr. *Imam* argued that the rule, though it was issued in January this year, was not to become operative until the time of its application. It had now been made applicable but in such a way as to be *ultra vires* of the Defence of India Rules, because it had been made applicable to the whole of India instead of being confined to those areas where the occasion for it had arisen.

The *President* disagreed with the argument and held the matter was not one of urgent importance as the notification had been issued so far back as January, 1942.

PRICE CONTROL POLICY

Pandit Hridaynath Kunzru's resolution of the price control policy of the Government of India was next discussed. *Pandit Kunzru's* resolution recommended to the Governor-General-in-Council that "the present system of price control, which has proved inadequate and ineffective, should be replaced by another system which will be controlled more largely and directly by the State, cover the supply, distribution and prices of all essential commodities and pay due regard to the interests of the producer, consumer and middlemen."

Moving the resolution, *Pandit Kunzru* said that the system he proposed was never tried in India. The present system, he said, had proved ineffective and inadequate and hence the need for a new system. The Government had already launched a Grow More Food drive, and he anticipated that, with the exception of rice, other food grains would be adequate for the internal need of the country. Referring to the price control policy, the *Pandit* said that the purchases of food grains for the Army had a disturbing effect on the market and inadequacy of transport facilities had further accentuated the situation. The Government had been meeting the situation by giving allowances to their employees.

This, he claimed, was not the right policy from a long-term stand-point. *Pandit Kunzru* referred to the statement that a rise in prices of food-stuffs was in the interests of the cultivator, and, therefore, there should be no price control at all. The speaker pointed out that the prices were left uncontrolled for a sufficiently long time and control was introduced only after conditions had become impossible. Then again, even at present, not all the commodities were controlled and yet the prices of uncontrolled food grains ranged higher to those of a controlled article like wheat. Secondly, effective prosecution of the war depended on production by worker, all of whom lived in the urban areas. From these *Pandit Kunzru* deduced that price control was necessary. *Pandit Kunzru* showed that the present system of price control had been ineffective and had failed to achieve the desired results.

Pandit Kunzru urged that effective steps should be taken to encourage the cultivator to grow more food. This could be done by fixing the prices at an attractive level. Then again, there should be one agency for purchase of food grains both for civil and defence requirements and not only wheat but also other competitive food grains should be brought under control. A small number of dealers should be selected and licensed for purchase and distribution purposes and Government, both Central and Provincial, should build up small reserves for emergencies. He would like sugar, salt, kerosene and cloth to be brought under control also, and urged the fullest inter-departmental co-operation between the Commerce, War and Transport Departments. Lastly, he wanted

negotiations with the Indian States to bring them into line with British India and secure the fullest support in price control policy.

Sir Jaganendra Singh, Member for Agriculture, wanted Pandit Kunzru to visit the countryside and see for himself how the people lived and how crops were raised and with a margin of profit for the primary producer. This would convince him that high prices of food grains generally complained of were not high, if all the relevant factors were taken into consideration. He urged that the Council should acquire "an agricultural bias." They should not apply Western methods of price control to India, because conditions in India were totally different from those in the West.

Rai Bahadur Kamranzadas, Leader of the Opposition, supported the resolution. He agreed that the present system of price control had failed and urged that the Government should build up stocks of food grains to control the prices by releasing a part of the stock whenever the price of a commodity rose above its control price. At the same time, he was opposed to creating monopolies for the purchase of food grains.

The Council at this stage adjourned *sine die*.

The Central Legislative Assembly

Autumn Session—New Delhi—14th. to 24th. September 1942

INDIAN COMPANIES ACT AMEND. BILL

The Central Legislative Assembly began its autumn session at New Delhi on the 14th. September 1942 with Sir *Abdur Rahim*, the President, in the chair. About 75 members were present. The Congress benches were empty. About 25 visitors, including the Chinese Commissioner in India sat in the galleries.

Four official Bills were introduced today. The Law Member, Sir *Sulist* Ahmed *Sarkar*, introduced Bills to amend the Rubber Control Act and the Indian Companies Act. Sir *Edward Benthall* introduced a Bill to amend the Railways Act.

The Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, which was introduced sought to remove some of the difficulties created by the Act in deciding whether a company is a banking company or not. It is explained that the chief difficulty arises out of the use of the term "principal business" in Section 277 F of the Indian Companies Act. Registrars of Companies have often found it difficult to decide, particularly in the case of smaller companies calling themselves banks, whether or not in terms of the definition, they are banking companies. The result has been that very great number of such institutions which may be regarded as non-scheduled banks operating in British India are not subject to the obligations imposed by law on banking companies, as for example, maintaining a minimum cash reserve. The Bill so amends the Companies Act as to provide that any company which uses as part of its name the word "bank", "banking", or "banker" shall be deemed to be a banking company irrespective of whether the business of accepting deposits of money on current account or otherwise, subject to withdrawal by cheque, draft or order, is its principal business or not. It is proposed that the Bill shall come into force on a date not earlier than one year from the date of its publication in the official Gazette after having received the assent of the Governor-General.

RUBBER CONTROL AMEND. BILL

The Bill to amend the Rubber Control Act removes during the present emergency the incapacity of the Central Government to suspend those provisions of the Act which relate to the planning and export of rubber and to enable the Central Government to suspend some only without suspending all the other provisions of the Act.

The occupation by the enemy of most of the rubber producing countries in the Far East, it is explained, has resulted in a shortage of raw rubber for the United Nations. To conserve and increase the supplies, it is desirable to stop exports of raw rubber from India while fostering increased production of raw

RAILWAYS ACT AMEND. BILL

The Bill to amend the Indian Railways Act seeks to remedy the present state of affairs by rendering railways liable to pay compensation in all train accidents, whether due to negligence or not, but to limit the liability in all such cases to a fixed sum in the case of any individual passenger. Under the existing provisions of the law, no compensation is payable to those killed in a train accident that is not due to negligence on the part of the railway administration or its servants.

CASUALTIES IN BURMA AIR RAIDS

A statement laid on the table of the House, showed that 1,102 persons were killed and 1,650 injured in the two heavy air raids on Rangoon and 88 persons were killed and 80 injured in Monimiein. The majority of them are believed to be Indians. Apart from air raid injured treated in hospitals in Burma, some 133 hospital cases were brought to Calcutta on a ship carrying evacuees and some 25 injured persons are reported to have been landed in Vizagapatnam. No record is available of the number of women and children included in these arrivals or of their province of origin. Between 75,000 to 80,000 Indians were evacuated to India by sea and about 4,025 by air. About four lakhs of Indians are believed to have come to India by land routes.

DAMAGE TO POSTS & TELEGRAPHS

The damage done to the Post Office during the recent disturbances was described by Sir Gurnath Bawor in reply to a question by Mr. K. C. Meegh.

He said :—
“Mobs attacked post office buildings, took out the furniture, records and forms and burnt or scattered them. In a number of cases, however, the buildings themselves were set fire to. In some cases, the cash and stamp balances in the offices, as well as valuable articles, were looted and apparatus damaged. Apart from the attack on post offices, a number of letter-boxes fixed in public places were stolen or damaged and in other cases acid or other burning material was thrown inside the letter-boxes, damaging their contents. A few cases have occurred of attacks on mail runners with resultant robbing of mails and the work of certain village postmen was interfered with in a few places. The total number of post offices attacked, as ascertained so far, was approximately 553, of which 200 post offices had to be closed down in certain areas as the conditions were such that it was felt that the staff would not continue to work with safety for the time being.”

Telegraph and telephone lines and posts were tampered with in a large number of places, both in urban and in rural areas, in some cases, the posts were pulled down over considerable lengths. In certain cases the wire was stolen. Some cases have been reported where parties went to repair the lines were either attacked or interfered with by mobs, and, frequently, after repairs had been done, the lines were again tampered with.

“It is not possible at present to give any estimate of the total loss caused to the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department as a result of the acts of violence committed in different parts of the country. Reports received so far indicate that the total loss on account of cash and stamps looted is about one lakh of rupees. No estimate can yet be made of the loss to the department caused by the theft of valuable articles and wires and by the destruction of or damage to buildings, furniture, lines, wires and apparatus. This loss is in addition to the considerable loss of revenue caused by the loss of traffic on account of the interruption of the normal channels of post and telegraph communications. Account has further to be taken of the very grave inconvenience and serious loss caused to the general public, and particularly to the industrial and commercial community and to all business interests. The period has varied in different areas according to the extent of the damage done, and the period during which the disturbances continued. Normal communication has now been restored, except in certain parts of some provinces, and every effort is being made to restore normal conditions everywhere as soon as practicable.”

COUNTRY'S GEOLOGICAL RESOURCES

A vigorous denunciation of the Government of India's policy in the

matter of the development of India's geological resources was made by Mr. K. C. Neogy, on a motion made by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for election of a member to the Advisory Committee attached to the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India.

Mr. Neogy declared that, under the brief motion was sought to be covered, a dark and tragic chapter of British Indian history. He referred to the fact that in pre-historic days, India was a manufacturing country, from which important minerals and manufactured steel were exported to the other parts of the world, whereas, later on, with the advent of the British, the only interest shown by the Government was in getting coal supplies for ships which came from Europe with merchandise for sale in India. He had the suspicion that the Utilization Branch would be used to rehabilitate British interests which had been engaged in mining industries in Malaya and Burma and which had now been dislodged from there and had made their way into India. He wanted to know whether the proposed Advisory Committee would control the Government's policy in regard to the employment of experts, granting of concessions, and also what minerals were engaging the attention of this branch, and what facilities were made available to Indians to get training in geology and mining. Dr. Ambedkar assured the House that there was nothing behind the Utilization activities, of which either himself or the Government of India need be ashamed. He would point out, however, that he had expected that the motion he moved would go through in the usual way, and he had not come prepared to reply to a speech such as that made by Mr. Neogy. He, therefore, suggested that if Mr. Neogy must have the information he wanted before he allowed the motion to go through, further discussion be postponed. The House agreed to the suggestion and then adjourned.

POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

14th, SEPTEMBER:—"On the basis of all the information at present available, we cannot absolve the Congress from responsibility for these very grave events," declared Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, to-day moving the official motion on the situation in the country. Sir Reginald estimated the total damage done during the disturbances so far as well over a crore of rupees and dwell on certain special aspects of the disturbances which he pointed out, were inconsistent with the theory that Congress leaders were spontaneous outbursts arising out of the arrests of Congress leaders. He enumerated points which, in his view, supplied evidence of previous organisation, having the most sinister possible motives. "To-day, although many terrible things have happened, control has been established almost everywhere and the country as a whole is quiet," said the Home Member; "and although this suicidal movement is not yet finally quelled we can feel some justifiable confidence in our power to deal with any situation that may yet arise."

"There are some who charge the Government with over-hastiness in taking action when they did. The answer is that had the Government given opportunity for three or four weeks more of Congress propaganda of the kind that was then in progress, it is very doubtful if this rebellion could have been quelled without very much more destruction than has now taken place. What has happened is bad enough; but delay might have meant an appalling disaster for the whole people of this country."

"There are those, again, who say that repression is not the right remedy and that in order to restore peace, steps should be taken to release all those who have been endangering the country's defences and put them in a position to conduct the further war effort of India. That is, I think, the underlying significance of some of the amendments that have been made clear in the position already referred (communique of August 8) and there is little that I can add to it. One thing quite plain is that with an enemy at our gates and another enemy within them the prime duty of this Government is to undo the harm that has been done as soon as possible and to put this country in a state of defence against both."

"The picture which I have been compelled to place before the House is one that will give no satisfaction to thinking people or to those who are jealous of this country's honour and repute. They will regret only of destruction, the

waste of Indian lives and property—things that can only bring loss and hardship to Indians themselves. They will regret that the forces that should have been facing the enemy at our gates should have been diverted to this task of quelling an attempted internal revolution. They will regret that with Indian soldiers' reputations never standing higher in the world, with victory drawing ever nearer and with all the promised fulfilment of India's highest dreams, one political party, for its own ends, should have descended to acts of sabotage as a means of enforcing its demands, regardless of the help thereby given to the enemy.

"I have before now given warning in this House of the danger of arousing the passions of the excitable masses through irresponsible agitation. These events afford more than sufficient justification for the preventive action taken by the Government in the past, for which we have often been attacked. They show how real is the peril in this country of unleashing the forces of disorder and waiting for its opportunity—ends—to establish itself, so that no man's life or property is safe. Now that the danger has become apparent to all it is, I am sure this House will agree, not only for the Government but for all who wish to save the country from very terrible danger to dedicate themselves, at whatever personal sacrifice, to the task of mobilising the active help of the people to condemn these things in the abstract, it is for every citizen to see that they do not happen."

Earlier in his speech the Home Member made the following points:—

"The Muslim community and scheduled castes have as a whole stood entirely aloof from the disturbances.

One of the high-lights of the situation had been the manner in which not only the police on whom the deadliest attacks usually fell, but all ranks of Government servants—even the humblest—had in the country as a whole stood firm and done their duty in the face of all attempts to subvert or terrorise them. We shall not forget those who have given their lives in the execution of their duty," said the Home Member. "We may well claim that the loyalty of all classes of Government servants has proved their faith in the administration that they have served so well" (Cheers).

Another source of encouragement, observed Sir Reginald, had been the steadiness of the country as a whole notwithstanding the inconvenience and loss caused to the general population by these widespread disturbances. "What I would emphasise is that this movement cannot in any true sense be described as a people's movement. The whole thing is engineered and not spontaneous. There are already encouraging signs of a revival of public opinion against at work have been fully counter-acted, the country cannot feel safe from further attempts to discuss the life of the people."

Giving figures, the Home Member said, that a very large number of policemen had been injured, while 31 were reported so far to have been killed. These included a number of brutal murders, in some cases of unarmed policemen. In addition to the police, there was a very wide use of troops, British and Indian in aid of the civil power, while the Home Member, in no less than 60 places, troops were called, while on a number of occasions, they stood by. "These forces have not been used to open fire on crowds engaged in peaceful or legitimate political demonstrations," he added. "Had that been the case, the word 'repression' that we so often hear might have had some application. But in disorders of the kind that have occurred, the mobs or gangs of persons engaged in sabotage were in every case the aggressors. It has already been made clear in the Government communiqué of August 8 that the principle that has governed and will govern our action. Complaints of this use of excessive force have no real meaning in situations such as those with which the police have had to deal. It cannot be expected of a small band of police confronted by a threatening mob that they should make mathematical calculations of the precise amount of force necessary to disperse it. We have to think of men doing their duty in the face of daily and even hourly danger to their lives, men charged with responsibility for the protection of vital communications. Hesitation at these moments would mean that they were overwhelmed or that the mob would attain its object. Their first concern is to take effective action and it is their duty to do so.

"Cases will, no doubt, be quoted in which it is alleged that force was used with no such provocation. I would ask hon. members to be sure that the stories are well verified before they give currency to them. If, however, any such act has occurred anywhere, it is a breach of discipline with which the Provincial Governments and the officers in command of their forces are as much concerned as any member of the public. It would, therefore, deprecate any sweeping allegations as regards the conduct of the police at a time when the whole country owes so much to their courage and steadfastness. The proper course in such cases will be to bring the allegations, if they are well authenticated, to the notice of the authorities immediately responsible for the discipline of their forces, and it can be assumed that, if satisfied, they will do what is proper. But it is putting an entirely wrong perspective on this matter to lavish sympathy on those who have brought on themselves the consequences of their own aggression and to attempt to put the Police or other Government forces on their defence whenever they have found it necessary in the circumstances of the emergency to use force in the execution of their duty."

Replying to the question, "Who is responsible for these disorders?", the Home Member said: "Attempts have been made and will no doubt continue to be made to exonerate the Congress leaders or to represent that recent events are not the outcome of the mass movement sanctioned by the All-India Committee at Bombay. The terms of the resolution which they then passed are such that they can hardly disclaim responsibility for any events that followed it. But apart from that it is impossible to interpret the utterances of the Congress leaders themselves, except on the assumption that they knew and approved of what was likely to occur."

After referring to the communiqué of the Madras Government which published the instructions issued by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee, the Home Member said: "It may be said that there is no proof that these bulletins carry the authority of the Congress or the Congress leaders, although they profess to do so. I have however elsewhere brought out the point that the acts of sabotage that have occurred could not have been planned in a moment and show clear evidence of previous organisation. Whatever part the Congress leaders may have taken in the actual work of the organisation, it is impossible to believe for a moment in the light of their own utterances that they were ignorant of its existence or that their plans did not contemplate that it would be brought into play when they launched their mass movement."

ALLEGED INSULT TO GIRL PICKETERS

The demonstrations outside the Assembly Chamber yesterday were referred to in an adjournment motion which was ruled out of order by the Chair.

The motion which was in *Sardar Sant Singh's* name sought to discuss "the insult offered to lady volunteers by the Delhi Police by dragging them after they had been put under arrest when they tried to picket the Legislative Assembly Chamber." *Sardar Sant Singh* in reply to the Chair's questions pointed out that the law contemplated arrest and removal but did not permit the use of force. *Sir Reginald Maxwell*, Home Member, objecting to the motion, said that picketing was a cognisable offence and in arresting picketers, whether male or female, the police were acting in exercise of their ordinary and lawful powers. The act of the arresting might involve physical restraint but it might be assumed that no excessive force was used. If, however, the arrested persons had any grievances they had their remedy in the courts.

Mr. J. A. Zafar Ali, interjecting, pointed out that, if force had to be used it should be used by women police and not by men police. The President remarked that picketing of the Assembly in order to prevent members from attending the session, was an action which, *Sardar Sant Singh* as the member who specially asked for an early meeting of the House, should be the first to deprecate. The Chair thought that the volunteers were perfectly unjustified

in trying to prevent members from getting into the Chamber. So far as he understood, it was not alleged that excessive force had been used. If there was any case of excessive force, the volunteers had their remedy.

Sardar Sant Singh complained that this morning he found the entrance to the Chamber barred by the police. Even in spite of picketing by the volunteers yesterday, no member remained absent, and, said the speaker, there was no necessity for the police to blockade the gate. "We know our business and our responsibility," declared Sardar Sant Singh. "To permit the police to bar the way was an insult and a slur on us."

The President was heard to observe that the facts as far as had been ascertained were that Sardar Sant Singh had protested—in no calm manner—against the barring of the entrance and thereafter the passage left for members was widened and members had no difficulty in entering.

DEBATE ON POLITICAL SITUATION (CONT'D.)

Following the Home Member's statement while moving the official motion on the situation in the country, Mr. M. A. Kazmi (unattached) moved a substitute motion asking that, in view of the fact that the present state of affairs in India has resulted mostly from the activities of agencies who, with the object of bringing the Indian National Congress into disrepute with the United Nations started propaganda against it by ascribing to it a programme of sabotage and destruction of Government property and change of creed from non-violence to violence, immediate steps be taken—even if no compromise be considered possible—to ascertain the views of the Congress leaders and to give them an opportunity of contradicting this charge and clearing their position and change the violent activities into non-violent expression of their dissent and create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence by taking liberal steps which may inspire confidence in the minds of the people regarding the intentions of the British Government towards India.

Mr. M. J. Dumasia moved a substitute motion condemning the orgy of lawlessness and disorder, approving the action taken by the Government to suppress mob violence and "the civil disobedience" movement initiated by the Congress and to restore order in the country; and recommending that there should be no relaxation of measures for the protection of lives and property until the movement was withdrawn and peace and quiet restored in India.

Sardar Sant Singh moved his substitute motion recommending immediate declaration of the complete independence of India from November 1, 1942; immediate lifting of the ban on the Congress and allied institutions; immediate release of Mahatma Gandhi and other Congressmen detained or sentenced for any offence after August 8; remission of all fines; dissolution of Central and Provincial Legislatures; and holding of new elections at the earliest convenient date and invitation to the Congress and the Muslim League to form a Provincial National Government at the Centre. In case these two bodies did not agree to form the Government, then the Congress alone should be invited to do so and in case the Congress declined to accept the invitation, the League alone should be asked to do so till elections were held.

Sir Henry Richardson, Leader of the European Group, claimed that every proposal should be judged with reference to its effect on India's war effort. Judging by this test he wholeheartedly and unreservedly condemned the Congress mass movement. For the same reason, he was opposed to the proposal for a National Government as he was convinced that any attempt to bring about an immediate transference of power during the war, in the absence of agreement between the major political parties, would lead to chaos and possibly to disaster.

Sir Henry was totally against any enquiry into the action of Government servants in putting down lawlessness and said that it was of the utmost importance that officials should feel that they had behind them the solid backing of the House and of the responsible elements in the country.

Referring to the constitutional future of India, Sir Henry said that freedom for this country was assured by His Majesty's Government; and "we as a community will continue to exert ourselves to the utmost to assist in every possible way in implementing those promises at the earliest possible moment." Sir Henry Richardson defined a "National Government" as one which completely commanded the support of all parties and interests in the State and was able to set at rest political controversy for the time being and to ignore the demands of a purely party or sectional character. He said, "When you get down to the

practical business of the composition and jurisdiction of that Government, you will find that you are doing exactly the same task that a Constituent Assembly will have to perform after the war. That task is by no means incapable of achievement, but it is a task which demands considerable time, protracted negotiations and much effort. There is, however, one way in which a National Government can be achieved, namely, to put aside political controversy for the period of the war and devote ourselves wholly to the successful prosecution of the war. A careful study of the statements made by the various Indian political leaders will show that stage has not yet been reached.

Sir Yamin Khan referred to Mr. Kazmi's amendment and enquired who was behind the recent disturbances if it were not the Congress.

Sir Yamin Khan severely criticised the Government and particularly its C. I. D. for its unpreparedness to meet the situation. He felt that the Government were entirely at fault, in selecting "third rate officials" and "mere no bodies" as Executive Councilors. The Government could have relied on the Muslim League, for instance, if the Congress had failed to be realistic. He concluded: "How can we entrust our life and property in the hands of people who had shown utter incapacity to maintain internal security?"

Mr. M. M. Joshi characterised the Home Member's speech as the result of "colossal ignorance" of the conditions in the country. He traced the history of the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution and said that none had sympathised with or was pro-Nazi or pro-Japanese in this country, the Government, however, taking advantage of the communal divisions in the country, had created the present deadlock. It was only after Japan's entry into the war that Sir Stafford Cripps was sent out to India with proposals. Mr. Joshi had not concluded when the Assembly rose for the day.

CASUALTIES BY POLICE FIRING

16th, SEPTEMBER:—In reply to a question in the Assembly to-day, Sir Reginald Maxwell, Home Member, stated that casualties caused by police firing in the disturbances, according to most recent reports, were 340 killed and 830 wounded. The figures were, however, incomplete especially as regards part of Bihar.

Casualties caused by the Military, according to most recent reports, were 318 killed and 153 wounded.

The number of casualties suffered by the Government forces, or the Police were 31 killed and a very large number injured, although in some cases not seriously. Military casualties were 11 killed and 7 wounded. Civilian officials, excluding Posts and Telegraphs and Railway employees, were 7 killed and 16 injured.

Property burnt or damaged or otherwise sabotaged by rioters, in addition to stations and posts were attacked, out of which 45 were destroyed. Some 15 other buildings were attacked, of which a great majority were destroyed. This number included many buildings, such as courts and treasuries. There were considerable damages to municipal and private buildings, details of which are not yet available.

DEBATE ON POLITICAL SITUATION (CONT'D.)

Resuming his unfinished speech to-day Mr. Joshi felt that the Congress should have accepted the Cripps' proposals, captured whatever power was offered to them and demanded more. But rejection of the Cripps' proposals did not lie with Congress alone. They were rejected by the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and even by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar. The fact was that the British Government were not anxious for a settlement of the deadlock. "They gallantly talk of raising an army of one million men and speeding up of munitions production forgetting that a National Government would have raised an army of five millions and speeded up munitions production ten-fold." Mr. Joshi referred to the recent speech of the Commander-in-Chief, in which His Excellency had stated that ultimately the armed forces would defend the country. Mr. Joshi wanted the Commander-in-Chief to remember the lessons of Malaya, Burma and China.

Mr. Joshi did not approve of the civil disobedience movement, but asserted that the Government had blundered also. The demand for National Government was not that of the Congress alone, it was the demand of the whole country. The Government by arresting the Congress leaders had fired the first shot and it was for them to retrace their steps by immediately releasing the Congress leaders. It was idle to expect Congressmen behind bars to call off the civil disobedience

movement. Mr. Joshi next referred to the Home Member's remark that the Muslims and the Depressed Classes were not with the Congress and asked whether they were with the British Government. Proceeding, he said that if the proposal for a National Government was not acceptable to any party that proposal should be reserved to arbitration. "Did not the British arbitrate and give the Communal Award" he asked. "In the same way, they could give a political award, appointing the share in power of each major community. In this connection, he appealed to the Congress to agree to the Muslim demand for self-determination. It was a reasonable demand, he declared. That way lay the solution of the present deadlock and of wresting power from the British.

Mr. Dumas said that Mr. Gandhi should have foreseen the consequences before launching his mass movement. He wanted the Government to place the full facts before the House to show who was responsible for the disturbances. The 'Cripps' offer was still open to India and it was up to the Congress and the Muslim League to come together, accept the offer and work for the effective defence of the country. That way lay the safety of India.

Maulana Zafar Ali claimed that by placating Indians, the Government would have created impregnable defences against the enemy. But instead of placating Indians they imprisoned the Congress leaders. The Congress and the League had not barred the door for negotiations, and if they had failed with the Congress, they would have accepted the hand of friendship of the Muslims. It was time to cry halt to the policy of repression and he warned the Government that although the League had not joined the movement but had condemned it, it would fight and fight hard for the rights of the Muslims. It was, however, a folly to ignore the Congress and stateless demand opening of negotiations with those who were behind the prison bars. That would create the proper atmosphere for negotiations between the Congress and the League and bring about a settlement of the Indian deadlock.

Sardar Sant Singh complained that the official spokesman, instead of offering some constructive suggestions, had given the House a narration of "incorrect facts." He said that the Home Member had declared that the Government had to meet "the enemy from outside and the enemy from inside". The path of wisdom lay in appeasing the enemy from inside, he declared. The Government and its allies, on conditions, which they would see, were not fulfilled. He asserted that the desire for freedom was universal in India and if the Government took a Gallup poll of its own employees it would find that 90 per cent were in favour of India's freedom. He further claimed that the responsibility for the recent disturbances was entirely that of the Government. For, he said, the Government ought not to have expected that the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi would have no repercussions in the country. Sardar Sant Singh said that the war was not won by mere propaganda. Since co-operation of the people of the country was also a major factor in winning the war, the Government should, therefore, take all possible steps to win that co-operation of Indians.

Mr. C. F. Lawson mainly dealt with the demand for a National Government. He said: "We are certain that Self-Government will come to this country as soon as the war is over if this country will take it and the community which I represent not only actively supports this policy but hopes to play its part in India's future progress. We ask for no privileged position and we hope to carry equally with the citizens of the country the burden of the future."

Referring to the demand for a National Government, he said that when full sovereign power was to be transferred to this country, it must be carefully considered where those powers were to rest. If they were to rest with the Cabinet it must not be forgotten that no internal limitation remained upon their powers. They might be able to alter their own Cabinet constitution or the constitution of the country. They, therefore, should not condemn any community or political party which was reluctant to commit itself to a form of autonomous Government which might prejudice its ability to press its claim for representation in or its right to fashion the legislature of the future.

Mr. Anthony (Anglo-Indian leader) said that he knew that the spirit of the people was not pro-Nazi but neither was it behind the Government's war effort. The figures of recruitment and munitions production might please the Government, but they did not show the real state of feeling in the country. Referring to recent statements by British Ministers, Mr. Anthony said that "India refused to tolerate patronising or rule by the gods". The policy of negation had created a sense of

utter frustration in the country. Proceeding, the speaker said that Indians and the major political parties were not free from blame either. If they knew that the British policy was "divide and rule", they should have created unity amongst themselves to defeat the object of that policy. "Let the major elements in the national life of the country come together and resolve the deadlock. Let the majority community meet the demands of the minorities instead of holding out threats to them".

Mr. Jammadas Mehta said that the causes of the present discontent in the country were deeply rooted in the history of Indo-British relations of the last two hundred years. From 1832 onwards the British policy was directed to creating excuses, racial, communal and political against granting political power to Indians. He said that if the other parties had not yet joined the "Quit India" demand of the Congress, it was because the war was on. He severely criticised the Congress for presuming that it alone held the monopoly of patriotism in this country. He also condemned the demand for "Quit India". "This demand is positively sinister and is an open invitation to Japan to invade India", he declared. He said that the movement for "Quit India" was being carried on by students, girls and by Indian big business, who wished to replace British big business in this country. It was now the time to stand shoulder to shoulder with the British to fight the enemy. He was convinced that if we won, there would be a brotherhood of free nations. The liberty of the world was at stake and it was not the time for domestic quarrels. He criticised the Congress, the League and the Hindu Mahasabha for ignoring the workers and peasants and advised the Government that so long as workers and peasants were given shelter and bread they would remain with them.

The Assembly at this stage adjourned.

17th, SEPTEMBER:—Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi, speaking in the Assembly to-day, said that he was the first to condemn publicly the attitude of the Congress which drove it to declare lawlessness in the country in the name of a freedom movement. At the same time he did not agree with Mr. Churchill that the Congress was a non-entity. He asserted that the British Government was prone to make the same mistake as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Gandhi claimed that the Congress represented the whole of India and Mr. Jinnah claimed that the Muslim League represented Muslim India. "Both are egregiously wrong", he declared, and laughed. Mr. Churchill, he said, recognised the claims of Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah whenever it suited him and discredited them whenever he deemed fit. "This time he has conceded that the 90 millions of Muslims are behind the Muslim League and opposed to the Congress, forgetting the existence of very important parties with large followings among the Muslims of India, like the Jamiat-ul-Muslim League (rites of dissent). But I must say that the largest parties are not the only parties that count. All parties must be considered. All parties want freedom. The difference among them lies only in the path each elects to follow for the attainment of that freedom. It is also in conformity with the ideals for which the United Nations stand and fight this war."

Proceeding, Sir Abdul Halim said that there was deplorable distrust of Britain's intentions, and to ensure the wholehearted co-operation of India's 400 millions, it was most essential that Britain should forthwith transfer real power into the hands of the Indian people and make this the people's war.

Sir Abdul Halim severely criticised the British Prime Minister for alleging that the Congress was sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests. He said that both the Indian and the British commercial communities were co-operating fully with the war effort. But the Indian commercial and industrial interests did want political freedom because it was the pre-requisite to economic freedom. They wanted freedom more towards the war effort. He appealed to Britain to show magnanimity to part with the control of administration gracefully to Indians.

Mr. Lalchand Navasthi wanted to hear from Indian members of the Executive Council—some of whom had stated that their suggestions were not being rejected by the Viceroy—that advice they were giving and what help they were giving to the parties in the country to come together and solve the situation. He referred to certain instances of alleged repression in Sind and expressed dissatisfaction with the enquiry already made by the Sind Government. He

asked for a public, judicial enquiry. He also asked that the Viceroy should invite all parties in the country to come together and a solution for the organised political party in the country should be proposed. The demands made by the Ministry of the Government of India, the Congress, the League as well as the most important proposals, support of the Ministry on April 1949.

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(Oh). He wanted Indians in the House on behalf of the European community. Had the promise been increasing association of Indians in the House on behalf of the European community? (Laughter and cries of "Oh")

that it was the economic factor, the scarcity of foodstuffs, kerosene and other things, which had caused the widespread feeling in the country that the Government was not tackling this problem with sufficient earnestness. He thought that Governments were too much inclined to say that it was a difficult problem and ask what could they do? It might be that there was a case for a separate Member of the Council to deal with this problem but in any case by one means or another, the Central Government and the Provincial Governments had to solve this problem. The third factor, Mr. Griffiths said, was the determination of the Congress Party to force its will on this country at all costs. The Congress had done great work in the past but had now fallen on bad leadership, tinged with totalitarian views, which had forced the emergence of the Pakistan idea. "However much we are desirous and determined to help India's independence", he declared in conclusion, "we will not stand for the tyranny which, under the cloak of non-violence, is used by the Congress as an instrument for enforcing their will on unwilling fellow subjects." (Cheers).

Mr. Nauman (Muslim League) unreservedly condemned lawlessness in this Province of Bihar and was surprised that the Congressmen did not own up to it.

Pandit Mathra : But they (Congressmen) are in jail.

Mr. Nauman : There are enough Congressmen outside the jails to own that the Congress was responsible for the recent disturbances.

He, however, paid a tribute to Congressmen and pointed out that in spite of the neutral attitude of the Mussalman Congressmen did not molest or coerce them. He felt that the Police in India was not adequate and sufficiently armed to cope with eventualities and urged that at least ten policemen should be armed in every police station. He also explained why the Mussalman had remained neutral. They had refused to join the movement, because the Congress had not agreed to their demand for self-determination. The British Government had likewise not met their demand for a share in the power and authority of the administration. Mr. Kazmi (unattached) claimed that it was wrong to condemn the Congress without giving any chance to its members to defend themselves. He said that the Government could be defended for maintaining law and order but not for any excessive use of power or force. He also explained the object of his amendment, which he said did not seek any privilege for the Congress but was designed to afford them an opportunity to defend themselves against the charges levelled against them inside and outside the House.

Sir Ahmed Nawaz Khan (nominated) said that the real cause of the present trouble was the suspicion that the British Government did not intend to part with power. The British Government had made its position clear and it was up to the people of India to reach an agreement and wrest that power.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Nationalist) said that it was not possible to appreciate the present position without taking into account the fact that "two dominating factors contribute to the general political atmosphere in the country. The first is that", he added, "there is installed to-day in the seat of power as British Prime Minister one who has been an inveterate enemy of India all his life. The other equally tragic factor is that, in India itself, authority is actually monopolised by a set of reactionary diehards. The Home Member confined himself to the incidents since the arrest of the Congress leaders and laid the whole blame on them. He ignored the widespread prevalence of an anti-Government feeling in the country that had been steadily growing in volume and intensity long before the Congress Working Committee met at Allahabad." As an instance, Mr. Neogy said that the general economic distress had been rapidly increasing of late. The people were now faced with a shortage of food due to various factors some of which were connected with the war. Medical help, inadequate in the best of times, was already beyond the means of the vast majority of the people. On top of this came the evacuation measures involving thousands of poor and ignorant people. After citing a number of incidents, Mr. Neogy assured the House that those instances were supported by documents, some of which he had brought to the notice of the authorities. Mr. Neogy went on : "While popular feeling has thus been deeply embittered, the arrival of Indian evacuees from Burma, carrying tales of heartless treatment and racial humiliation on an unprecedented scale, set the whole country ringing with denunciation of the present Government. It is against this background of mass discontent and disaffection that the decision taken by the Congress in sheer desperation and the untoward repressions that followed the arrest of Congress leaders, should be examined."

Referring to the Government action to meet the situation, Mr. Neogy said:

"In the name of combating violence and sabotage, which no one in his senses can exonerate or fail to condemn, the Government resorted to methods reminiscent of some of the brutalities ascribed to the Axis Powers. Society at large has been penalised for the offences of the few. Collective or communal nothing but officially approved news can be published either in India or abroad. The voluntary system of Press Advising has now been transformed to compulsory pre-censorship. Press comments from Britain, America and China of a pro-Indian character were either discouraged or sometimes even suppressed in India in the name of Military Censorship. Prominence was given to adverse comments only. Certain foreign journalists had to fly to Chungking to outwit the Censor."

Rao Bahadur Sivaraj, Depressed Classes Leader, declared that it was wrong to call the Congress movement a mass movement, particularly because neither the Mussalman nor the Scheduled Classes participated in it. The Government's policy of surrender to the Congress was largely responsible for the present disturbances. By their past experience, Congressmen were confident that they could sufficiently coerce the Government to gain their objective. In fact, the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi was nothing but another example of this desire to appease the Congress and the Muslim League and leave the rest to their fate.

In this connection, Mr. Sivaraj referred to Mr. P. G. Crighton's speech earlier in the day that Britain had always honoured its pledges. To India, Mr. Sivaraj said that after giving a solemn pledge in the August offer to the Depressed Classes, that their position would be adequately safeguarded, His Majesty's Government sent out Sir Stafford Cripps to India, who totally ignored the Depressed Classes. The speaker said that his community was totally opposed to the Constituent Assembly method and the whole question should be referred to an international tribunal of the United Nations. "We are convinced that the British Government, placed as they are, are not likely to do justice to us. For this reason, we want reference to an international tribunal." Referring to the war effort of his community, Mr. Sivaraj said that as they had kept aloof from the Congress movement they should be exempted from collective fines and should be compensated for any damage done to their houses and other property.

18th, SEPTEMBER:—Speaking in the Assembly to-day, the last day of the debate on the present situation, Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, declared: "I have never regretted the decision which I, along with all my colleagues, took on August 8, because, placed as we were, we had to choose between complete abdication of our responsibilities as a Government and surrender to the challenge thrown out to us. And now, after all that has happened, we feel convinced that our decision was right. (cheers). We made it perfectly clear in the resolution that we issued immediately after, that we were aware of the preparations that were being made in the name or on behalf of the Congress, for the various act of sabotage, and if there was any doubt about the accuracy of the estimate that we made of the situation at that time, that doubt is completely dispelled by the events that have happened."

"It has been suggested," Sir Sultan went on, "that we should have waited for the letter of Mahatma Gandhi to His Excellency the Viceroy. We however, knew of the repeated advice conveyed to Mahatma Gandhi from different quarters which had influence with him, of the unwisdom of coupling the demand for the independence of India forthwith, with the threat of launching Civil Disobedience if it was not conceded. But Mahatma Gandhi was adamant; he was out to force everybody's hands. We knew he had over-ruled the wishes of some of the important members of the Working Committee, who wanted to take a more sober, moderate course. We knew that his more militant associates had defined what this mass civil disobedience was to be.

"We also had the advice of the Provincial Governors warning us of the grave dangers of any delay in taking action, and subsequent events have proved that they were right. Under these circumstances no Government, I submit to the House, with any sense of responsibility, could have possibly waited a minute longer after the ratification by the All-India Congress Committee of the resolution of the Working Committee. Could any Government agree to negotiate with a

party who came with certain demands in its right hand and a pistol in the left? It is too late in the day now for any one to make the impossible attempt to dissolve the Congress from the fullest responsibility for all that has happened in this country" (loud cheers).

"Before the ink was dry on the All-India Congress Committee's resolution, the whole of India was in flames, and acts of destruction followed with lightning rapidity and virulence, almost unparalleled in the history of India. It was most remarkable that the movement was most violent in provinces where the Congress Ministries had functioned before they went out of office (hear, hear)."

Passing on to the complaint that the Government had not produced any constructive programme of reform to deal with the situation, *Sir Sultan* expressed surprise that such a demand was being made when the rebellion was still not completely quelled. Under the present conditions to expect the Government to sit down to consider and formulate constructive measures—whatever the meaning of the phrase might be—was to say the least of it exceedingly unreasonable.

"Apart from that," he said, "the Cripps Proposals were, and to-day remained the constructive proposals put forward by His Majesty's Government. These unfortunately have been spurned. Let me frankly tell the House that the acceptance of those proposals, in my opinion, would have resulted in the Swaraj for which India has been longing. But, they were rejected on the ostensible ground of the Viceroy's veto and so on. Has it been realised that the convention which the Congress demanded would have come in as a matter of course, once there was the sanction behind it of the representatives of the people? Conventions would not be conventions if they were put on the statute."

"Then again," he asked, "are constructive proposals only to be initiated by the Government, and have the honourable members who have collected here no part or share in it? May I appeal to them not to go back to their homes without making some tangible contribution to the constructive measures which will command a fair measure of agreement among the parties. Any proposal which has the unanimous support of the hon. members opposite cannot be lightly treated by any Government here or in England. But if the House wants the Government to impose upon the country a constitution irrespective of agreement of the parties during the extraordinary critical period we are passing through, it will be neither fair to itself nor to the country. Is it realised that a National Government cannot be imposed, but it must be the creation of the fairly unanimous will of the peoples?"

Sir Sultan concluded with the declaration that a National Government had to satisfy one test which was crucial at the present time, and that was that its main purpose was to resist the Axis Powers to the last drop of its blood. "We, Indian members of the Executive Council, are as anxious as anyone in this House or outside, to have the freedom of the country as soon as possible, and we are here only to advance that interest. We are, however, clear in our own minds that freedom secured from the British without the agreement of the major parties, even if it were possible, would lead us to anarchy and civil war, and thus to abject slavery under the Japanese, and we sitting on these benches will sooner prefer annihilation to the position thus created.

The Labour Member, *Dr. B. R. Ambedkar*, speaking after the Law Member dealt with the two aspects of the debate, namely, the action of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders and the demand for a National Government. The Labour Member said that it had been suggested that as the Congress was pledged to non-violence, the Congress leaders, if they had not been arrested, would have kept their followers non-violent. He asserted that there had been a virtual landslide in the Congress policy of non-violence, which had been deeply buried now. He referred to the incoming and out-goings of Mr. Gandhi from the Congress leadership from 1939 onwards on the very issue of non-violence, and said that at the Wardha meeting of the A. I. C. C. in December 1941, Mr. Gandhi, who had been deposed from Congress leadership at Bardoli, had refused to force the issue to a vote. Congressmen were saturated with violence under the very nose of Mr. Gandhi himself, and a great many of them had become indifferent to the greed of non-violence.

Dr. Ambedkar next referred to Mr. Jai Prakash Narain's papers taken away by the police from the Delhi Detention Camp in December 1941. The scheme propounded by Mr. Jai Prakash Narain in those papers, in short, claimed that Mr. Gandhi's satyagraha had been a force and the Congress should think of achieving political instead of moral victories. The scheme also envisaged fusion

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Government in co-operation with any party in this country for the purposes of prosecuting the war successfully and defending our hearths and homes provided we are given a guarantee by every party and by the British Government that the hundred millions of Muslims will have, not the right of self-expression as Mr. Churchill said, but the right to determine their own destiny and establish a completely independent State in areas where they are a majority."

Appealing to the Hindus to consider the matter, the Nawabzada said: "Cannot we, Hindus and Muslims in India, give to each other what is our due? Is it better for us to live in a divided India? I assure you, if we could agree to recognise the rights of each other, if we follow the spirit of give and take, no power can stop India from achieving independence. Take three-fourths of India and give us one-fourth of India and let us both join together and take the whole of India from the British Government". (cheers)

Dr. Bannerman, Leader of the Nationalist Party, while admitting that the Congress was partly responsible for the present situation, declared that Government were even more responsible and had made an even greater mistake. During the three weeks between the meeting of the Working Committee and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, the Government could have called a conference of representatives. But the Government missed all that time, and the consequence was the growth of anti-British feeling. "The policy of repression," declared Dr. Bannerman, "must be replaced by a policy of conciliation. The administrator has played his part; let him stand aside and make room for the statesman." He urged the convening of a meeting of measures to transfer some measure of power to them. He went on to ask who spoke as the representative of the Government of India? Was it Sir Sulton Ahmed, who asked the House to prepare a scheme, or was it Dr. Ambedkar, who thought the House was diseased?

"You can make the Government responsible to the present Legislature without much difficulty," he went on. "Dr. Ambedkar poured contempt on this House. Do other members of Government share that view? If so, why does not the Government order a general election?"

Mr. Hoosainbhai Lali, Leader of the Independent Party, severely criticised the observations of Dr. Ambedkar on the "unrepresentative" character of the Assembly. He enquired whether the members of the Executive Council were more representative than the members of the Assembly. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Viceroy and remained in office during His Excellency's pleasure. This factor could not endow them either with a representative character or with collective responsibility. As for the veto, it was in the hands of the Secretary of State, sitting 6,000 miles away from India. If the Assembly had become so unrepresentative, the Government could have it dissolved and sought the verdict of the country. He bitterly complained against the treatment meted out to the Assembly on previous occasions. "When Sir Stafford Cripps came out to India to negotiate and seek approval for his proposals, this House was left in the cold and never consulted. But when there were widespread disturbances in the country, the Government had come up before the House to obtain its verdict. This was very unfair," he declared.

With reference to the political deadlock in the country, Mr. Hoosainbhai said that there were parties who were non-co-operating while there were others who offered their co-operation on certain terms. There was a large body of responsible persons who were not included in either of these categories and were anxious to do their best for winning the war. The Government, however, ignored them and made no use of their co-operation. He welcomed the offer of the Law Member that the House should produce a scheme for solving the deadlock and he hoped that they would take full advantage of it.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Narang, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, criticised the procedure adopted for the debate. The Government had placed no substantive proposal before them and it was difficult to table amendments or exercise their votes.

Referring to the Home Member's speech, Mr. Narang said that it was the first comprehensive statement on the recent disturbances. He agreed that the Government could not abdicate its functions and meet the disturbances by "non-violent non-co-operation." The Government had their responsibilities and obligations to other parties besides the Congress, and they

could not agree to the Congress demand to quit India. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's statement had always been of an inconsistent and contradictory nature. He, for instance, virtually hounded out Mr. Subhas from the Congress and then sent a telegram of condolence to Mr. Subhas' mother on Mr. Subhas' reported death, describing him a national hero. Mr. Patel, who was Mr. Gandhi's right hand man, had declared before the A. I. C. C. meeting that the Congress movement would last only a week. This could be interpreted that the Congress had planned the movement. It was however, still very difficult to sift evidence and appor- tion exact responsibility for the disturbances. Mr. Narang welcomed the Law Members' suggestion that the House should produce a constructive scheme for solving the deadlock and hoped that they would be able to put their heads together and evolve a satisfactory solution.

Mr. J. S. Aney, Leader of the House, winding up the debate on behalf of the Government (in the absence of the Home Member due to illness), said that two points had been stressed during the debate. Firstly, the advisability of the steps taken by the Government in arresting Congress members and Mahatma Gandhi and the manner in which Government's policy had been carried out in dealing with the situation following the arrests: Secondly, the constitutional problem of India. Dealing first with the manner in which the disturbances had been met, Mr. Aney pointed out that the authorities had to meet an uncommon situation. It was not easy to put down riotous and rebellious people. In meeting the situation, force had to be used and in the use of that force, a certain latitude had to be given to the persons who were on the spot. If, however, there are excesses, it was in the interest of the Provincial Governments and the officers responsible for the discipline of the forces to take note of the facts and enquire into complaints. He believed that complaints would be considered and grievances put right. Mr. Aney went on, had referred to the allegation that Sir Madhavo Rao Deshpande of Nagpur had been forced to remove litter from the streets at the behest of some officer. Mr. Aney said he had met Sir Madhavo Rao in Delhi recently; Sir Madhavo Rao as an old friend told him many things but never mentioned this. Sir Madhavo Rao had left and since then Mr. Aney had been trying to get in telephone touch with him but had failed. He was, however, in a position to make the statement that enquiries had been made by the Chief Secretary of the C. P. Government, who had found that the allegations made were entirely without foundation. Sir Madhavo Rao himself, according to the Chief Secretary, denied them entirely. Mr. Aney, on a point of explanation, said that he had heard the report from Dr. B. S. Moonjee, who gave him the facts and added that a complaint was made to the police and the police said that unfortunately they could not recognise Sir Madhavo Rao.

Mr. Aney said he was not questioning the bona fides of Mr. Neegy, but it was possible that Dr. Moonjee was misinformed. Dr. Bannurjee said he had also heard the report from Dr. Moonjee. Referring to the allegations made about the evictions in Chittagong, Mr. Aney explained that there were twenty or thirty thousand of them and that twelve officers working under the Collector were investigating and trying to fix allowances for them. He assured the House that the Government of India were not negligent of the interests of Indians who had come across from Burma. Complaints about the commandeering of boats were also being sympathetically considered. Three sepoy against whom complaints had been made were standing their trial before a Magistrate.

Mr. Aney went on to deny that the Government of India treat the House with contempt. (A voice: Is that the collective opinion?) The interpretation put upon certain observations made by Dr. Ambedkar was not correct. He had Dr. Ambedkar's authority to say that he did not mean disrespect or contempt for the members. The House, after all, knew that its members were on the Consultative Committee before which matters of a confidential nature were brought about defence problems, and members had been taken round to see the defence preparations. These things would not have been done if Government had no confidence in the members. One of the factors on which Government relied to keep members of the House and Government made every possible effort to keep members

informed and get their support. The very fact that the House was meeting now and had been summoned much earlier than usual was proof of confidence.

A voice : What about Ordinances ?

Mr. Aney explained that emergencies arose from moment to moment and things had to be done through Ordinances when Government could not wait till the process of legislative procedure which took time was gone through.

On the question of the advisability of the steps taken in arresting Congress members, he thought that it had been debated in the House in such a way that Government could afford to remain silent. Arguments on both sides had been elaborated with great ability and force. Giving his own personal reactions, he said that when he got information about the arrest—he was away from Delhi at that time—he first thought it was a mistake. But as he proceeded on his journey and saw the riotous mobs and the extent of damage done, he thought what a great mistake he would have committed if he had voted in the Executive Council against the decision, as he might have voted if he had not seen with his own eyes the nature and extent of the disturbances. By voting against the decision, he would have committed the greatest mistake of his life. He now knew that the collective wisdom of the Council was right.

It has been stated, he went on, that a mistake was made in denying time to Mahatma Gandhi to meet the Viceroy. He could have understood this demand, said Mr. Aney, if the resolution of the A. I. C. C. really left some scope for negotiation. As he read it, the resolution left no such scope. He did not see what the advantage would have been of an interview between Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy. If he might guess what would have taken place, Mahatma Gandhi would have told the Viceroy : "My friend, here is the resolution. What it demands is in the interest of England and the world. If you do not give that demand, God help you." (Laughter.) That, judging by whatever little knowledge he had of the workings of Mahatma Gandhi's mind, was all that could have happened.

Replying to Dr. Bannerjee's question why Government did nothing for three weeks between the meetings of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C., Mr. Aney said that the Working Committee's resolution was only a kind of recommendation and it had no force as a resolution until it was ratified by the A. I. C. C. As against Dr. Bannerjee's question he would like to put the counter-question : What efforts were made by representative Indians to prevail upon the A. I. C. C. to consider the dangers inherent in the resolution ?

Mr. Jammadas Mehta, intervening, said that such attempts were in fact made at the meeting of the A. I. C. C. and most serious warnings were uttered against precipitate action in passing the resolution. Mr. Aney said, he thought that Dr. Bannerjee meant more than that. Mr. Aney was afraid that if efforts were made by Indians themselves and proved futile, the Government of India were justified in believing that their efforts would not have met with better success (Cheers).

In conclusion, Mr. Aney stated that the Government had given to the House an opportunity to express itself on the situation and to hear Government's explanation. According to approved parliamentary procedure, no vote of the House would be demanded and he suggested that the amendments might accordingly be withdrawn.

The three amendments were withdrawn and the House adjourned till the 21st UTILIZATION OF MINERAL RESOURCES.

21st. SEPTEMBER :—The House transacted official business to-day. It agreed, after some discussion, to the election of three members from the House to the Advisory Committee connected with the work of the Utilization Branch of the Geological Survey of India. The original motion made on the opening day of the session by Dr. Ambedkar, Labour Member, was for the election of one member to the Committee. On this motion, Mr. K. J. C. Neogy criticised the policy followed in the development of India's mineral resources. Replying to this criticism, Dr. Ambedkar drew attention to the answer to a question which he had given in the House since then. The Government, he said, had not neglected the development of India's mineral resources. But the Geological Survey did not have as many technical officers as in England. As regards employment of British evacuee experts from Burma, he said there was no choice, because no other experts were available. He gave the assurance that under the proposed new arrangements, there would be better co-ordination between this body and the Board of Scientific and Industrial

Research. *Pandit Mattra* urged that three members of the Assembly should be elected to the Committee, and asked for an assurance that Indian Industries would not be made subordinate to European interests. Messrs. *Hasanbhai Lodi*, *Isaak Seth*, *Nauman*, *Sir Ziauddin Ahmed* and *Jamadas Mehta* also spoke, and thereafter, the Labour Member accepted the proposal for the appointment of three members to the Committee.

OFFICIAL BILLS

Four official Bills were then passed, namely, the Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, two Bills to amend the Civil Procedure Code and a Bill to amend or repeal certain enactments.

During the discussion on the Bill to amend the Indian Companies Act, Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, pointed out that the interests representing small banks were consulted and were in favour of the Bill.

The first Bill to amend the Code of Civil Procedure seeks to provide that in any suit or appeal in which it appears to the court that a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act or an Order in Council made thereunder is involved, the court shall first give notice to the Advocate-General of India or of the Province as the case may require, and may, if satisfied that it is necessary or desirable for the satisfactory determination of the question, order that the Government concerned shall be added as a party.

The second Bill to amend the Civil Procedure Code seeks to fill in a *lacuna* in the present Act by enabling the Government to recover court fees awarded to it in pauper suits as if the amount of such awards were arrears of land revenue.

22nd. SEPTEMBER:—The House to-day passed the Commerce Member's Bill temporarily to amend the Indian Rubber Control Act and referred to a Select Committee Sir *Edward Benahall's* Bill further to amend the Indian Railways Act so as to render railways liable to pay compensation in all train accidents whether due to negligence or not, but to limit the liability in all such cases to a fixed sum of Rs. 7,000 in the case of any individual passenger.

TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN DOMINIONS

Passing on to non-official business, the Assembly agreed to Mr. *Gowind Deshmukh's* motion to refer his Reciprocity Bill to a Select Committee after adjournment of the debate till the next session of the Assembly. Mr. *Aney*, in commending his amendment, urged that at a time like the present when the need was a united stand against the common enemy, it was most inopportune to discuss proposals for retaliation against parts of the Commonwealth where Indians had grievances, however just those grievances might be. It was particularly inopportune now when most of the Dominions and Colonies themselves had undertaken to postpone all discriminatory legislation.

Opposing Mr. *Aney's* amendment, Sir *Kaza Ali* explained that the Bill was not provocative in any sense, and that even if the Bill was passed, it was left to the Governor-General to fix the date of its enforcement and to set up machinery to carry out its provisions. In Sir *Kaja Ali's* view, the time had come when the House should get ready to face any eventualities that might occur after the war. He also reminded the House that the motion was only for reference of the Bill to a Select Committee and that the Select Committee might meet next session if that was considered necessary. He contended that further postponement of the Bill—it had been postponed from the last session in deference to the wishes of the Leader of the House—would have prejudicial and damaging repercussions outside India. The House, as already stated, rejected Mr. *Aney's* amendment and agreed to refer the Bill to a Select Committee.

M. L. A.'S AND ATTENDANCE IN COURTS

A number of other private Bills were either introduced or motions made for their circulation. Among private Bills introduced was one by Mr. *Hasanbhai Taljee* seeking to provide that no member of the Central Legislature shall during the continuance of its session or sitting or during 14 days before or after such session or sitting, be compelled to attend a court under processes, civil and criminal. This privilege, says the Statement of Objects and Reasons, is necessary, for the efficient discharge of their duties, particularly in these days of party politics, when it is possible not only for elements given to the tactics of abstention from Legislature but others, who are anti-war for their own reasons, to manoeuvre things so as to make

or those who wish to attend to their legislative and war duties by dragging them to the courts situated far away from the seats of the Legislature. The Bill, it is also pointed out, merely extends the principle recognised in the Act of 1925 under which members of legislative bodies were exempted from liability to serve as jurors and assessors and from arrest and detention by civil process at the time of the meetings of these bodies.

BAN ON KHKARS

Sir Raza Ali next moved the Muslim League Party's resolution recommending that the ban on the Khaksar movement be lifted and Allama Mashruqi and all other interned Khaksars be released immediately. Sir Raza, in his speech, wanted authoritative statements from the Government spokesman on three points, (1) whether it was correct that no action had been taken by the Government of India against the Khaksars under Regulation 3 of 1818, (2) that no Khaksars were under detention under the Defence of India Rules and (3) that Allama Mashruqi had been released sometime in January last from Vellore and was at liberty to go anywhere in Madras Presidency. Sir Raza Ali went on to deal with the Allama and the Khaksar Movement, in which, he said, anybody could join, be he Christian, Jew or Hindu. After referring to the disturbances in which Khaksars were involved in the Punjab and U. P., Sir Raza Ali said all that was 2½ years ago. Things were very different now. The Khaksars had come to their senses since then and no attempt had been made by them to cause trouble to the Government. Sir Raza had not concluded his speech commending the resolution when the House adjourned till 3-30, to discuss Mr. Jannadas Mehta's adjournment motion.

FINANCE MEMBERS' MISSION TO ENGLAND

Mr. Jannadas Mehta, moving his adjournment motion on the Finance Member's mission to England, declared that what the House wanted was that it should be taken into confidence at a provisional state of negotiations between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India on the questions which the Finance Member had discussed during his recent mission to England. The House did not want to wait till the Government of India had made up their minds and come to a settlement and published the terms of the settlement in their Budget Statement. Under the existing settlement, Mr. Mehta went on, India's basic defence expenditure was some Rs. 38 crores. But actually in 1940-41 India paid Rs. 53 crores in addition to it, while the budget estimate for 1942-43 was Rs. 80 crores above the basic figure. The present information was that India was spending Rs. 20 crores a month as her war expenditure or Rs. 240 crores a year, which might grow every week; and, if the war continued for two or three years longer, India's war expenditure might go up to the staggering figure of a thousand crores. After the last war, India made a gift to His Majesty's Government of £120 million. There was a loophole in the existing financial settlement, he said. It was the provision that India was to bear the cost of such war measures as could be regarded as purely Indian liabilities by reason of their having been undertaken in India's own interests. It had been said that Aden, Egypt, Burma and Malaya were the external defences of India and therefore, Indian liabilities cover expenditure on these defences. Nor was it certain what were India's own interests and who was to decide these interests. He wanted the Finance Member to take the House into his confidence and allay these apprehensions. Mr. Mehta made a passing reference to Dr. Ambedkar's description of the House as diseased. "We may be diseased," he said, "but we can still kick". The Treasury Bench, however, he added, were a "museum of India's disunity and the museum is complete with the recent expansion." (Loud laughter).

Sir Gowasji Jehangir, supporting the motion, said not only this House, but the very large public outside interested in India's finances had a right to know what was the nature of the discussions going on between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government. The very fact that the Finance Member had to fly to England to discuss them showed that they were matters of importance. Even at this stage, if they could get a definite assurance that there would be no radical changes in the terms of the agreement announced by the Finance Member at the last Budget Session, it would allay apprehension. It was important, he said, that Indian public opinion should know whether the discussion in England had something to do with the terms of settlement quoted by Mr. Mehta. Sir Gowasji wanted to know, in short, how much the Finance Member could tell the House. Pandit Maitra asked if it was the intention to present the House with a fair

accomplish. He referred to the acute economic distress in the country and uttered a warning that, if the people were confronted with a colossal expenditure of Rs. 700 or 800 crores, it would be the breaking point. He wanted to know what was the object of calling such a brief session of the Assembly as the present was not to give an opportunity to discuss the political situation, but to deprive the House of its legitimate full session.

Sir Jeremy Bentham, replying to the debate, thought that the House was really doing less than justice to what must be regarded as the rights of any Government. After all, it was not very long since his return. The Government had been preoccupied with matters of great urgency during the period since his return and practically the whole of last week, all members of Government were busily engaged in attending to the business of the House. The Government required some time to consider the subject for itself, and it was somewhat surprising to him that the House should, in effect, have taken the attitude that its curiosity must be satisfied at the earliest possible stage, whether or not the Government had time to consider these matters. (Cries of "No, no. That is not what we say.")

Developments of the war situation since the last Budget was presented, Sir Jeremy went on, had resulted in a great intensification of the measures taken for the defence of India. To take a most obvious example, an enormous increase in the strength of the Air forces stationed in this country had taken place. The anti-aircraft had been greatly strengthened, and it was clear that even under the terms of the existing financial settlement, certain questions might arise regarding the share which might be allocated to India of the cost of the measures which related to India and which at the same time covered a wider objective. Problems of this nature had arisen under the settlement from an early stage and had been dealt with in accordance with well-defined principles. What he had constantly referred to as measures of local defence was clearly understood, and when the mover talked as though further liabilities might be imported into this category, he was erring. Giving an instance, the Finance Member said that the cost of the G. H. Q. might be regarded as a measure of local defence of India but since its organisation, the G. H. Q. had to deal with matters beyond the geographical frontiers of India and it had been agreed that His Majesty's Government should pay on a 50-50 basis. The Finance Member said that it was hardly possible to indicate expenditure of this and similar kinds except in relation to the total picture. It was not the intention of the Government to present a supplementary budget and, therefore, the occasion for a review of the extent of expenditure would not arise until the next budget. But a different type of question might arise whether any liability should be accepted which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement. If the Government were contemplating acceptance of a liability of this nature, the House would be entitled to an opportunity to consider it. Discussion of such a matter of principle might well take place apart from the actual budget debate. The point at issue, Sir Jeremy proceeded to say, would depend on the nature of the decisions which the Government took. If the Government were to take decisions which did not involve a departure of principle, then the position would be entirely different from the situation if the Government were contemplating the acceptance of a new type of liability or a liability which went beyond the principles of the existing settlement. He concluded with the assurance that the Government had full regard to the rights of the House in matters of this kind.

Mr. Jammadas Mehta expressed dissatisfaction with the Finance Member's reply. He said that he did not demand any premature disclosure of any information nor of any information which might be of use to the enemy. "We are in no hurry and can wait for, say, two months. What we do demand is that we must be taken into confidence before a final decision is reached. A four days' special session could be sufficient to discuss the question. Referring to the existing financial arrangement, Mr. Mehta reiterated that Clause III of that agreement was vague unless the terms "India", and "war measures" were clearly defined. He said: "Our fear is that even if the Government kept within the letter and spirit of the terms and interpretation of the existing agreement, the expenditure under it might rise to such an extent that it might become beyond the capacity of India to pay. What we therefore demand is that the defence expenditure should be placed in conformity with India's capacity to pay."

The House rejected Mr. Mehta's motion by 41 votes to 9 and adjourned.

ADJOURNMENT MOTIONS RULED OUT

23rd. SEPTEMBER:—The President took up an adjournment motion tabled by Mr. Govind Deshmukh to discuss "the move of the Durban City Council to appropriate Indian-owned lands in Durban to be allocated to European or coloured housing schemes to be sanctioned by the Union Government". Mr. Deshmukh said he did not wish to move it but asked the Member in charge of Indians Overseas to bear in mind the apprehensions of Indians in Durban in this matter and take steps to prevent expropriation of their lands.

Two adjournment motions in the name of Mr. M. A. Kazmi to discuss the treatment of Mr. Maud, Dr. Kaul, and others in detention under orders of the United Provinces Government, particularly denial of facilities for correspondence, were ruled out by the Chair on the ground that the matter was the concern of the Provincial Government.

RELEASE OF KHKARSAR LEADERS

The Assembly next devoted the whole of the day's sitting to a further debate on the Muslim League resolution on Khakars moved by Sir Raza Ali and finally passed it without any division in the following form:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that the ban on the Khakars Movement be lifted, the restrictions placed on the liberty of *Allama Mashurfi* be immediately withdrawn, and that all other Khakars interned under Regulation 3 of 1818, or the rules made under the Defence of India Act be immediately released." Government Benches remained neutral.

Explaining Government's standpoint, Sir Richard Tottenham, Home Secretary, declared in the Assembly that Government had not proceeded in this unreasonable or arbitrarily but had good reason for every step they had taken to deal with the organisation. Sir Richard proceeded to emphasise that, in the first place, the Government regarded the whole of this matter as essentially a law and order problem and they must act in the closest consultation and co-operation with Provincial Governments, and order. This was not a matter on which for political or sentimental reasons, the Government of India could afford to persuade Provincial Governments against their will. Reference had been made to the charge that the Khakars were or might be 'fifth columnists' in touch with the enemy. "The Government of India," he declared, "have never made this charge against the Khakars, nor do they make it now." Secondly Sir Richard said it was difficult to withdraw the ban on the Khakars in certain parts of India and not in others. The Khakars were an all-India organisation and it would be awkward if they were dealt with differently in different parts of the country. Thirdly, he referred to the offer of help in the war made by the organisation.

It sounded as an offer which it would be wrong to reject, but, as he understood it, what the offer meant was that the Khakars wished to be allowed to contribute a contingent to the army but to retain its own identity and possibly serve under its own officers. That, he said, could hardly be accepted. After all, he went on, there were ample opportunities for those who wished to join the army or the police force as individuals; and an offer of the kind made by the Khakars was not necessary. Sir Richard proceeded to observe that the result of Government's dealings with the Allama had not been such as to inspire a great deal of confidence. They found it impossible to accept the resolution without further consultation with Provincial Governments. Government did wish to keep an open mind in the matter as far as possible and they were fully prepared to take into consideration the views expressed in the House and reconsider the whole matter in the light of those views and in consultation with Provincial Governments. Government would proceed with the consultations as quickly as possible, but he suggested that if the mover withdrew his resolution, that would be the best conclusion to the debate. If he wished to press the resolution, Government would remain neutral. The House at this stage adjourned.

POLICE EXCESSES IN AUGUST DISTURBANCE

24th. SEPTEMBER:—The debate on Mr. K. C. Neogy's resolution urging the appointment of a Committee to enquire into the excesses of the police and military in the action taken to quell the recent disturbances resolved itself, in the main, into allegations and counter-allegations. Mr. Neogy and later Mr. N. M. Joshi gave numerous instances of such excesses in several parts of India, notably Bihar,

U. P. C. P., and Bombay. *Sir Sultan Ahmad* Law Member, gave from the Government's side equally lurid accounts of methods employed by the mobs, mainly from his own Province of Bihar. Mr. *Neogy* then moved his resolution, which read as follows:—

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General-in-Council that a committee composed of nine members of this House with a majority of non-officials be set up immediately to enquire into the nature of organisation leading to dislocation of communication, murder, loot and forcible extortion of money under the threat of murder, the allegation that some factory-owners helped hooligans by deliberately turning out their labourers after paying their full wages and the allegations of excesses committed by the military and the police in dealing with the recent disturbances in the country in a manner that may not benefit the enemies and to report thereon to the Governor-General-in-Council."

Addition of the words relating to dislocation of communications, etc., and the action of factory-owners was proposed by an amendment moved by *Sir Zaidin*. Mr. *Neogy* said he did not want to contest the right of the Executive Government to use force to repel force and to uphold law and order. He pointed out that although the entire country had been convulsed by acts of unbridled sabotage and violence, martial law had not been proclaimed and civil authorities, at least in theory, were functioning in the affected areas, although the spirit of martial law determined their line of action. He divided "excesses" into a number of categories, such as cases of shooting at random, damage to property and excessive force in dispersing non-violent crowds and other kinds of assault.

Mr. *Neogy* mentioned the case of a zamindar of U. P. who had "a long pedigree of loyalty to Government" but who had now served Government with a notice under the Civil Procedure Code claiming damages to property committed by that some 34 Commercial Associations in Bombay passed resolutions condemning repressive measures, particularly the compelling of householders, merchants and passers-by to clear the streets. A senior member of the Bar in Patna, who was out on his morning walk, was caught hold of and ordered to clean the road. Mr. *Neogy* referred to the refusal to hold enquiries in C. P. and U. P. and said that the only conclusion to be drawn from such refusal was that the acts of the police and military had been done with the full knowledge and concurrence of the Provincial Governments. Such refusal was a direct encouragement to the police. Mr. *Neogy* made it clear in conclusion that he did not want anything done to weaken the hands of the Government in meeting the situation but Government had already allowed the situation to get out of their hands and it was high time that they sought to control the forces of law and order.

Mr. N. Mr. *Josh* said that Mr. *Neogy* had rendered a distinct service to the country by bringing the present motion before the House. A large number of members of the House held the opinion that the alleged excesses of the police and the military required to be enquired into by the House. The policy of the Government in arresting the Congress leaders, said Mr. *Josh*, was a great disaster. He had no doubt in his mind that the large bulk of protests against the Government's action in arresting Congress leaders spontaneously broke out into acts of violence, in respect of which both the mobs and the police and military were equally guilty. Mr. *Josh* speaking from personal knowledge gave several instances of "excesses" by giving freedom to Provincial Governments in the matter, the Government of India were guilty of direct encouragement to the police and the military.

Sir *Fredrick James* said that the classes of excesses to which the mover had referred applied to those who had begun the movement and upon whom the sole responsibility for the disturbances rested. Sir *Fredrick* suggested that there were reasons to infer that the movement started under the auspices of the Congress Party had indirectly the sanction of the Congress Party, who was the idol of every Hindu in the land. (Babu *Batynath Bajoria* and Mr. *Jamadas Mehta*, "No, no, not every Hindu".) Sir *Fredrick* said that in most Hindu homes, the portrait of the Mahatma was on the wall, and was garlanded. (Cries of "No, no, how many houses have you seen?"). Sir *Fredrick* said that many friends of his who were not friends of the Congress had the Mahatma's portrait. He suggested the only thing that to-day stood in the way of utter chaos, civil warfare and continuous bloodshed were the forces of the police in the various Provinces behind whom were Government, as of any Government, Hindu, Muslim or composite, to strengthen and

not weaken the forces which stood against the floods of revolution. An enquiry such as the resolution demanded was not the way in which those who were defending authority should be supported.

Sir Frederick asked the House to remember the responsibility which was upon the shoulders of every citizen to do what he could to strengthen the hands of authority at this time and responsibility of Provincial Governments to see that so far as lay in their power the weapons which they had to use in dealing with this attempted revolution were used only as much as was necessary.

"From the reports which have been received the Government are fully satisfied that the troops and the police have done their duty remarkably well under that trying and perilous conditions," demanded Sir Sultan Ahmed, Law Member, intervening at this stage. "Government," he went on, "do not suggest that in a serious disturbance such as this, there may not have been some cases in which excessive force has been used or in which innocent persons have suffered. If there have been such cases which are authenticated, the attention of the Army Department and the Provincial Governments will be drawn to them so that they may try to see that those who have been guilty of such excesses do not escape punishment. The military authorities are exceedingly jealous of their reputation and the reputation of their soldiers, and I have no doubt that once a case of unjustifiable shooting is brought to their notice, they are sure to take action themselves. As regards the police, there may be a question whether the Governor-General-in-Council would have any power to appoint a committee of members of the Central Legislature to enquire into the operation of police forces, an entirely Provincial subject. Here again, we feel sure that gross and callous cases of police excesses, if any, will most certainly be examined by the Provincial Governments."

"The main objection to the proposal as I have submitted before is the disastrous effect it would have on the morale of the services concerned if an enquiry such as has been suggested was ordered. The Sind Government agreed to hold an official enquiry into certain allegations against the police in Karachi which had an adverse effect on the morale of the police forces in that area. The cases that have been mentioned in this House will no doubt be noted, and the attention of the proper authorities drawn to them, but I submit that simply because some people come and start stories before some of us it does not necessarily follow that they are true. Most of them turn out to be without foundation and may be on a par with the Sir Madhav Rao Deshpande story. Lots of stories had been brought to me from Ratna which on enquiry from persons concerned have been found to be absolutely untrue. One of these concerned an hon. Member of this House. Any attempt to bring discredit on the forces who have so courageously and loyally performed their onerous duties in the face of tremendous odds, would be most unfortunate."

"We are in the midst of a life and death struggle; the enemy is knocking at our doors and surely on such an occasion it is better to look forward rather than to look backward and to see whether the orgy of destruction cannot be put behind us and all endeavours concentrated to bring peace and tranquillity in the country, and defeat our external enemies. May I, in conclusion, respectfully suggest that this chapter should now be closed, and we must now go ahead. Enough damage has been done by this senseless anarchy. Let us not let down those who have stood by us and who deserve our gratitude, because if we do, that will not only be the end of all discipline, but we must also be prepared for disasters of the worst kind in the country."

Mr. Azar Ali warned the Government that conditions in the country were very serious; they were serious not only to the people but to the Government and to the United Nations. He gave an instance of high-handedness of the police against certain Zamindars in his constituency and observed: "Ever since the Viceroy's Council was expanded, hooliganism has started and spread." (Laughter.)

Further debate was adjourned to the next session and the House adjourned sine die.

Laws passed in 1941—42

(Temporary Provisions) Extending Act 1942 (Bengal Act III of 1942) (15-5-42).—To extend the operation of the Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy Provisions Act, 1940, which was due to expire on May 29, 1942, for one year more pending the introduction of permanent and more comprehensive legislation on the subject.

The Bengal Criminal Law (Industrial Areas) Amendment Act of 1942 (Bengal Act IV of 1942). (1-6-42).—To prevent theft of undisable articles in industrial areas.

The Bengal Tolls Act, 1942 (Bengal Act V of 1942). (31-5-42).—To make better provision for regulating the employment of clerks of legal practitioners and for the suppression of touts in Courts and certain Offices in Bengal.

The Bengal Agricultural Income-tax Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Legislative Assembly).—To secure an addition to the revenues of Bengal, and for that purpose to impose a tax on agricultural income derived from land and buildings situated in Bengal.

The Bengal Finance (Amendment) Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Assembly).—To amend the Bengal Finance Act, 1939, for the purpose of realising the tax from parts of British India without paying an assesses who leaves Bengal for other tax and without leaving any property behind and also for the realisation of tax from the estate of a deceased assesses and providing means by which the heir of a deceased assesses can claim a refund due to such assesses.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill, 1942. (Introduced in the Assembly).—To provide for the regulation, control and development of secondary education. The Calcutta and Suburban Police (Amendment) Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Council).—To amend the Calcutta Suburban Police Act, 1866, for the purpose of ensuring proper control of seamen's lodging houses and thereby to protect the seamen who take shelter therein.

The Bengal State Aid to Industries (Amendment) Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Council).—To amend the Bengal State Aid to Industries Act, 1931, for the purpose of affording financial assistance to cottage industries and to industries on a small scale in the shape of loans.

The Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act VII of 1941). (1-9-41).—To amend the Eastern Frontier Rifles (Bengal Battalion) Act, 1920, in order to increase the period of enlistment of new entrants to the battalion from three to seven years.

The St. Thomas' School (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act VIII of 1941). (17-9-41).—To amend the St. Thomas' School Act, 1923, to provide for two additional co-opted Governors of St. Thomas' School from the teaching staff of that School.

The Bengal Court of Wards (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act IX of 1941). (29-9-41).—To amend the Court of Wards Act, 1879, so as to provide that the expression "Civil Court" used in the said Act includes the High Court in Calcutta.

The Bengal Patil Taluks Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1941 (Bengal Act X of 1941). (15-10-41).—To amend the Bengal Patil Taluks Regulation, 1819, for the purpose of remedying certain defects in section 6B of the Regulation as inserted by the Amending Act of 1940 in respect of division of a patti taluk.

The Bengal Raw Jute Taxation Act, 1941 (Bengal Act XI of 1941). (14-11-41).—To provide for the levy of a tax on raw jute purchased by the occupiers of jute mills and by shippers of jute to carry out measures for the stabilisation of jute prices and to further the interests of the growers of jute in the Province and of the jute industry generally.

The Bengal Public Demands Recovery (Amendment) Act 1942 (Bengal Act I of 1942). (26-3-42).—To amend the Bengal Public Demands Recovery Act, 1913, for the purpose of protecting honest debtors from detention in civil prison and to confine such detention to debtors proved to be recalcitrant or fraudulent and for providing certain other reliefs.

The Bengal Agricultural Debtors (Amendment) Act, 1942 (Bengal Act II of 1942). (7-5-42).—To amend the Bengal Agricultural Debtors Act, 1935, for the purpose of providing machinery for the restoration of debtors to possession of their immovable properties sold in execution of decrees during passage of the said Act through the Legislature.

The Bengal Non-Agricultural Tenancy

(Amendment) Act, 1942. (7-7-42):—To authorise the Registrar to revise or to replace the compromise between a registered society and its creditors for their interest.

The Bihar Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1942. (7-9-42):—To extend the period of limitation for filing suits for the recovery of bhooli rents.

Government of Orissa

Orissa Act VI of 1941 (Orissa Tenancy Second Amendment Act, 1941. (28-10-41):—To extend the time for payment of fees for transfer of occupancy holding before the commencement of Orissa Act VIII of 1938.

Orissa Act I of 1942 (The Madras Estates Land and Orissa Amendment Act, 1942):—To extend the provision contained in section 127 of Madras Act VIII of 1934 which prohibits eviction of tenants in whole inam villages which are not estates.

Orissa Act II of 1942 (The B. and O. Co-operative Societies (Orissa Auditing and Valuation) Act, 1942):—To validate the appointment of agents and sub-agents by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to manage the affairs of Central Banks.

Orissa Weights and Measures Bill, 1942:—To standardize the weights and measures which are now in vogue in the Province.

The Bihar and Orissa State Aid to Industries (Orissa Amendment) Bill, 1942:—To ensure quick disposal of applications for small loans by the Director of Development without reference to the Board of Industries.

The Orissa Forest Bill, 1942:—To verify the provision of the Madras Forests Act, 1882, and the Indian Forest Act 1927 which are in force in the South and North Orissa respectively.

Government of N. W. F. Province

The Punjab District Board (N.-W. F. Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act I of 1941). (31-3-41):—To provide for the realisation of all rates and taxes imposed under the Punjab District Board Act, 1883, as arrears of land revenue.

The North-West Frontier Province Sales of Motor Spirit (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act II of 1941). (16-6-41):—To authorise the Provincial Government to exempt any person or class of persons from the provisions of the N. W. F. P. Sales of Motor Spirit Act, 1939.

The Indian Penal Code (North-West Frontier Province Amendment) Act, 1941. (Governor's Act III of 1941). (28-11-41):—

The Bengal Maternity Benefit (Tea Estates) Bill, 1941. (Introduced in the Council):—To regulate the employment of women in tea factories and plantations for certain periods before and after child-birth and to provide for the payment of maternity benefit to them.

The Workmen's Compensation (Bengal Amendment) Bill, 1941. Introduced in the Council). To amend the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, in its application to Bengal to provide for the appointment of official medical referees to whom any medical questions in dispute between employers and workmen may be referred by the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation for a report and whose report shall be binding on both parties.

The Government of Bihar

The Bihar Agricultural Income-Tax (Amendment) Act, 1942. (10-1-42). To clarify the validity of expression (agricultural income) in the Bihar Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1938, and to amend the said Act.

The Bihar Excise (Supplementary) Act, 1941 (11-1-42):—To extend the application of the provisions of the Bihar Excise Act, 1940, to every intoxication drug.

The Bihar Local Self-Government and Cess (Amendment) Act, 1942. (25-2-42):—To amend the Bihar and Orissa Local Self-Government Act of 1885 and the Cess Act, 1880, in connection with Government relation with the District Board in some respects.

The Bihar Alluvion and Diluvion (Amendment) Act, 1942. (28-2-42):—To entitle the estates to resume immediate possession of the lands, which have disappeared and reformed after once being lost and washed away.

The Bihar Power Alcohol Act, 1942. (14-7-42):—To provide for the fostering development, and regulation of the industry of power alcohol.

The Bihar Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (15-7-42):—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, to agricultural land (the term property in the Act 1938 including agricultural land) and to give better rights to women in respect of property in general.

The Bihar Co-operative Societies

The Punjab Electricity (Emergency Powers) Act, (80-4-42):—To enable the Government to assume control of a licensed electric supply undertaking in cases of emergency and to provide for the continuance of public street lighting service for six months at a time upto a maximum of two years.

The Court Fees (Punjab Amendment) Act, (24-2-42):—To enable the former practice of the arbitrators and liquidators and of co-operative societies issuing processes without payment of fees to be continued.

The Punjab Village and Small Towns Petrol (Amendment) Act, (24-2-42):—To amend the Punjab Village and Small Towns Petrol Act, 1918, so as to include small towns committees and notified area committees within the definition of "Village Panchayat."

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Act, (10-8-42):—To substitute a system of fixed annual remuneration to the members of the Assembly, for the residence and conveyance allowance for each day of residence under Act IX of 1937.

The Punjab General Sales Tax (Amendment) Act, (8-3-42):—To amend the Punjab General Sales Tax Act, 1941, so as to raise the exemption limit from Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 10,000 and to enable Government to levy the tax to any desired stage.

The Music In Muslim Shrines Act, (25-4-42):—To prohibit the singing of girls and women in the shrines of recognised Muslim Saints.

The Badshahi Mosque Fund Cess Act, (28-3-42):—To levy for one year a cess at the rate of one pie per rupee of the annual value, on the land owned by Muslims, in order to meet the cost of repair and maintenance of the Badshahi Mosque, Lahore.

The Punjab Relief of Indebtedness (Amendment) Act, (16-4-42):—To set at rest certain doubts arising in consequence of certain judgments and to remove certain defects in the Punjab Relief of Indebtedness Act, 1934.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (War Service) Amendment Act, (4-11-42):—To amend the Punjab Legislative Assembly (War Service) Act, 1940, so as to enable the members to be engaged in employments connected with the prosecution of War, without losing their seats in the Assembly.

The Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Amendment Act, (3-11-42):—To amend the Punjab Legislative Assembly (Allowances of Members) Act, 1912.

To amend sections 363, 364, 365 and 368 of the Indian Penal Code in its application to the North-West Frontier Province. The punishment in these sections was raised to 14 years.

The Frontier Crimes Regulation (North-West Frontier Province) (Amendment) Act, 1941, (Governor's Act IV of 1941), (23-11-41):—To amend section 37 of the Frontier Crimes Regulation. It provides for the enhancement of sentences provided in the section.

The North-West Frontier Province Midwives (Amendment) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act I of 1942), (2-5-42):—To provide for the registration of midwives in the N.W. F. P.

The Punjab Municipal (N.W. F. P. Province Amendment) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act II of 1942), (27-3-42): The term of office of the President of a Municipal Committee was extended from one year to three years.

The Punjab District Boards (N.W. F. P. Amendment) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act III of 1942), (27-3-42):—The term of office of the Chairman of a District Board was extended from one year to three years.

The N.W. F. P. Courts Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act IV of 1942), (1-7-42):—To remove an ambiguity for the filing of appeal from a Subordinate Judge to the District Judge.

The Punjab Municipal (N.W. F. P. and Amendment) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act V of 1942), (21-8-42):—Certain provisions of the Punjab Municipal Act, 1911, as extended to the N.W. F. P., were made more stringent for checking corruption and irregularities.

The N.W. F. P. Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942, (Governor's Act VI of 1942), (28-9-42):—The operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, amended by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, was extended to agricultural land with retrospective effect.

The N.W. F. P. (Upper Tanawal Excluded Area) Post Office Regulation, 1942, (No. 1 of 1942), (18-8-42):—The Indian Post Office Act, 1898, was applied to Upper Tanawal, an Excluded Area in the North-West Frontier Province.

The Colonization of Government Lands (Punjab Amendment) Act, (10-12-41):—To include predeceased sons of predeceased Grandson's widow in the list of persons enumerated in Section 20 (d) of the Colonization of Government Lands (Punjab) Act, 1912.

Act, 1942, so as to enable members to draw their allowances from month to month subject to certain conditions.

The Punjab Motor Spirit Taxation of Sales (Amendment) Act (9-11-42) :—To raise the rate of tax on retail sales of motor spirit from five pice to six pice per gallon.

The Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) (Amendment) Act (16-11-42) :—To extend the Punjab Land Preservation (Chos) Act, 1900, so as to bring the whole of the Kangra District within the scope of its application.

The Punjab General Sales Tax (Second Amendment) Act (17-11-42) :—To amend the Punjab General Sales Tax Act, 1941, so that the tax shall become payable by the dealer in the year immediately following the year for which the tax has been charged.

The Suits Valuation Punjab Amendment Bill (27-10-42) :—To rectify certain defects of a purely verbal nature which resulted from the form in which the Punjab Act I of 1938 was drafted and to make the determination of value for purposes of jurisdiction by the trial court, in a suit for accounts final.

The Press and Registration of Books (Punjab Amendment) Bill :—To remove doubts arising out of the absence of time limit for the validity of declarations under the Press and Registration of Books Act, 1867, and making the filing of a fresh declaration obligatory, if a Press is restarted after having ceased to function.

The Sugarcane (Punjab Amendment) Bill :—To amend the Indian Sugarcane Act, 1934, in its application to the Punjab, with a view to protecting the growers of sugarcane to provide for the better organisation of cane supplies to sugar factories and to prevent unhealthy competition between them.

The Punjab District Board Bill :—To repeal the District Board Act, 1885. The proposed Bill gives full liberty to the Boards to elect non-official chairmen and extends their life to five years. A provision has also been made for prompt discharge of executive duties by the executive authority.

The Transfer of Common Land (Interpretation of Contracts) Bill :—To ensure that so long as *Shamlat* is not specifically alienated, it will be presumed not to have passed to the transferee of any *Kheat* area.

The Punjab Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories Bill :—To provide for the licensing of ginning and pressing factories in order to eradicate the malpractices of mixing, watering, adulteration

Government of Assam

The Assam Embankment and Drainage Act of 1941. (Act VII of 1941) :—To make provision for the construction, maintenance, management, removal and control of embankments and for the better drainage and improvement of lands in Assam.

The Assam Legislative Chamber (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment) Act, 1941. (8-5-41) :—To amend the Assam Legislative chamber (Members' Emoluments) Act, 1938, to give the Provincial Government power to make certain rules under the Act.

The Assam Finance Act, 1941. (Act IX of 1941) :—To fix the rates at which agricultural income shall be taxed under the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Legislative Chamber (Members' Salaries Act, 1941, and Officers' Salaries Act, 1941, and Temporarily repealed) Act, 1942. (Act I of 1942) :—A proclamation having been issued under section 93 of the Government of India Act on December 25, 1941, this Act was enacted to repeal the operation of the Emoluments and Salaries Acts of Assam Legislature.

The Assam Local Board Elections (Emergency Provisions) Act, 1942. (Act II of 1942) :—To legislate for further postponement of the Local Board Elections in Assam.

The Assam Temporarily settled districts Tenancy (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Act III of 1942) :—To amend the Assam Temporarily settled districts Tenancy Act, 1935, in certain aspects.

The Assam Finance Act, 1942. (Act IV of 1942) :—To impose for the year 1942-43 rates of taxation under sections 3 and 6 of the Assam Agricultural Income Tax Act, 1939.

The Assam Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Act V of 1942) :—To do away with the necessity of issuing both token and licence in acknowledgement of the payment of taxes.

Government of Sind
Act IX of 1941. (21-7-41) :—To make provision for the setting up of Deb Conciliation Boards to relieve agriculturists from indebtedness.
Act XIV of 1941. (21-7-41) :—To

pests, plant diseases and noxious weeds injurious to crops, plants or trees.

Bombay Abkari (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XV of 1941.) (9-10-41).—To preserve the arrangements of Government control in excise and non-prohibition areas, which were im-

pugued by the High Court in what is known as the Todivala Case.

Bombay Industrial Disputes (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XVI of 1941.) (8-11-41).—To make it unnecessary on the part of employers to give notice of any change in the terms of employment, when the effecting of such change has become lawful by reasons of a notification issued under Section 8 of the Factories Act, 1934.

City of Bombay Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act I of 1941.) (27-1-42).—To guard Government's interest in premises held on lease or other tenures immediately from the Crown. If the arrears of property taxes due to the Municipal Corporation are not discharged by any lessee, the Corporation can sell only the interest of the lessee in the land but not the reversion-ary interest of Government also therein.

Local Authorities Loans (Bombay Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act II of 1942.) (10-2-42).—To enable Government to pay the Local Boards by way of loans the amount of the local fund cess that would have been ordinarily due for collection but is uncollected or suspended and to recoup it, when it is collected in subsequent years.

City of Bombay Police (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act III of 1942.) (2-3-42).—To remove a loophole in the Act of 1902. The High Court had held that a small knife carried by a person could not be regarded as an offensive weapon within the meaning of Section 23 (2) (a). As it is essential to have effective means to prevent the carrying of knives in times of disturbances, sec-

tion 23 (2) (a) and section 113 have been amended suitably.

Bombay Town Planning (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act IV of 1942.) (27-7-42).—To empower the Administrator of Town Planning Schemes during the period of supersession or dissolution of a Municipality.

Bombay Small Holders' Relief (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act V of 1942.) (25-8-42).—To extend the life of the Act of 1938 by one more year.

Bombay Finance (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act VI of 1942.) (26-8-42).—

to validate the elections for the purpose of filling the places of members of certain District Local Boards in the Province of Sind, whose terms of office expired on March 31, 1941.

Act I of 1942. (8-4-1942).—To provide for suppressing criminal activities of persons commonly known as Hurs or Lurs in the Province of Sind.

A Bill to extend provisions of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act 1937, to agricultural lands, in its application to the Province of Sind.

A Bill to make provision for the promotion of peaceful and amicable settlement of industrial disputes and for conciliation and arbitration and for certain other purposes. (Bill No. VII of 1942).—To make strikes and lock-outs in industrial undertakings illegal until the whole machinery, provided under the Bill, for discussion and negotiation has been made use of.

Government of Bombay

Bombay Industrial Disputes (Amendment) Act 1941. (Bombay Act X of 1941.) (27-5-41).—To empower Government to refer any industrial dispute to arbitration of Industrial Court in certain circumstances and to make a strike or lock-out illegal before the completion of such arbitration proceedings or the coming later.

Bombay (Emergency Powers) Winding Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XI of 1941.) (27-5-41).—To provide the punishment of whipping for the commission or absence of any offence under sections 147, 148, 324, 325, 435 or 436 of the Indian Penal Code, in addition to the punishment provided for such offence under the said Code. It also repeals

Bombay Act No. X of 1933.

Bombay District Police and City of Bombay Police (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XIII of 1941.) (5-8-41).—To give power to the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, and the District Magis-

trates to authorise the Police to erect road barriers for stopping vehicles temporarily to satisfy themselves that the provisions of any law have not been contravened in respect of such vehicle or by the driver or person in charge of it.

Bombay Agricultural Pests and Diseases Act, 1941. (Bombay Act XIV of 1941.) (3-9-41).—To prevent the intro-

duction, spread or reappearance of insect

section 23 of the Act of 1924 so as to delete the provision regarding minimum

penalties. The Criminal Tribes Act Enquiry Committee observes in its report that the section was most obnoxious and that the sentences inflicted under the section were brutal. The Act is intended to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

City of Bombay Municipal (Third Amendment) Act, 1942. Bombay Act, XV of 1942. (25-8-42).—To meet the situation which arose in the Bombay Municipal Corporation by which meetings of the Corporation and of certain Committees could not be convened. The Act empowers the Municipal Commissioner to convene such meetings, reduces the quorum and increases the number of Councillors required for passing adjournment motion. The Act is a temporary measure up to the 1st day of April, 1944.

Bombay Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XVII of 1942). (8-10-42).—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, and the Amending Act of 1938 to agricultural land in the Province with retrospective effect.

Bombay Molasses Act, 1942 (XVIII of 1942). (8-10-42).—To enact a separate law to prevent the sale of molasses and its passing into the hands of the illicit distiller. It penalises the possession of molasses except under a licence.

Indian Post Office (Bombay) Amendment Regulation, 1942. (Regulation No. 1 of 1942) (4-6-42).—To make the rates chargeable for the time being in the rest of British India for inland postage to be chargeable also in the partially excluded Areas in this Province.

The Madras Elementary Education (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XV of 1941). (27-6-41).—To remove the statutory limit placed on the rate of the elementary education tax and to free the Government from the obligation to increase their contribution in respect of any increase in taxation made after the commencement of the Act.

To extend the life of the Act of 1932 by one more year subject to certain further amendments. The first amendment effected is intended to enable the Stock Exchange to recover stamp duty on the transactions entered into by a member who is declared a defaulter.

The second amendment is intended to reduce the rate of Urban Immovable Property tax from 8 to 7-2/3 per cent and from 4 per cent to 3-6 per cent. The last amendment provides for exemption from the tax in the case of open lands within the limits of the Bombay Suburban and Thana Districts.

Bombay Rent Restriction (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act VII of 1942). (25-8-42).—To extend the life of the Act of 1939 by one more year.

Bombay Motor Vehicles Tax (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act IX of 1942). (2-4-42).—To amend section 14 of the Act of 1935 so as to make it lawful to levy tolls on bridges reconstructed after the commencement of the Act.

Section 14 provided for the levy of tolls on bridges constructed after the commencement of the Act and it was considered doubtful whether the tolls could be levied on any bridge reconstructed after commencement of the Act.

Bombay Civil Courts (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XI of 1942). (29-4-42).—To enable the District Judge of a neighbouring District who will be appointed Joint Judge in the absence of the District Judge during the vacation, to dispose of civil work in either District.

Bombay Primary Education (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XII of 1942). (4-5-42).—To enable Government to make nominations on the school board where such nominations are absolutely necessary. Under the existing provision the main difficulty was that a new school board could not begin to function until all its members were elected. To meet this lacuna Government can now make nominations. The Act also provides that the municipal representatives under the proviso to section 3 (2) need not necessarily be members of such municipalities.

City of Bombay Municipal Corporation (Extension of term) (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XIII of 1942). (28-5-42).—To extend the terms of office of the Municipal Corporation of Bombay for a further period of one year, that is till March 31, 1944.

Criminal Tribes (Bombay Amendment) Act, 1942. (Bombay Act XIV of 1942). (31-7-42).—To modify the provision of

strict Municipalities and Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XVII of 1941).—To extend up to 1-4-42 the terms of office of aldermen and councillors of the Corporation of Madras whose term would have expired on 1-11-41 and of the members of all other local bodies who would have vacated their offices during 1941.

The Madras Proprietary Estates' Village-service and Hereditary Villages (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XVII of 1941).—To make involuntary a bar to appointment as village-headman or karnam or to continue in either of those offices; to clarify the power of the Revenue Divisional Officer to disapprove or an appointment made by a proprietor; and to allow a second appeal to the Board of Revenue against orders of removal or dismissal passed by a District Collector on appeal.

The Madras Public Health (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XIX of 1941).—To remove certain difficulties which have been experienced in giving effect to the provisions of the Madras Public Health Act, 1939, since it came into force in March 1939.

The Canals and Public Ferries (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XX of 1941).—To declare that any private ferry shall be subject to any rules which the Government may make to ensure the safety of the passengers.

The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XXI of 1941).—To limit the validity of the registration of a person but who is employed in a medical institution managed by a mission, to the time during which he continues to be employed in such an institution.

The Madras City Police (Second Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XXII of 1941).—To control bucket shops more effectively.

The Madras City Police and Town Nuisances (Amendment) Act, 1941. (Madras Act XXIII of 1941).—To authorise the Commissioner of Police to order certain persons whose acts are likely to result in danger or harm to person or property, to leave the City of Madras and to prevent the annoyance caused by the neighbouring residents by the indiscriminate use of loudspeakers in public places.

The Madras District Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act I of 1942).—To empower the Government to empower the

Government to direct the executive authority of a municipal council to apply to the District Judge for a decision in cases where the question whether or not a municipal councillor has become disqualified for his office arises.

The Madras Registration of Births and Deaths (Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act II of 1942).—To make it obligatory on the part of a parent or guardian of a child to give information regarding its name to the Registrar within thirteen months of the date of its birth.

The Madras University (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act III of 1942).—To make it clear that the quorum of 35 fixed for a meeting of the Senate is not required at a convocation of the University or a meeting of the Senate held for the purpose of conferring degrees, titles, etc., and to validate degrees, etc., conferred before the commencement of this Act without such a quorum.

The Madras Finance Act, 1942. (Madras Act IV of 1942).—To reduce the general sales tax payable for the year beginning on April 1, 1942, from Rs. 5 to Rs. 4 a month in the case of persons whose turnover does not exceed Rs. 20,000 and from one-half of one per cent to one-quarter of one per cent of the turnover in other cases.

The Madras University (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act V of 1942).—To empower the Chancellor to extend the term of office of certain elected and nominated members of the Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council and to postpone election or nomination to these bodies in certain cases. Such extension or postponement may be made for a period not exceeding six months at a time but not beyond 31-3-1944.

The Madras City Municipal, District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act VI of 1942).—To extend up to November 1, 1942, the term of office of the aldermen and councillors of the Corporation of Madras and of the members of municipal councils and local boards who would have vacated their offices on April 1, 1942.

The Madras District Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act VII of 1942).—To enable the Government to fix a suitable date for the submission of budgets by municipal councils.

The Tanjore Chattram Endowments (Utilization) Act, 1942. (Madras Act VIII of 1942).—To validate the contributions already made by the

Tanjore District Board from the funds of the Tanjore Chattram Endowments toward the maintenance of certain educational institutions and to provide for the continuance of such contributions in future also.

The Andhra University (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act IX of 1942). (26-4-42).—To empower the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University to take action in emergencies subject to the control of the Chancellor and to require him to send a report of such action to the Chancellor and to the officer or authority concerned.

The Madras University (Third Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act X of 1942). (19-5-42).—To empower the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University to take action in emergencies subject to the control of the Chancellor and to require him to send a report of such action to the Chancellor and to the officer or authority concerned.

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XII of 1942). (24-5-42).—To withdraw from local bodies the option previously given to them of reverting Government medical officers to Government service after giving three months' notice to the Surgeon-General.

The Madras Irrigation (Voluntary Cess) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XIII of 1942). (8-6-42).—To provide for the levy of a voluntary cess for the maintenance of certain irrigation and drainage works serving ryotwari tracts in the Province of Madras.

The Indian Tolls (Madras Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XIV of 1942). (9-6-42).—To make it clear that the Government may make rules regarding the farming out of the collection of tolls leviable under the Indian Tolls Act, 1851.

The Madras City Municipal (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XV of 1942). (22-6-42).—To take power to make rules to exempt certain small electrical installations, etc., from the licensing provisions in section 288 of the Madras City Municipal Act, 1919; to subject the power of the Corporation of Madras under that section to some measure of control in important matters; to make offences under section 215 of that Act continuing offences; and to exempt keepers of lodging-houses registered under the Madras Public Health Act, 1939, from the necessity of obtaining licences under the City Municipal Act.

The Peryar Irrigation Tanks (Reservation) Amendment Act, 1942. (Madras Act XVI of 1942). (11-7-42).—

To rectify a defect found in the principal Act in regard to the apportionment of the liability of the cost of repairing a tank between the landholders concerned and the Government.

The Madras Debt Conciliation (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XVII of 1942). (8-7-42).—To provide for the registration of an agreement arrived at between the creditors and debtor before a Debt Conciliation Board, within thirty days of the making of the agreement, without the necessity of the personal appearance before the registering officer of any of the parties to the agreement or of any of the members of the Board.

The Madras District Municipalities and Local Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XVIII of 1942). (20-7-42).—To restrict the imposition of fines to bill collectors and inferior and menial servants employed under local bodies.

The Andhra University (Temporary Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XIX of 1942). (6-8-42).—To permit the Andhra University to move its headquarters and certain colleges out of Vizagapatnam until the termination of the present war and for two years thereafter.

The Madras City Police, Towns Nuisances and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XX of 1942). (20-8-42).—To empower the agents of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals specially authorised by the Government to arrest without warrant persons committing in their view any act constituting cruelty to animals and to make all offences under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act, 1890, cognizable.

The Madras Rivers Conservancy (Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXI of 1942). (14-9-42).—To amend sections 11 and 13 of the principal Act so as to make it clear that plantation and construction on river-beds are governed entirely by section 13 and to empower the Conservator of Rivers in an emergency to enter upon an adjoining public or private land and take earth or do any other Act necessary for repairing erosion or other damage to embankments.

The Madras Legislature (District Organizers Removal of Disqualifications) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXII of 1942). (17-9-42).—To remove the disqualification imposed on persons holding the office of District Organizer of the National War Front, for being chosen as, and for being, members of the Madras Legislature.

Assembly or of the Madras Legislative

The Madras Nurses and Midwives

(Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act

XXIII of 1942) (15-9-42).—To empower

Government to nominate an officer of the

Medical Department of the Government

as a member of the Madras Nurses and

Midwives Council.

The Madras City Municipal District

Municipalities & Local Boards (Second

Amendment) Act 1942. (Madras Act

XXIV of 1942) (5-10-42).—To extend

up to 1-11-43 and still further, if

necessary, the term of office of the

members of local bodies whose term of

office would have expired on 1-11-42 and

to replace district boards and municipal

councils which have been superseded

or dissolved by small nominated bodies

of which will continue for the duration

of the War and for a period not

exceeding twelve months thereafter.

The Madras Probation of Offenders

(Amendment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act

XXV of 1942) (17-11-42).—To provide

that a person who is dealt with under

the provisions of the principal Act except

under section 7(3) should not suffer any

disqualification attaching to a conviction

for an offence.

The Madras Estates Land (Amend-

ment) Act, 1942. (Madras Act XXVI

of 1942) (22-11-42).—To provide that

retired judicial and revenue officers

possessing the necessary qualifications

should also be eligible for appointment

as members of the special tribunals

constituted under section 183-A (2) of

the principal Act.

The Madras Panchayats Bill

1940.—To regulate and control the

business of panchayats in the Province

of Madras.

The Madras District Municipalities

(Second Amendment) Bill, 1941.—To

remove certain difficulties encountered

in the working of the Madras District

Municipalities Act, 1920, and to make

amendments for the purpose of improv-

ing the municipal administration.

The Madras Village Panchayats

Bill, 1941.—To make better provision in

a separate enactment for the administra-

tion of village affairs by panchayats.

The Madras Local Boards (Second

Amendment) Bill, 1941.—To remove

Panchayats from the scope of the

Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and

to continue the operation of the Act to

district boards and to make certain other

amendments to the Act either for the

purpose of removing certain difficulties

encountered in working the Act or for the

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encountered in working the Act or for the

purpose of improving the administration

The Madras Industrial Disputes Bill,

1942.—To make provision for the pro-

motion of peaceful and amicable settle-

ment of industrial disputes by concilia-

tion and arbitration.

The Madras City Municipal and

District Municipalities (Amendment) Bill,

1942. (This was assented to on 22-11-42,

and will be published as an Act

shortly).—To empower the municipal

executive authority to require owners of

buildings to construct house drains not

only where a public drain or outfall has

actually been provided but also in

cases where one is about to be provided

or in the process of construction.

The Presidency-Towns Insolvency

(Madras Amendment) Bill, 1942.—To

make the official assignee and his

High Court and to authorise the transfer

to the account of the Provincial Govern-

ment of all moneys likely to be surplu-

in the hands of the official assignee.

The Legal Practitioners, (Madras

Amendment) Bill, 1942.—To confer

make an order as to costs in cases of

professional misconduct by legal practi-

tioners and to make provision for the

more effective suppression of the touting

evil.

The Madras Hereditary Village

Officers (Amendment) Bill, 1942.—To

rectify certain defects found in the

Madras Hereditary Village Offices Act,

1895.

The Madras Cotton Control (Amend-

ment) Bill, 1942.—To enhance the

penalty for an offence against the

Madras Cotton Control Act, 1932, and

to provide for the custody and examina-

tion of cotton seized under the Act and

for its destruction if it is found by the

Court to contain pullicha cotton.

The Madras Agriculturalists Relief

(Amendment) Bill, 1942.—To enable

parties to apply to the court for a

declaration of the amount of the debt

as sealed down under the Madras

Agriculturists Relief Act, 1938, due by a

debtor and to file appeals against such

declarations and certain other orders of

a court.

The Madras Prohibition (Amendment)

Bill, 1942.—To check illicit distillation

and distribution of liquor by enhancing

the maximum penalty for such distilla-

tion and distribution from imprisonment

for 2 years or fine of Rs. 1,000 or both

or 6 months imprisonment or fine of

Rs. 500 or both.

The Andhra University. (Second

Amendment) Bill, 1942.—To amend

the Andhra University Act, 1926, and

to make better provision in a separate

enactment for the administration of

the Andhra University.

The Madras Local Boards (Second

Amendment) Bill, 1941.—To remove

Panchayats from the scope of the

Madras Local Boards Act, 1920, and

to continue the operation of the Act to

district boards and to make certain other

amendments to the Act either for the

purpose of removing certain difficulties

encountered in working the Act or for the

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Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To make certain amendments to the Andhra University Act, 1925, for the purpose of removing difficulties experienced in working the Act.

The Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To provide that a person accused of a minor offence under the Madras Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1931, may appear before the court by pleader instead of in person or may plead guilty of the offence by a letter addressed to the Court, remitting at the same time the sum specified by the court.

The Madras City Police (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To amend section 7 of the Madras City Police Act, 1888, so as to make Deputy Commissioners of Police ex-officio Presidency Magistrates for certain limited purposes.

The Madras Medical Registration (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To make amendments in the Madras Medical Registration Act, 1914, which have been found necessary in working the Act.

The Madras Electricity Duty (Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To amend the Madras Electricity Duty Act, 1939, so as to provide that the price of electricity sold to the Federal Government, etc., should be less by the amount of the duty levied under that Act than the price charged to other consumers of a substantial quantity of electricity.

The Madras Debt Conciliation (Second Amendment) Bill, 1942 :—To provide that where a creditor does not furnish to the Debt Conciliation Board a statement of the debt due to him by a debtor, the debt itself is not discharged, but that the creditor should not challenge the accuracy of the particulars as to the debt given in the debtor's application.

The Indian Stamp (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1941 (9-6-41) :—To extend the operation of the United Provinces Stamp (Amendment) Acts of 1936 and 1938, which were to expire on June 30, 1941.

The United Provinces Muslim Wajfs (Validating and Amendment) Act, 1941 (17-6-41) :—To validate the provisions of Section 47(2) of the United Provinces Wajfs Act, 1936.

The Court Fees (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1941 (19-6-41) :—To extend the operation of the United Provinces Court Fees (Amendment) Acts of 1936 and 1938, which were to expire on June 30, 1941.

The United Provinces District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942 (20-1-42) :—To modify the mandatory provisions of section 63-A-(1) (b) of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, so

applications and appeals under the Motor Vehicles Act, 1939.

The United Provinces Motor Vehicles Taxation (Amendment) Act, 1941 (12-8-41) :—To amend the United Provinces Motor Vehicles Taxation Act, 1935, so as to bring it into line with the Motor Vehicles Act, 1935, and to amend certain sections regarding refunds and remission of tax.

The United Provinces Land Revenue (Amendment) Act, 1941 (28-8-41) :—To amend the settlement sections of the United Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1901, so as to bring them into line with the new provisions relating to the determination and modification of rent in the United Provinces Tenancy Act, 1939.

The Khat Harpur Bias (Jansar Bawar Pargana) Tenants Protection Regulation, 1940, in referring to the notification mentioned therein.

The United Provinces Water Supply and Fire Service (Air Raid Precautions) Act, 1941 (2-10-41) :—To take powers to ensure that adequate fire fighting organisations are created and maintained and that essential water supplies are available to deal with an incendiary bomb attack during the present war.

The United Provinces Excise (Supplementary Amendment) Act, 1941 (6-11-41) :—To rectify the defect in United Provinces Excise (Amendment) Act, 1941, in not being reserved for the consideration of the Governor-General and to protect the Provincial Government and its officers from liability in respect of anything in good faith ordered or done under the provisions of the said Act.

The North Western Provinces Village and Road Police (Amendment) Act, 1941 (19-11-41) :—To amend section 13 of the North Western Provinces Village and Road Police Act, 1873, as adapted by the Government of India (Adaptation of Indian Laws) Order, 1937, in order to bring it in conformity with the other relevant sections of the Act.

The Cotton Ginning and Pressing Factories (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1941 (19-11-41) :—To provide for the submission of monthly returns of cotton ginned by ginning factories.

The United Provinces District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1942 (20-1-42) :—To modify the mandatory provisions of section 63-A-(1) (b) of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, so

as to give discretion to the Education Department to transfer a Deputy Inspector of Schools to another District or not when the Education Committee passes a resolution on the subject.

The Naiti Girls' Protection (Amendment) Act, 1942. (11-1-42).—To remove certain defects in the working of the Naiti Girls' Protection Act, 1929, which were brought to the notice of Government.

The United Provinces Regulation of Remissions (Amendment) Act, 1942. (31-1-42).—To amend the United Provinces Regulation of Remissions Act, 1938, so as to make it clear that the existing second proviso to section 2 of the Act does not apply in the case of occupational or quasi-occupational settlements under section 96 of the United Provinces Land Revenue Act, 1901, and also to make it clear that the provisions of the Act apply to suits, applications and appeals which were filed prior to the commencement of the Act which may still be pending.

The United Provinces Goondas (Amendment) Act, 1942. (9-1-42).—To prevent goondas returned from Cawnpore from continuing their nefarious activities through agents or by surreptitious visits to Cawnpore and to deal effectively with the goonda problem in other cities of the Province.

The United Provinces Special Armed Constabulary Act, 1942. (14-2-42).—To form a temporary force of Police to be known as Special Armed Constabulary which will carry out certain internal security measures, in particular protection of railways, as a result of the war emergency and to provide for the surrender of the right of resignation for a period of five years by the members of the force, and to increase disciplinary powers and to enhance penalties for certain offences.

The United Provinces Debt Redemption (Amendment) Act, 1942. (8-3-42).—To amend the definition of "local rate" in the United Provinces Debt Redemption Act, 1940, in order to remedy a certain anomaly and to accord the same protection to the under-proprietors as exists for other agriculturists.

The United Provinces (Additional Salt Duty) Regulation, 1942. (16-3-42).—To extend the provisions of section 5 of the Indian Finance (Supplementary and Extending) Act, 1931, so far as they relate to the levy and collection of salt duty to the partially excluded areas in the United Provinces.

The United Provinces Rates of Postage Regulation, 1942. (31-3-42).—To amend section 7 of the Indian Post Office Act, of ad valorem fee tenable on the instalment make amendments in the table of rates.

The Court Fees (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1942. (16-7-42).—To make the rates prevalent in the rest of British India automatically applicable to the partially excluded areas in the United Provinces, so as to make the rates prevalent in the excluded areas in the United Provinces, 1938, in its application to the partially excluded areas in the United Provinces.

The Cinematograph (United Provinces Amendment) Act, 1942. (27-8-42).—To provide for regular inspection of electric installations in cinema houses in the interest of public safety from outbreaks of fire and to provide for the charging of the necessary fee for the same.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Amendment) Act, 1942. (31-3-42).—To check the nuisance of public beggars in municipalities by providing for the detention of public beggars in a poor-house or a jail.

The United Provinces Civic Guards and Air Raid Precautions Employees Indemnity Act, 1942. (11-4-42).—To regulate the relationship between members of Civic Guards and Air Raid Precautions Services and their employers and to provide for the settlement of disputes which may arise between an employee called on civil defence duty and his employer in regard to re-employment of the employee etc. and also for questions relating to remuneration arising in this connection.

The United Provinces Sales of Electricity Surcharge Act, 1942. (1-5-42).—To provide for the temporary imposition of surcharge on sales of electrical energy, to finance the protection of electric installations against enemy attacks.

The United Provinces Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (28-6-42).—To extend with retrospective effect the provisions of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, as amended in 1938, to agricultural land in the United Provinces.

The United Provinces District Boards (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (5-7-42).—To remove defects and all loopholes in the existing provisions of the United Provinces District Boards Act, 1922, which made it possible for the Chairman of a District Board to Burke motions of no confidence.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Second Amendment) Act, 1942. (5-7-42).—To remove defects and all loopholes in the existing provisions of the United Provinces Municipalities Act, 1916, which made it possible for the Chairman of Municipal Board to Burke no-confidence motions.

tion of suits, consequential on the changes in the rates made by clause (ii) of section 29 of the United Provinces Court Fees (Amendment) Act, 1938.

The United Provinces Shri Badri Nath Temple (Amendment) Act, 1942.—To raise the number of representatives from the Tehri State on the Shri Badri Nath Temple Committee from three to four.

The United Provinces District Boards (Third Amendment) Act, 1942.—To secure power to postpone district board elections for a further period not exceeding one year at a time due to conditions arising out of the War.

The United Provinces Municipalities (Third Amendment) Act, 1942.—To secure power to postpone municipal elections for a further period not exceeding one year at a time due to conditions arising out of the War.

Government of Central Provinces

The Berar Laws (Provincial) Act, 1941. (Act XV of 1941). (17-6-41).—To supplement the Berar Laws Act (Central) 1941 (Act IV of 1941) so as to provide for the *proprio vigore* extension of Central Acts, the subject matter of which is included in List II of the Seventh Schedule to the Government of

India Act, 1935, and which were operative in Berar by virtue of the Indian (Foreign Jurisdiction) Order in Council, 1902. It also provides for the *proprio vigore* extension of all Provincial Acts applied or deemed to be applied to Berar under the said Order in Council.

The Central Provinces and Berar Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Extension to Agricultural Land) Act, 1942. (Act VI of 1942). (6-6-42).—To extend the operation of the Hindu Women's Rights to Property Act, 1937, as amended by the Hindu Women's Rights to Property (Amendment) Act, 1938, to agricultural land.

The Central Provinces and Berar Special Armed Constabulary Act, 1942. (Act VII of 1942). (10-6-42).—To constitute a special branch of the police force for certain internal security measures, and in particular, the protection of railways.

The Central Provinces and Berar Postponement of Elections (Municipal Committees and Notified Area Committees) Act, 1942. (Act X of 1942). (4-7-42).—To provide for the postponement of general elections in urban areas till December 31, 1942, owing to war conditions.

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

Other Provincial Conferences

and

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

The All India Muslim League

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of

Congress Responsibility for the Disturbances

1942—43

The following statement as a preface was issued by Mr. R. Tottenham, Additional Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, from New Delhi on the 13th. February 1943 :—

"In response to demands which have reached Government from several sources, Government have now prepared a review which brings together a number of facts, whether derived from official documents or otherwise, bearing on the responsibility of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress High Command for the disturbances which followed the sanctioning of a mass movement by the A. I. C. C. on August 8th, 1942. Almost all the facts presented in this review are, or should be, already within the knowledge of the public. The review does not purport to disclose all the information in the possession of the Government. In addition to the facts here stated, there is a large volume of evidence which it is undesirable to publish at present.

CHAPTER I

THE "QUIT INDIA" MOVEMENT : SETTING THE STAGE

In an article written on April 19th, 1942, which appeared in "*Haryan*" of April 26th, Mr. Gandhi first gave public expression to the theory which was to crystallize into his "Quit-India" move. In this article, after deploring the introduction of foreign soldiers into India to aid in India's defence, Mr. Gandhi asserted that if the British were to leave India to her fate, as they had to leave Singapore, non-violent India would lose nothing and Japan would probably leave India alone. "Whatever the consequences, therefore, to India," he continued, "her real safety and Britain's too lie in order and timely British withdrawal from India."

It will be suggested that during the period between Mr. Gandhi's first advocacy of British withdrawal from India and the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee in Bombay on August 7th, the Congress High Command and in the later stages the Congress organisation as a whole were deliberately setting the stage for mass movement designed to free India finally from British rule. The type of movement that they envisaged and the plans they made for it will be examined later. An essential preliminary to any such examination however, is a clear understanding of the real motives underlying the move; and though no detailed record of the many discussions which took place at Sevagram and elsewhere during this period is available, Mr. Gandhi's writings in "*Haryan*", and the record of the discussions in the Working Committee during its meeting at Allahabad at the end of April are sufficient to provide an ample insight into the true motives of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress in demanding the immediate withdrawal of the British power from India. The period falls naturally into two halves, in the first of which, leading up to the passing of the Working Committee's resolution of July 14th, Mr. Gandhi held the stage alone and the essential structure of his proposals for withdrawal of the British was developed. In the second half, extending to the Bombay meeting of the A. I. C. C., the emphasis lay on the struggle to be launched by Congress should the British not withdraw voluntarily, and the centre of interest shifted from Sevagram to other parts of the country, where Congress leaders placed before the people their varied interpretations of the resolution of July 14th. In the article on Foreign Soldiers in India already alluded to, Mr. Gandhi expressed the opinion that should the British withdraw from India, Japan would leave her alone and that the withdrawal was therefore necessary for India's safety. This theme of India's safety, from Japan dominating all Mr. Gandhi's earlier writings on the subject. It finds expression in "*Haryan*" of May 3rd, when, in denying that by asking the British rulers to withdraw he was inviting Japan to attack India, Mr. Gandhi stated : "I feel convinced that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack." It is even more precisely expressed in "*Haryan*" of the following week, in which Mr. Gandhi says : "The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India."

was, the direct precursor of the resolution of July 14, "Japan's quarrel" he states in the draft, "is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire.....If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with the Japan." Britain, Congress was of opinion, was incapable of defending India, Japanese or any other aggressor. The draft goes on to assure the Japanese Government that India bears no enmity against Japan and desires only freedom from alien domination, which she will attain and retain through her non-violent strength. The hope is expressed that Japan will not have any designs on India; but should she attack India, all Indians who look to the Congress for guidance would be expected to offer non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese.

The draft revealed a marked division of opinion in the Working Committee and the remarks of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, its two principal opponents, are of sufficient interest to merit quotation at length :

"Withdrawal of troops and the whole apparatus of civil administration," said Nehru, "will create a vacuum which cannot be filled up immediately. If we said to Japan that her fight was with British Imperialism and not us she would say 'we are glad the British army is withdrawn; we recognise your independence. But we want certain facilities now. We shall defend you against aggression. We want aerodromes, freedom to pass our troops through your country. This is necessary in self-defence.' They might seize strategic points and proceed to Iraq, etc. The masses won't be touched if only the strategic points are captured. If Babu's (Mr. Gandhi) approach is accepted, we become passive partners of the Axis powers.....The whole background of the draft is one which will inevitably make the world think that we are lining up passively with the Axis powers. The British are asked to withdraw. After the withdrawal we are to negotiate with Japan and possibly come to some terms with her. These terms may include a large measure of civil control by us, a certain measure of military control by them, passage of armies through India, etc.....Whether you will like it or not, the exigencies of the war situation will compel them to make India a battleground. In sheer self-defence they cannot afford to keep out. They will walk through the country. You can't stop it by non-violent non-co-operation.....the whole thought and background of the draft is one of favouring Japan. It may not be conscious. Three factors influence our decisions in the present emergency (i) Indian Freedom (ii) sympathy for certain larger causes (iii) probable outcome of the war—who is going to win. It is Gandhi's feeling that Japan and Germany will win. This feeling unconsciously governs his decision."

To this penetrating analysis of Mr. Gandhi's draft, Mr. Rajagopalachari added : "I do not agree that if Britain goes away India will have some scope for organising itself even if Japan should make some headway. Japan will fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Our reaction to the evils of Britain should not make us lose our sense of perspective. It is no use getting upset on small matters. Do not run into the arms of Japan, which is what the resolution comes to."

For those of the Working Committee who supported the draft, let Aghut Patwardhan speak :

"If we do not take decisions, Jawaharlal's attitude will lead to abject and unconditional co-operation with British machinery which must collapse.....Our co-operation with Britain is an invitation of Japan.....The war is in the grip of a fear complex. I would consider the position if the Allies could defeat the Axis, but I see clearly that Britain is going towards the deep."

And finally, Mr. Rajendra Prasad :

"We cannot produce the proper atmosphere unless we adopt Babu's draft."
—a draft, to repeat, of which the whole thought and background is one of favouring Japan, a resolution which amounts to running into the arms of Japan.

CHAPTER II

WARDHA TO BOMBAY—THE MOTIVES AND AIMS OF THE RESOLUTIONS

By the time the Working Committee met at Wardha in July, Mr. Gandhi's proposals were complete in their essentials. These were not later changed, and brought about and how the dish was to be served up in such a way as least to antagonize world opinion.

On July 14th, the Working Committee passed a resolution which differed in only one fundamental respect from Mr. Gandhi's Allahabad draft—in that the Congress agreed to the stationing of Allied troops in India to ward off Japanese attack. It is difficult to find an adequate explanation, in the events of the period between the Working Committee's Allahabad meeting in April and their Wardha meeting in July, of this reversal of their former decision. In particular, the external threat to India was virtually unaltered and the psychological background that the decisive factor by which those realists who had formerly opposed the resolution were swayed was Mr. Gandhi's decision to permit the retention of the Allied troops in India—a decision which may well have been due to his eyes having been opened by an American journalist to what America would think of carrying his former opponents in the Working Committee with him as a reason, if not the reason, for Mr. Gandhi's striking change of front on this fundamental issue; such an explanation is at least as plausible as that a man of Mr. Gandhi's mental calibre should be guilty, in placing a carefully pondered scheme before the world, of such a glaring oversight as his later explanation required one to believe that Mr. Gandhi, a well-known opponent of any form of military regime, should fail to see the obvious danger that, with the British civil Governments removed, the troops who remained and who would require to safeguard their communications and supplies would immediately establish some form of military rule over at least the major part of the country; this danger was forcibly expressed to him by many, including Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, and the following extract is from a letter written by the latter to Mr. Gandhi and subsequently made public (Appendix II) :

"Your proposal that while the civil power may be withdrawn the British and Allied forces may continue in India in anticipation of a treaty with a problematical provisional Indian Government will only lead to the exercise of all governmental functions by the military forces. This will happen if only for their own safety and effective functioning. They are further likely to be urged towards this step by local chieftains and suffering people. This would be the reinstallation of the British Government in a worse form."

No satisfactory solution of this difficulty was ever made public by Mr. Gandhi; but it is impossible to suppose that he had achieved no solution and it must be inferred that the solution was one which he preferred should remain a secret. Now while the details of Mr. Gandhi's personal solution of this problem must remain a matter for speculation, an explanation which fulfils the logical requirements of the above situation immediately comes to mind; it is that, as we have shown above to be probable, Mr. Gandhi's admission of this amendment to his scheme was intended primarily as a bid for American support and perhaps secondarily as a sop to his opponents on the Working Committee, but that he envisaged, or planned to create, circumstances in which this permission would be meaningless, that is to say, circumstances in which the troops would either be forced to withdraw, or would if they remained be rendered ineffective. The nature of Mr. Gandhi's plans will be discussed later; meanwhile, some slight added plausibility is given to this view by the following reply of Mr. Gandhi to one of his early questioners as to the nature of his proposed movement :

"It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention."

But the chief attraction of this explanation is that it provides a background of logical thought for Mr. Gandhi's most illogical writings on this subject and also supplies continuity of motive; for without some such explanation, we are faced with the paradox of Mr. Gandhi, having proposed a scheme one of the principal objects of which was to avoid India's becoming a theatre of war, and suddenly introducing a new feature the result of which was apparently likely to be the direct negation of that object.

From the foregoing somewhat lengthy survey two basic motives emerge as the foundation of Mr. Gandhi's proposals:—the first is a desire to free India finally from British domination; the second is a desire to avoid at all costs India's becoming a theatre of active warfare, a battlefield between Britain and Japan.

Few will deny the existence of the first of these motives. Complete freedom

or India is the openly expressed goal of Congress. Controversy enters only over the time factor. Why, many have asked, when freedom had been promised to India after the war, should the Congress engage upon a venture the extreme riskiness of which had been pointed out on many occasions by Mr. Gandhi himself? There were, it may be suggested, two main reasons. The first was a growing sense of frustration in Congress itself. This is well illustrated by the following extract from an article by Mr. Gandhi entitled "To Resist Slave Drivers" which appeared in "Harijan" of June 7th :

"I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait, I might have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation that I have prayed and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery."

"The Congress campaign of selected satyagraha having failed to achieve any practical object and having long ceased to attract any attention, had finally been called off; and partly on account of this and partly owing to the general lack of political interest which marked the period before the Cripps mission, Congress influence with the masses was at a low ebb. The arrival of Sir Stafford Cripps and the negotiations which appeared to come so near to success roused political feelings to a fever pitch. The very suddenness with which final failure came, and the recriminations which succeeded it, opened the door to the inculcation of a deep and widespread bitterness against Britain and against the Government in this country. The Congress High Command was at this time a house divided, serious disagreements which had shown themselves during the Cripps negotiations continuing over the question of non-violence with particular reference to the defence of India against Japan. A powerful and unifying cause was thus necessary then, both to save the Congress from internal disruption and to rescue their hold over the masses. What better cry than the removal of the British, especially when common cause could be made in spreading bitterness against Britain and exploiting the agitation in some parts of the country against the second main motive postulated above. The threat of Japanese invasion seemed imminent. If an armed clash in the East was to be avoided, action must be immediate, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made.

The second motive was never explicitly admitted by Mr. Gandhi or the Congress, but it is implicit in all the former's earlier writings on the "Quit India" theme and is even more clearly shown in the draft resolution sent by him to Allahabad. Mr. Gandhi, and not only he but also apparently Achyut Patwardhan and the members of the 'non-violent' clique in the Working Committee, were convinced that the Axis must win the war and that Britain would prove incapable of defending India against Japan.

That this attitude persisted long after the Allahabad Working Committee meeting is shown by the following remark made by Mr. Gandhi in "Harijan" of July 19th, in reply to a question whether it would not be wiser to postpone his movement until Britain had settled with the Germans and the Japanese.

"No, because I know you will not settle with Germans without us". A passage in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy of August 14th is significant in this connection :

"I have taken Jawahar Lal Nehru as my measuring rod. His personal contacts make him feel much more the misery of the impending ruin of China and Russia than I can". They foresaw a British rearward action across India and the devastation that this must entail; and it is no coincidence that, at the same time as Mr. Gandhi was developing his "Quit India" theme in "Harijan" he was also investigating against any form of 'secured' industrial property by the enemy contrasts strangely with his readiness to sacrifice countless numbers of Indians in non-violent resistance to the Japanese. The property must be saved; it is perhaps legitimate to ask—For whom? It seems possible that at first Mr. Gandhi genuinely hoped that, with the removal of the British from India, Japanese incentive to attack would be removed; and that he hoped, to be able to treat with Japan after the British

withdrawal is clearly shown in his Allahabad draft resolution. Subsequently proposals for non-violent non-co-operation with Japan, should the attack India after the British withdrawal, were developed. We have however his own admission that he could not guarantee that non-violent action would keep the Japanese at bay; he refers indeed to any such hope as an "unwarranted supposition". Since, therefore, Mr. Gandhi had no illusions as to the likelihood of effective non-violent resistance to the Japanese aggression on India after the departure of the British, he was prepared to concede to their demands. Such an inference accords with what have shown to be his frame of mind at the time and it is strengthened by the following extract from an appeal addressed by him to the Japanese which appeared in "Harijan" of July 26th:—

"And we are in the unique position of having to resist an imperialism that we detest no less than yours (the Japanese) and Nazism".

That Mr. Gandhi would have preferred to see India entirely free from any form of domination, whether British or Japanese, cannot be doubted; and it seems clear that only in the grip of some dominant emotion would he have contemplated such a capitulation; this emotion was, it seems clear, his desire to preserve India from the horrors of war.

The principal difficulty in the way of accepting any such interpretations of Mr. Gandhi's motives during this period is the apparent contradiction in his consenting to the retention of Allied troops on Indian soil. It has already been shown that the reasons advanced by Mr. Gandhi for this admission, which bid fair to disrupt his whole scheme, are not such as can reasonably be accepted. And this entire difficulty disappears with the explanation previously given of the motives underlying his consent to the retention of the Allied troops.

Efforts have been made above to demonstrate that the dominant motives underlying Mr. Gandhi's "Quit India" move, dominating to some extent even his intense desire to see India freed from foreign rule, was his wish to avoid India's being turned into a battlefield between Britain and Japan. It remains to examine the ostensible motives with which Mr. Gandhi and the Working Committee presented their move and to assess the genuineness of these motives in the light of the foregoing material.

Three main ostensible aims are common to both the Wardha resolution of July 14th [Appendix II (1)] and the Bombay resolution of August 8th [Appendix III (2)]. These are:—

- (1) To remove foreign domination over India.
- (2) To check the growing ill-will against Britain, with its danger of passive acceptance by the masses of aggression against India; to build up a spirit of resistance to aggression among Indians; and by granting India's millions immediate freedom to release that energy and enthusiasm which alone can enable India to play an effective part in her own defence and in the war as a whole.
- (3) To achieve communal unity, by the removal of the foreign power with its policy of divide and rule, which will be followed by the formation of a Provisional Government representative of all sections of the Indian people.
- (4) To bring all subject and oppressed humanity to the side of the United Nations, thus giving these nations the moral and spiritual leadership of the world.
- (5) To assist Asiatic nations under foreign domination to regain their freedom and to ensure that they are not again placed under the rule of any colonial power.
- (6) To bring about a world federation, which would ensure the disbanding of national armies, navies and air forces, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all.

The genuineness of the first of these aims is undeniable. The freedom of India, in whatever terms it may have been expressed, has long been the main goal of Congress and it may have been shown above how this aim coincides with one of the main motives underlying the "Quit India" move.

The second ostensible aim consists of two supplementary halves—to check India's growing ill-will against Britain and to enable India to play a more effective part in the war. It has been suggested that far from seeking to allay the bitterness felt by the failure of the Cripps Mission, it was the aim of the Congress to seize upon the opportunity thus offered to regain her lost hold over the masses. Added reason to believe that this interpretation is correct is given by the fact, as will be seen later when the type of movement for which the

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will show :—

"In such places where British and Japanese forces are fighting our non-cooperation (with the Japanese) will be fruitless and unnecessary."

This theme is repeated in the "Harijan" as the following extracts

I make bold to say that, in the British withdrawal and people here follow my advice, then non-co-operation will be infinitely more effective than it can be today, when it cannot be appreciated for the violent British action going on side by side.

"It must be admitted, therefore, that there will be little scope for non-violent resistance of aggression, with the Allied troops operating in India, as there is practically none now."

To summarise briefly, Mr. Gandhi did not believe that non-violence

alone was capable of defending India against Japan. Nor had he any faith in the ability of the Allies to do so; "Britain," he stated in his draft Allahabad resolution, "is incapable of defending India." His "Quit India" move was intended to result in the withdrawal of the British Government to be succeeded by a problematical provisional Government of the Indian army was to be disbanded; and Allied troops were to be allowed to operate only under the terms imposed by this provisional Government assisted by India's non-violent non-cooperation to Japan, for which, as Mr. Gandhi had already admitted, there could be little scope with Allied troops operating in India. Finally, even if, in the face of the above arguments, it could be supposed that Mr. Gandhi and the Congress proposed to pin their faith on the ability of Allied troops to defend India, it should be noted that the former himself admitted that the formation of a suitable provisional government. Now since this Government was to be representative of all sections of Indian opinion, it is clear that neither Mr. Gandhi nor the Congress could legitimately commit it in advance to any particular course of action; they could not, that is to say, undertake that it would support the Allies in defending India against Japan. They could not in fact make any promise on behalf of this provisional Government unless they intended that it should be dominated by Congress; and the whole trend of Congress policy coupled with the extravagant promises made in the Bombay A. I. C. C. resolution on behalf of this provisional government, leave little doubt that this was their intention,—a view held, significantly, by the Muslim League and Muslims in general. You have then a situation in which the Allied troops would be dependent for support on a Government dominated by a clique which it has already been shown to be thoroughly defeatist in outlook, and whose leader had already expressed the intention of negotiating with Japan.

establishment of communal unity followed by the formation of a provisional government, at all closely. It has been suggested in the preceding paragraph that the Congress intended this government to be under their view by the unity of Muslim opinion that the Congress move was aimed at establishing Congress-Hindu domination over India. It will

"My proposal of British withdrawal will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engage British attention." There is a lot of confusion about the implications. I am trying to deal with the questions as they arise from time to time.

"The first admits of no delay and demands specific action irrespective of the British supremacy. The second admits of delay. There is a lot of confusion about the implications. I am trying to deal with the questions as they arise from time to time."

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THE CONTEMPORATED CHARACTER OF THE MOVEMENT

CHAPTER III

So far an attempt has been made to show the true motives underlying advanced for this move in the Congress resolutions of July 14th and August 8th. We shall now proceed to examine the nature of the steps which Mr. Gandhi proposed to take, should the British not accede to his request for their voluntary withdrawal.

As early as May 10th, Mr. Gandhi had determined that he must devote his whole energy. It very shortly became clear that he was already engaged in terms of a final struggle against slavery which it had suggested. Of this, he said :—
“It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure I know will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance.”

From this point onwards Mr. Gandhi's conception of the struggle developed rapidly. His writings on the subject are too lengthily to quote in full, but the following excerpts from “Harijan” illustrate the direction in which his mind was moving :—
“It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may be compared with the movement of British troops, but it is sure to engender a British supremacy.”
“My proposal for the withdrawal of the British to Europe is to deal with the present arms of the British Empire, but it is sure to engender a British supremacy.”
“The movement of British troops, but it is sure to engender a British supremacy.”

CHAPTER III

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OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DISTURBANCES

Under my to the feasibility of establishing any such Government. I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them entrust India to God or in modern parlance to anarchy. Then all the parties faces them, come to another like dogs, or will, when real non-violence to arise out of that chaos." a reasonable agreement. I shall expect that Mr. Gandhiji, a copy of which is attached as Appendix II.

No detailed examination is necessary of the last three ostensible aims outlined at the top of page 182. It will be observed that they all have this point in common—they have no application to India and are concerned solely with the effect on this world of India's proposed move. It is surely significant that the Congress demand. Whether the authors of the resolution knowingly believed that the United Nations would, if accepted, help rather than hinder the cause of which was not result have. In the first place, could any body of men who on administration to have precisely the opposite effect by paralyzing the whole that less than a year previously it had been proclaimed under Mr. Gandhiji's orders to be a "gain" to help the war with men or money, can it be denied that these two questions is left to the reader.

THE CONTINGENT CHAPTER III

So far an attempt has been made to turn—in their favour? The answer to these questions is left to the reader.

proposal for British withdrawal. This is in connection with (1) the behaviour of troops, (2) the impending salt famine, (3) control of food-grains, and (4) evacuation for the sake of the military. (5) discrimination between Europeans and Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmans on the one hand and Indians on the other hand."

"It is worth fighting for, it is worth taking all that the nation has."
 "They (Indians) will fight, not to seize power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may."
 "But you may know that it will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character and then you can fill in the details. It will include all that a mass movement can include. I do not want rioting as a direct result. In spite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped. I am not going to court imprisonment. The struggle does not involve court-martialing. It is too soft a thing. My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible."

"Ours is an unarmed revolt against British Rule."
 "Therefore I shall take every precaution I can to handle the movement gently, but I would not hesitate to go to the extreme limit, if I find that no impression is produced on the British Government or the Allied Power."
 "It will be your biggest movement?"
 "Yes, my biggest movement."

"I have no false notions of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration."
 "Is the possibility of strike precluded?"
 "No," said Gandhiji, "strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be assisted."
 "That the movement was to be the final effort of the Congress party, in which it must win freedom or be wiped out, was made clear by Mr. Gandhi in his speech at the Bombay meeting, after the A. I. C. C. had passed the 'Quit India' resolution.

"Every one of you should," he said, "from this moment onwards, consider yourself a free man or woman and act as if you are free and are no longer under the heel of this imperialism. You may take it from me that I am not going to strike a bargain with the Viceroy for ministries and the like. I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom. We shall do or die. We shall either free India or die in the attempt."
 In conclusion there are the famous words uttered by Mr. Gandhi at a press conference in Wardha, after the Working Committee had passed the resolution of July 14th, which show clearly how even at that early stage he was fully determined on a final struggle:—

"There is no room left in the proposal for withdrawal or negotiation. There is no question of one more chance. After all it is an open rebellion."
 The answer to those who have since accused Government of precipitating the crisis by the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders, and have suggested that the period of grace referred to by Mr. Gandhi in his Bombay speech should have been utilised for negotiation; "there is no room left for withdrawal or negotiation", Mr. Gandhi had said a month earlier. Moreover the Wardha resolution merely threatened a mass movement if the demands of Congress were not accepted. The Bombay resolution went further. It no longer threatened a movement with the delay that might entail. It sanctioned the movement; and if any further delay was intended, are there not at least good grounds for believing in the light of all that had been said, that it was to be used not for the purpose of negotiation but for putting the finishing touches to a plan to which its authors were already committed but which might not yet be completely ready to put into execution?

The general character of the movement contemplated by Mr. Gandhi emerges clearly from the foregoing extracts. It was to be a struggle, a fight to the finish, in which foreign domination must be ended, cost what it may; it was to be an unarmed revolt, short and swift, sure to plunge the country into a conflagration—occurrence of riots, in which he was prepared to go to the extreme limit, including, if necessary, the calling of a general strike; the struggle was to include everything that a "non-violent" mass movement could do, including strikes and the stoppage of railways, and possibly interference with British troop movements; and full use was to be made of existing grievances against the British; former Congress methods such as court-martialing were to be eschewed as too soft for the present occasion: finally every man and woman was to consider himself free and act for himself. These last words, or at least their sense, find a place

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Nehru in the United Provinces, Babu Rajendra Prasad in Bihar, Mr. Shankarrao Deo and Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel in Bombay and many others addressed public meetings and Press conferences, urging the masses, in speeches many of which were openly seditious, to be prepared for the fight to the finish against the British which the Congress would shortly launch.

Before endeavouring to give examples from these speeches, attention may be drawn to two points which stand out in all this activity: the first is, the insistence with which almost all speakers urged that every man should be prepared and willing to act on his own initiative; the second is the extraordinary attention paid by the speakers to the student community. Thus Congress speakers in Bihar and the Central and United Provinces, made a point of canvassing the support of the student community, while Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is known to have taken steps to enlist the support of students from the Benares Hindu University, a fact of particular significance in view of the prominence later assumed by this University in the serious disturbances which occurred in the east of the United Provinces. In Bombay, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Mr. Shankarrao Deo publicly exhorted students to take an active part in the movement and to assume the leadership of Congress should Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders be arrested.

Space does not permit of a full or even representative reproduction of the many speeches made by Congress leaders during this period and the following selection aims at displaying only the broadest trends:—

Typical of the speeches of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru at this time were his words to a mass meeting of peasants in Allahabad on July 27th, when he warned them that there would be a mass movement in the country within a very short time and said that it was the duty of every *kisan* to understand the movement properly and to respond to the call. In other speeches he made it clear that there was no question of Congressmen deliberately choosing to go to jail; that the Congress might perish in the terrible ordeal which was ahead of it; but that a free India would emerge out of its ashes.

'India is now determined to take a dip in this world-wide storm. In a few weeks we will have a mass movement. This will be our final struggle and we must be prepared to face the worst.'

Finally at the Bombay A. I. C. C. meeting, Pandit Nehru said that the Congress had now burnt its boats and was to embark on a desperate campaign.

The following is an extract from the speech made by Babu Rajendra Prasad at a meeting of the Working Committee of the Bihar Congress held on July 21st and 22nd:—

"One thing required special attention that no act should be done which would weaken the moral strength of the people. According to Gandhi's view the movement would kindle a fire all over the country and would only be extinguished after either obtaining the independence of the country or wiping out Congress organisation altogether."

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, who paid particular attention to students, addressing a student meeting in Ahmedabad is reported to have asked them to pick any item from the struggles that had been fought so far, since 1919, and also to tell every Britisher to quit India immediately; Congress would not come any more to tell them what to do and what not to do, and they must take the initiative and do what seemed proper under the circumstances; they should consider themselves free men and disobey all Government's orders; they would have to pass on this message from house to house, as most newspapers would be suppressed; it would be necessary for them to become living newspaper; if they failed in their duty, it would bring nothing but disgrace on them.

Mr. Shankar Rao Deo, speaking at a public meeting held by the Bombay Congress on August 4th, said that in the coming struggle they would have to request workers in factories in which war material was being produced, and railway workers and others, to stop work until the British left India. The following is an extract from another speech in Bombay by Mr. Shankar Rao Deo.

"Some students ask us whether they have to leave schools and colleges during the struggle. My answer is that they will have to do it, if ordered by Gandhi. Students have always wanted revolution. Here is their opportunity. Revolution is coming to them, they should embrace it now without losing the opportunity."

Finally, in yet another speech, he said that the movement would be like a mutiny based on non-violence and would resemble the fight of 1857.

The above examples, which could be greatly multiplied, serve to give

considerable further insight into the type of movement which the Congress Committee, and through them the other first rank Congress leaders, were in the closest contact with Mr. Gandhi during this period and the working of their minds, exhibited in their speeches, must be regarded as in some sort a projection of Mr. Gandhi's own thoughts. Reference has already been made to the emphasis laid on the importance of each individual acting for himself; and the type of action which he was urged, to take confirms and strengthens the previous impression of the more paradoxical *hartals*, and no-rent and no-tax campaigns, defiance of all forms of Government authority was enjoined upon the people, they were urged to endeavour to undermine the loyalty of the police and the military, and of Government servants as a whole; prisoners were recommended to foment disorder inside the jails; and the stopping of work in mills and factories, including war factories, was recommended as also strikes on the railways. Finally, there is the significant reiteration of the theme that students are to play an all-important role and are to take over the leadership of the Congress, should the established Congress leaders be arrested. No one knowing the inflammable nature of their audience, and the intolerance that youth has always displayed of the Gandhian creed of non-violence, could possibly address such appeals to students as those quoted above by Mr. Shankar Rao Deo and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, without realising the violence which must inevitably result.

Enough has now been said to show the general nature of the movement contemplated by Mr. Gandhi and projected by his lieutenants on to the public scene. To what extent were more detailed instructions regarding the conduct of the movement in existence before the All-India Congress Committee meeting in Bombay and did they conform to the general outline of the movement which we have pictured above?

The first example will again be chosen from "*Hartian*"; in the issue of August 5th there appeared an article entitled "*Ways of non-violent co-operation*," it is quite clear that the article was meant to be read in that context. It describes detailed methods of paralysing Government, and of conducting strikes. A feature of the examples quoted is the racial theme underlying the struggle in each case. In the two subsequent issues of "*Hartian*," edited by Mr. Gandhi's mouthpiece, K. G. Mahabirwalla, detailed instructions for conducting various phases of the movement were given, to which a further reference is made later on.

Before the Bombay All-India Congress Committee meeting, instructions were circulated by the Congress organisations in Madras, the United Provinces, Bihar and doubtless in other Provinces also. Space forbids their reproduction at length and the general program outlined by Mr. Gandhi to detailed instructions issued by local Congress organisations will be served by the examination of a single set of such instructions; for this purpose may be chosen those issued in Madras. A series of instructions definitely outlining the programme of mass disobedience was produced by the Andhra and Tamil Nad Congress Committees, with, it must be presumed, the approval of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya. The full instructions are reproduced as Appendix IV; it will suffice here to mention that although the removal of rails was in these instructions specifically forbidden, this ban was significantly raised by a written injunction immediately the arrests of the leaders took place. It is of the greatest interest to observe the logical development of Mr. Gandhi's general ideas, through the more specific suggestions made by Congress leaders, into the final detailed instructions such as the Andhra circular quoted above. Thus Mr. Gandhi's expressed preparedness, if necessary, to interfere with the working of the railways and the movement of troops develops finally into detailed proposals for the pulling of alarm chains, ticketless travel and the picketing of the permanent way, for the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, and for the picketing of the other items in the process of development can be traced in the case of most of the other items in the program.

The closest reflection, however, of Mr. Gandhi's ideas in any set of instructions is exhibited by what has come to be known as the "*All-India Congress Committee 12-point programme*." The correspondence between the various items of this programme and ideas already expressed by Mr. Gandhi is so close that it has been thought best to illustrate it in tabular form. The resulting table is reproduced as Appendix V.

Before proceeding to examine the actual form taken by the disturbances and the extent of Congress implication in them, it will be as well to summarise briefly the conclusions which we have so far reached.

After tracing briefly the development of Mr. Gandhi's "Quit-India" move, and after examining the reactions of the Congress Working Committee at Allahabad to Mr. Gandhi's draft resolution, it was suggested that the two principal motives by which he was actuated were firstly the desire to obtain freedom now for India and secondly the desire to avoid at all costs, even if necessary by capitulation to the Japanese, India's being made a battlefield between Britain and Japan. The next step was to point out that Mr. Gandhi has himself clearly admitted the ineffectiveness of non-violence to resist a Japanese invasion and that this was the reason advanced by him for the alteration of his original scheme to allow of the retention of Allied troops to defend India; that this willingness on his part to allow Allied troops to remain was only on the surface; and that he held no intention of allowing them to operate effectively in resisting Japan. A comparison of the ostensible motives displayed in the two Congress resolutions of July 14th and August 8th with the basic motives underlying the move revealed that of the three main ostensible aims, only the first, the desire to free India from British rule, was genuine; and that the remaining two, the contention that India would thus be enabled to play a more effective part in her own defence and that communal unity would be achieved, were wholly specious. An examination followed of the period between the Wardha and Bombay resolutions, with a view to ascertaining what type of struggle Gandhi was himself contemplating, should the British refuse to withdraw, and how Gandhi's views were interpreted to the masses by the Congress leaders.

A composite picture of the projected movement, as it emerges from Gandhi's writings or statements (Appendix V) and from the speeches of Congress leaders, developed in detail in the two sets of Congress instructions referred to, has clearly three main features. By its nature, the movement cannot be non-violent, nor did Mr. Gandhi expect it to be so; his doubts on this subject were clearly voiced and, as clearly, his resolution to proceed with the movement despite any violence which might occur. Secondly, every man was exhorted to think and act for himself and to be his own leader. Finally students were urged to play a prominent part and to assume the leadership of the Congress should the recognised leaders be arrested. On a more detailed view, the movement was to include all possible forms of mass demonstration and was to be marked by a defiance of Government authority; individual items were to include interference with troop movements, the cutting stopping and sabotaging of railways, interference with troop movements, the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires, incitement to strikes and the fomentation of no-tax and non-rent campaigns, and efforts to suborn the police, the military, and Government servants as a whole from their allegiance.

At Bombay on August 8th, the All-India Congress Committee ratified by an overwhelming majority a resolution sanctioning the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale.

CHAPTER IV

THE NATURE OF THE DISTURBANCES

On the morning of August 9th Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders were arrested in Bombay and simultaneously throughout the country a round-up of important Congressmen took place. The total number of arrests probably did not exceed a few hundreds. In view of the efforts since made to attribute the disturbances to what is invariably called "Government repression", it is important to note that this was probably the only occasion throughout the rebellion on which Government took the first step. Practically everything that followed was the result, and not the cause, of action taken by the other side. First reactions to the arrests were surprisingly mild. On August 9th there were disturbances in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona, but the rest of the country remained quiet. On August 10th disturbances occurred also in Delhi and a few towns in the United Provinces; but still no serious repercussions were reported from elsewhere. It was from August 11th that the situation began to deteriorate rapidly. From then onwards, apart from the *hazals*, protest meetings and similar demonstrations that were to be expected, concerted outbreaks of mob violence, arson, murder and sabotage took place; and in almost all cases these were directed either against communications of all kinds (including railways, posts and telegraphs) or against the Police. Moreover, these outbreaks started almost simultaneously in widely separated areas in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay and Bihar and also in the Central and

United Provinces. Finally, the damage done was so extensive as to make it incredible that it could have been perpetrated on the spur of the moment without special implements and previous preparation; and in many instances the manner in which it was done displayed a great deal of technical knowledge. Block instruments and control rooms in railway stations were singled out for destruction; and the same technical skill appeared over and over again both in the selection of objects for attack—on the railways, in P. & T. offices and lines, and on electric power lines and installations—and also in the manner in which the damage was carried out. On the other hand—and this is a significant fact—industrial plant and machinery, even where it was fully employed on Government work, escaped any serious injury.

The position was at one time extremely serious in the whole of Bihar, except its most southern districts, and in the eastern part of the United Provinces. In these areas, the trouble soon spread from the big towns to the outlying areas; thousands of rioters gave themselves up to an orgy of destruction of communications and certain classes of Government property; whole districts, with their small defending forces of Government officials and police, were isolated for days on end; a very large part of the E. I. and practically the whole of the B. & N. W. Railway systems were put out of action. For a considerable period, Bengal was almost completely cut off from Northern India, while communications with Madras were also interrupted by the damage done to the railways in the Coimbatore District and around Bezwada. It was, indeed, significant that the areas of greatest strategic importance, Not only did they contain the centre of India's coal supplies, stoppage of which would have paralysed all transport, trade and industry, but also they lay immediately behind those parts of India which were most obviously exposed to enemy attack. They could not have been better selected if the object was to dislocate the communications of the defending forces on the east coast of India. On the other hand, Assam, Orissa, the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province remained free from serious trouble throughout the first week after the arrests, and there was comparatively little disorder in Sind.

In all the affected Provinces, students, invariably Hindu students, were in the forefront of the initial disorders. Everywhere the Congress creed of non-violence was ignored and mobs were recklessly incited to extremes of fury. It was from these mobs that the provocation came and most certainly not from the Government forces. They had to open fire, no doubt, but in many cases they did so in sheer self-defence. Apart from attacks on communications and various forms of transport such as trams, buses and motor vehicles, the violence of the mob was directed against certain classes of Government buildings, but many buildings escaped of the kind that one might have expected to be the target of indiscriminate popular anger. Municipal, and even private, property also suffered; and there was some looting. Speaking generally, however, what might be called the ordinary manifestations of mob violence were, by comparison and to begin with, unremarkable—there were no communal clashes—and the whole picture was much more one of calculated venom directed against selected objectives than of indignant people hitting out indiscriminately at the nearest object in blind resentment at the arrest of their leaders. Cases were, indeed, reported of mobs operating against railway lines over 40 miles from their homes; and, after all, these very same leaders, except Mr. Gandhi himself, had been arrested less than two years previously and there had been scarcely a ripple on the smooth waters of India's peace.

In the large towns where disorders first broke out, the situation was quickly brought under control, though not without the use of force in the face of violent activities by crowds of great numerical superiority. Subsequently, the disorders spread out from urban areas into the countryside, where, as already noticed, the marked similarity between incidents reported from widely separated places was a feature that attracted immediate attention. Muslims took practically no part in the disturbances and labour, although in some cases unable to resist the temptation to suspend work and in other cases succumbing to open political pressure to do so, behaved, as a whole, with commendable restraint. There was no general strike and work was soon resumed in mills and factories, with the one important exception of the Ahmedabad mills. These were subjected to special political pressure, backed by ample funds.

During the first two weeks following the arrests the disturbances continued with varying intensity mainly in the Central Provinces, Bihar and the United Provinces. By the third week, indications of a growing disapproval of mob violence

among the general public began to appear and by the fourth week firm action had largely succeeded in suppressing mass lawlessness, except in Assam, where disorders began to appear similar in nature to those which had occurred earlier elsewhere. Indiscipline in jails was a part of the Congress programme and jail mutinies duly occurred in two Provinces. By the sixth week normal conditions had been restored throughout most of the country except in the eastern Provinces, where the close of the first phase of violent mass disorders three new tendencies became apparent. In the first place, signs appeared of an orthodox "non-violent" civil disobedience movement. Secondly, there was a development of serious crime as a direct result of the failure of rebellious groups to subvert constituted authority. The third and the most important development was the drift towards terrorism, which experienced observers had from the beginning anticipated, as soon as the realisation of the failure of the initial attempt at open rebellion became general. Cases of arson, sabotage and of murderous assault on public servants continued. Bombs made their appearance in Bombay, the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. These were at first crude and ineffective but technical improvement was rapid and by the twelfth week of the movement bombs and other explosive mechanisms, some of a highly dangerous type, were in use on a fairly extensive scale, particularly in the Bombay Province.

The attempts to develop a "non-violent" civil disobedience movement proved abortive and in spite of the temporary stimulus afforded by Mr. Gandhi's birthday there was no public enthusiasm or support for such a programme. At the end of November instructions for a no-tax, no-rent and no-grain campaign were issued from Bombay in the name of the All-India Congress Committee (Appendix VI). These instructions outlined a programme designed to paralyse Government by cutting off its sources of revenue, undermining confidence in the currency, creating apprehensions of food and cloth famines, and developing parallel Government in the form of independent village communities. By this time, however, the public were becoming more and more disgusted with Congress and its programmes, except in a few isolated areas, and the new campaign failed from the start to gather any momentum. The Congress organisation, by now entirely underground, had been further weakened by continued and successful police pressure. From the beginning of the struggle the Congress Socialist Party, a group within the main party and an integral part of the Congress, had played an important part, with Bombay as its main centre. The escapee from Hazaribagh Congress Socialist Party—the same man whose detected attempt to smuggle letters from Deoli in 1941 had caused such a sensation and who in those letters had pointed scorn on the "farce of satyagraha"—and had called for the organisation of secret wing which would not pay even lip service to the creed of non-violence—further increased the influence of this left-wing section of Congress. With the arrest from time to time of certain of the other leaders, Jai Prakash Narain came to play an increasingly important part in the direction of a movement, which was by now indistinguishable from an underground revolutionary movement, with all the trappings of terrorism, political dacoity, sabotage, unscrupulous opportunism and complete disregard of the safety and welfare of the general public.

Of the steady decline of the movement none was more aware than the underground leaders themselves. Programme followed programme and repeated attempts at re-organising were made, in the hope of imparting new life to a dying cause. In early December a review and programme entitled "The Freedom Struggle Front" (Appendix VII) made its appearance. This was followed in January, 1943, by a new programme to commence from "Independence Day", January 26th (Appendix VIII). A significant feature of this programme was the stress placed on "guerrilla bands". Finally at the end of January, 1943, a circular entitled "To all Fighters for Freedom" (Appendix IX) was issued by Jai Prakash Narain. This revealing document admits the failure of the "Open Rebellion envisaged by our incomparable leader Mahatma Gandhi" and ascribes this failure to two reasons: (1) "There was no efficient organisation" and (2) "After the first phase of the rising was over there was no further programme placed before the people". It admits that "there was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the rising and staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence". But what this staggering display really meant is further explained: "I would first remind you of the difference between Gandhi's views on

non-violence and those of the Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. Gandhi. It is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life-principle. Not so with the Congress; and again, "I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, cloaked in Shastri subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure." The Congress concludes with instructions for the preparation of a new and "last phase of the revolution" but makes it clear that "preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No, "Skirmishes", "frontier activities", "minor clashes", "sniping", "patrolling"—all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive."

The violent and widespread nature of the disturbances which followed the arrests of August 9th, 1942, soon led to endeavours in certain quarters to suggest that this was no Congress movement but a spontaneous outbreak on the part of the public at large, precipitated by the action of Government against the popular leaders. The evidence of events themselves against this theory has already been sketched. A further point is that it presupposes that the whole population, or at least a very large majority, rose as one man all over the country in united and blind resentment, which does not correspond with the facts. The Muslim community, the Scheduled Castes as a whole and a very large proportion of organised labour stood entirely aloof, and large areas of the country were quite free from any form of disturbances. Although the news of the Bombay arrests was flashed all over India and simultaneous arrests were being made all over the country, on August 9th there were disturbances only in the Bombay area and the rest of the country remained quiet. Again, during the first week after the arrests those Provinces most remote from Bombay remained either entirely undisturbed or only slightly affected. (It is true there were some early student demonstrations in Bengal but these soon subsided and a considerable interval elapsed before more serious disorder and sabotage developed in that Province at a later date.) It is difficult to reconcile the theory of a spontaneous country-wide mass uprising with this gradual spread of disturbances. It is also difficult to reconcile this theory with the undoubted emergence after a comparatively short period in some of the areas worst affected of a desire on the part of the law-abiding population to co-operate with the authorities in preventing further disorders and damage to public property.

Since the theory of a spontaneous rising does not fit in with the actual post-arrest events, who was responsible? Mr. Gandhi, unquestionably the leader of Congress notwithstanding the fact that he held no official position in the organisation, had been vigorously propagating his "Quit-India" move for weeks; the Congress Working Committee had formally endorsed this policy; the Congress Party was undoubtedly the largest and best organised political organisation in the country; all the arrested leaders belonged to Congress; it is hardly likely, in view of these facts, that any other political party would have been capable or desirous of organising these disorders. It is not enough, however, to say that the Congress Party was the party most concerted and most likely to have caused the disturbances; it is necessary to show how this was done.

There can be no doubt that the initial and concerted action of the Government of India and Provincial Governments struck the Congress organisation a very severe blow; but it did not entirely put it out of action. On August 7th, most of the important Congress leaders and a large number of leaders of Provincial and lesser importance were present in Bombay for the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee. Not all these leaders and minor leaders were arrested. After the arrests, instructions were at once prepared at Bombay and distributed all over India by post and messenger with remarkable efficiency. There were two sets of instructions. One consisted of the "12-point programme" to which reference has already been made and a copy of which is reproduced at Appendix V. Manuscript copies of these instructions, together with a copy of a message (Appendix X) left by Mr. Gandhi at the time of his arrest, on the morning of the Bombay Congress office, were seized in a distant Province on August 11th. In another Province copies of the same instructions were recovered on August 12th from a Congress ex-Minister. The second set of parts, the first addressed to "Provincial Congress Committees and others" and the second to students. This second set of instructions is reproduced in Appendix XI.

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Un-arrested Provincial delegates to the All-India Congress Committee meeting set out for their Provinces, many of them carrying these instructions with them. Some of them were arrested *en route*, or when they arrived at their destinations; but many others disappeared underground. Why did they do so? Some of these have been arrested; others are known to be still underground organising the movement. Almost at once, floods of illegal pamphlets appeared in many parts of the country. These inflammatory pamphlets did a great deal of harm in the initial stages of the movement and played an important part in fomenting the trouble in rural areas, which followed the first outbreaks in towns. Most of the early leaders were issued in Mr. Gandhi's name. Many of the earlier productions were based on the Bombay instructions and there was thus a marked similarity at first among leaders appearing in different parts of the country. There is over-whelming evidence that the instructions issued from Bombay played an important part in stirring up trouble. For example, secret instructions sent from Bombay to the Secretary of the Kerala Provincial Congress Committee on August 12th included the following:

"Burn important offices, buildings, post offices, Government buildings etc., railways, pull down, issue notices, derail by putting stones, remove all roadside posts, remove lights from the road sides. Close all shops, offices, etc., cut off communications. These are some of the things, going on daily here. Terrible work we are able to do here".

"They were translated into the local vernaculars and lost nothing in the translation. There can be little doubt that they provided the necessary stimulus After the first outbreaks in the towns had been brought under control students and underground Congress workers spread out into the rural areas carrying with them the Bombay instructions, which at once began to produce their effect. Confirmation of this well-known fact is provided in the "All-India Congress Committee Instructions, No. 11", dated November 27th, 1942 (Appendix VI), which mention—

"(a) Those active Congress workers who have spread the fire of revolt in the countryside and have still remained free,

"(b) Those students who have left their colleges and schools and who have

taken up the leadership of rural revolt".

This explanation, that the widespread disturbances were precipitated in accordance with a deliberately preconceived plan by the arrival of Congress workers and instructions from Bombay, fits in with the undisputed facts. The theory of a spontaneous mass movement does not. But this by no means completes the evidence against the Congress Party. It is a curious coincidence, if coincidence it is, that in the four Provinces most affected by the disorders, namely, Bombay, the Central Province, Bihar and the United Provinces, the strongest Congress organisations existed and from 1937-1939 Congress Ministries with large majorities had been in office. The exception to this rule is even more significant. In Madras which also has a strong Congress organisation and where a Congress Ministry enjoyed a handsome majority, such disturbances as did occur were confined to comparatively small areas. But in this very Province the former Prime Minister and other important Provincial Congress leaders were strongly opposed to the "Quit-India" policy. In other Provinces where non-Congress or Coalition Ministries have been formed and Congress has not enjoyed absolute power, the disturbances have been on a moderate scale (except in the Congress stronghold of Madras) as compared with the four Provinces, named above. It has been argued that the undesirable prominence given, in many cases deliberately, by a section of the Press, to news items of incidents, disorders and outrages, was responsible for the country-wide similarity of means and methods. It is undisputable that much harm was done in this way, until the offenders were curbed by executive action; but a study of the recent of events and developments given above at once shows that the offending newspapers could not have alone been responsible for this similarity. The comparative immunity enjoyed by large areas of the country where some, at least, of the offending newspapers were circulating, the sporadic nature of the disorders even in some of the badly affected Provinces and the late onset of disorders in certain Provinces served by the offending section of the Press, can, none of them, be reconciled with this theory. Further more, the Congress can hardly disclaim entire responsibility even for the mischief caused by the section of the Press in question, since it is a well-known

fact that they have always counted upon this section of the Press as one of its most effective vehicles for propaganda; and the United Provinces, at least it is known that previous arrangements had been made to use certain newspapers for publicity purposes and for the conveyance of party directions. It can fairly be claimed therefore that the only explanation that all the known and established facts is that the Congress produced and, to the best of its ability, directed the widespread disorders, amounting in some areas to nothing short of open rebellion, which followed the arrests on August 9th. It further confirmation is required it may be found in Bombay Congress Bulletin No. 132, dated 9th January 1933, in which a most revealing survey is made of the first five months of "Our Revolution" (Appendix XII).

CHAPTER V

THE PART PLAYED BY KNOWN CONGRESSMEN

The preparations for a mass movement made by Mr. Gandhi and the other leaders of the Congress party have been described. The outline of a mass movement, of which the chief characteristic during its opening phase was its unbridled violence, has been given. The argument that the movement was a spontaneous outbreak has been countered. The next question to be answered is the extent to which known members of the Congress party have been personally responsible for the disorders which have occurred.

On general grounds, it would be only natural to expect that the persons who before the arrests had been leaders of the local Congress committees in their legal activities should after the arrests continue to be leaders of the illegal activities. Consider the case of an ordinary Congress rural worker, who for years had been carrying out the party instructions—and the Congress party insists on implicit obedience, witness the expulsions of Subhas Bose, Mr. M. N. Roy and Mr. Rajagopalachari: in 1940-41, he will obediently have committed "Selected satyagraha" and have undergone a short term of imprisonment; during the hot summer months of 1942 he will have keyed himself up to the coming struggle, the "rebellion"; in the opening days of August, he will have followed closely the proceedings of his masters in Bombay. Their arrests are for him a declaration of war by the Government. Will he then retreat from the field of battle? Known in his village as the representative of the Congress party, will he remain silent and inactive? The natural presumption is that the disorders that occurred after the arrests of the Congress leaders were organized by the people who for years had taken their orders from those arrested leaders. And there is abundant evidence to support this presumption. The instances now to be given are only a minute part of the evidence that could be produced—and that again is only a fraction of what is known, but which, because the movement is still alive, cannot safely be revealed.

The evidence falls, broadly speaking, into two classes—acts of violence committed by Congressmen, and incitements to violence written by Congressmen. The number of instances of prominent Congressmen taking open part in the disorders is naturally not large, as most of those who were known to be leaders of importance were arrested at the outset, and those who evaded arrest were at pains not to disclose their whereabouts. But though most of the Congressmen now to be mentioned are not persons known outside their own localities—and if the question whether Congressmen were responsible for the disturbances that followed the arrests of the Congress leaders were put to the ordinary public in those localities, they would have no doubt in answering it in the affirmative. It is appropriate that the instances of Congressmen who should begin with one from Wardha, the headquarters of Mr. Gandhi. On August 11th the son of a prominent Congressman of Wardha, who had returned from attending the A. I. C. C. meeting at Bombay, read out in a public meeting the Congress programme which included school and railway strikes, and the cutting of telegraph and telephone wires; the District Superintendent of Police succeeded in seizing the copy of the programme, but the police party was at once mobbed. On the same day a professor in the Commerce College at Wardha, who had resigned his post on the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, harangued a crowd, urging them to boycott the police and threatening traders that their shops would be looted if they sold any articles to the police; the deaths of two men at Wardha by police firing would be averaged, he said, and two men would be considered equivalent to two hundred constables. As a result of these speeches a post office and police station records were burnt and telegraph wires and poles were broken. On August 14th, Pandit

R. S. Shukla, the former Congress Premier of the Central Provinces, told the police officer in whose custody he was that if they had been given ten days time instead of being arrested on their way back from Bombay, every police station in the district would have been burnt down. On August 15th the vice-president of the Mandla District Congress Committee asked a crowd of about 1,500 people to destroy Government records, railway lines and bridges. In the same district the previous day four members of the Congress party had instigated villagers to blow up a bridge; when they failed in their attempt they looted some passing Government grain carts instead. Two prominent Congress workers (one being a woman) in Akola addressed lightning meetings of mill hands on August 13th and urged them to sabotage communications, march on banks, railways and post offices and burn them down. As a result of these speeches the mill hands succeeded in destroying some telephone poles and wires before they were dispersed by the police. On August 14th a crowd of two or three thousand set fire to all the police buildings of Ramtek including the tahsil, the civil court, the police station, the post office and the railway station; a train in the station was set on fire and the treasury looted of about three lakhs of rupees; many known Congressmen took part in this affair.

All these incidents occurred in the Province of the apostle of non-violence within a week of his arrest. But evidence of mass attacks led by members of the Congress can be given from most parts of the country.

In Bihar, M. Jagaj Chandhuri, who had been a Congress Minister from 1937 to 1939, and who was one of Mr. Gandhi's trusted men, personally instigated the burning of a police station in the Saran district and during the attack urged the crowd to tie up the Sub-Inspector in a sack and throw him into the river. This same Minister made plans to resist troops with spears, lighted torches, and boiling oil. He has been tried and sentenced to ten years imprisonment and the sentence being reviewed and upheld by a Judge of the Patna High Court. Mr. Jagat Narain Lal, who had been a Parliamentary Secretary in the same Ministry (and who moved the resolution at the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad on May 2nd, 1942 in opposition to Mr. Rajagopalachari's "Patistan" resolution) was personally responsible for instigating a mob that committed arson and looting in the Patna area on August 12th. When he was arrested a month later, he was found in possession of literature advocating sabotage. He has been sentenced to three years imprisonment on the first charge and two years imprisonment on the second. In the same Province, an Australian missionary who has spent 25 years doing educational, medical and evangelist work was the victim of a mob of Congress hooligans, who made a determined attempt on his life. When his bungalow was first mobbed, he tried to reason with the leaders, saying that if he had done them or the Congress any harm, he was willing to pay the penalty; but they paid no attention and he was extremely fortunate to escape with his life. An account of the movement in the backward hill district of Koraput in Orissa is interesting. The Congress had built up an organisation and acquired a hold over these backward tribes by making attractive promises that when *Swaraj* came there would be no rents and taxes and no forest laws; they also played on their superstition, and in some areas Mr. Gandhi was deified and temple ritual took place at the Congress Office. On receiving instructions from the District Congress Committee, the subordinate workers rapidly passed the word round that the British Raj was no more and that police stations should be attacked. Violent disorders took place for a few days, but the local authorities got the situation in hand and, as the movement had been based entirely on false promises, its collapse was as rapid as its rise. There was no disturbance among the hill-tribes of a neighbouring sub-division simply because the Congress had not yet built up an organisation there. The most serious incident in this Province occurred at a place called Bham in Balesore district. A body of armed police who had gone to make some arrests there found themselves confronted by a mob of four or five thousand persons, who had been mobilised by the sounding of conch-shells from village to village as the police party approached. They disobeyed an order to disperse, and the police had to open fire, ultimately causing 25 or 26 deaths and about 50 injuries. A joint enquiry was made by the Revenue Commissioner and the Inspector-General of Police, who found that the extent of the firing was fully justified. Their report showed that the disturbance was in no sense spontaneous but was incited among ignorant villagers by the deliberate efforts of mischievous politicians playing on their economic difficulties. The moving spirit in this affair was a lieutenant of

Sri Jagannath Das, a Congress M. L. A.

robberies and five cases of sabotage included members of Vinoba Bhave's ashram near Wardha.

In Bombay on January 14th, 1943, the Police searched a flat and found a revolver, time-bombs, stocks of high explosives and all the paraphernalia needed for lethal bombs. One of the persons arrested on the spot was a well-known leader of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee who was also President of the All-India Spinners Association. Again in the same Province there were systematic attacks by a gang of saboteurs on electric pylons and installations and robberies were committed by the gang to obtain arms. The head of this gang, who has since been killed in an encounter with the police, was a well-known Congressman who held office in that organisation as the Secretary of a local Congress Committee. In Broach district an armed gang of about 75 persons headed by two Congress leaders raided a Police Station and took away government arms and cash. The Office Orderly who was present and tried to escape was fired at and wounded. Another mob headed by the same Congress leaders raided a Police post in Wagda Taluka, killed the sentry, overpowered and beat the other policemen in the outpost and looted the lines.

Many of the mob cases arising out of the rebellion are still *subjudice*, but in those that have been concluded particular weight must be attached to the observations of the learned judges. One such case from Bihar and two from the Central Provinces may be considered. The case from Bihar concerns an attack on the police-station of Minapur in Muzaffarpur district on August 16th by an armed mob of four or five thousand men. They looted and burnt the police station; assassinated the officers and constables and burnt the Sub-Inspector alive. There is no doubt whatever that these acts were perpetrated in the name of the Congress. Leading members of the mob were shouting Congress slogans and carrying Congress flags. The main accused, who was responsible for holding the Inspector down in the fire (and who has been sentenced to death) was seen hoisting a Congress flag on the roof of the thana; this was an exhibit in the case. At the conclusion of the judgment, in discussing the interpretation of section 121 of the Indian Penal Code (waging war against the King-Emperor) the Judge observed: "It is a matter of common knowledge that the object of the recent disturbances and risings throughout the country was to paralyse the administration and to compel the Government to submit to the demands of the Indian National Congress." Simultaneously the notorious cases of Ashi and Chimur had occurred in the Central Provinces. The following are extracts from the judgment in the Ashi case relevant to the question of the responsibility of the Congress for the murders:—

"At about 11 A. M. a mob consisting of about 250 men came right up to the gate of the Station House shouting the usual Congress slogans. The Sub-Inspector and Head Constable met them at the gate, and the former tried to argue with them in vain. He was even prepared to shout with them the Congress slogans and to permit them to hoist the Congress flag on the Station House building, but the leaders of the mob wanted him to hand over the Station House records for destruction. When he declared that he would protect Government property with his life, the leaders ordered the mob to get to their work. At this stage, finding the mob uncontrollable, two constables opened fire knocking down about half a dozen men out of whom five succumbed to their injuries. The firing had the desired result and the mob fled in disorder."

It is not necessary to pursue this story of barbarism to the end by describing the subsequent murder of the Sub-Inspector and four constables.

The disorders at Chimur resulted in the murders of a Sub-Divisional Magistrate and a Naib Tahasildar in a dak bungalow, and the murders of a Circle Inspector of Police and a constable shortly after. The following are extracts from the judgment of the High Court Judge in his review of the case relating to the first pair of murders:—

"The main facts in the case are not disputed and have been set out at length in the judgment of the Special Judge. I will merely summarise them briefly; Chimur is a town of about 6,000 inhabitants, about 30 miles from Wardha in the Chanda district with which it is connected by road. From the 11th August onwards there were Congress meetings there at which inflammatory speeches were made and the people were urged to rise against the Government and to obey only Congress orders. The moral responsibility for such an appalling crime, of a

sort that has seldom disgraced this province, rests mainly upon the leaders, mostly not before me, who worked the mob up to the pitch of brutality and fury required to batter defenceless and innocent men to death. I have detected few signs of any genuine remorse amongst the residents of Chintur, and the crime has hardly received the condemnation there or elsewhere that one might have expected."

In the second case the Circle Inspector at the head of a small body of police (including a Sub-Inspector) was pursued along a road by a frenzied mob. After the pursuit had gone on for some time, the Sub-Inspector surrendered. The words he used to denote his surrender (as a result of which his life was spared) are significant. "To quote the description of the Special Judge:

"At this stage the Sub-Inspector decided the position was hopeless and turning to the crowd he threw off his cap, and probably part of his uniform at the same time, and cried, 'Mataras Gandhi ki jai'."

The mob, not appeased by this recognition of their ultimate leader, went on to butcher the Circle Inspector. The earlier actions of the Sub-Inspector, described in another passage, also throw light on the question of Congress responsibility:—

"It is apparent that the Sub-Inspector was not from the beginning inclined to use force and had been negotiating with the Congress leaders in the town. He had allowed a big procession to come in front of his station house on the 15th morning and done nothing about it: he had made no attempt to arrest leaders, though his subordinate officers in his absence had made such attempts. By this attitude he had effectively vacated police authority and the town was under control of the Congress. They were perfectly satisfied with that state of affairs and the subsequent happenings on the 16th are the expression of the resentment of the Congress leaders."

Passing now from crimes of violence in which Congressmen took part to incidents to crime written and distributed in the name of the Congress, it will again be appropriate to start with an instance from the Central Provinces—a pamphlet entitled "Six Commandments of Gandhi Baba". This and similar productions were without doubt accepted by the rank and file of local Congressmen as genuine accounts of Mr. Gandhi's last message. The leader, the text of which is contained in Appendix XIII, is divided into two parts. The first part ("Bapu's message to the Nation at the time of going to jail") contains six commandments in the style that might be expected from Mr. Gandhi. "Regard yourself as independent". "We are free to do anything so long as we remain within the limits of non-violence". "Do or Die", etc. But the second part describes how this message can be put into execution and this includes instructions to compel the closure of factories, mills, colleges, schools, and bazaars until independence is achieved; to destroy the administration of Government, to destroy telephone and telegraph wires; and to advise the police not to obey Government orders; and to violate all prohibitory orders of Government. Similar doctrines were preached in issues of the "Harian" published soon after the arrests. The editors of the various editions of "Harian" would hardly have dared to depart radically from the ideas of Mr. Gandhi; yet, the cutting of telegraph wires, the uprooting of railway tracks, the destruction of bridges and burning of petrol tanks are described as permissible within the bounds of non-violence. (The text of this matter also is reproduced in Appendix XVI.)

An equally wide definition of "non-violence" is contained in an interesting letter recovered from Kesho Deo Malaviya, the Congress Socialist leader who acted as Provincial "dictator" in the United Provinces during the opening phase of the movement until he was arrested on September 29th. "We shall never," he wrote, "forsake our principle of non-violence. It is not violence to get the vital communications suspended or to prevent the functioning of railway stations, tabalis and police stations, or take possession of property found there. You have also to make every effort to prevent the running of railways. As far as possible, you must ensure that no life is lost in this connection. Distribute handbills in villages announcing that no one should travel by train after October 15th or else his life will be in danger." Other passages in this letter are also of interest. "Dear Comrades," he began, "our initial struggle has completed two months. We can pride ourselves on the happenings of the past two months.....Generally speaking, Congress workers have given a good account of themselves. They have fought bravely against the enemy and are still fighting heroically. I appeal to

them to strain every nerve in keeping the Congress flag flying in their respective circles". After Malaviya's arrest, he was succeeded by Acharya Jugal Kishore, who was a Parliamentary Secretary in the time of the Congress Ministry. The following are extracts from cycled instructions sent by him "to the dictators of all the districts and towns and chief workers." "Dear sir, On receipt of instructions from the All-India Congress Committee and after consulting the chief workers of the Province who are still out of jail, I am forwarding to you the scheme which has been chalked out to push vigorously this great revolution for the independence of India by organizing ourselves". Detailed instructions for the organisation of disorders then follow. The position is summarized in the following passage:—

"At this juncture two kinds of programmes are going on in the country: (i) within the scope of the non-violent principle to dislocate the means of communications and transport so as to smash Government machinery in such a way as to render it impossible for the improper use of them by these oppressors and to destroy all emblems of the Government, and, (ii) propaganda, demonstrations and other work such as non-payment of revenue and organisation. The first part is to be done by selected persons and the work they can do should be selected by them. This requires experienced hands and technicians and only such men should be selected for this work as can perform it secretly".

The part played in the organisation of the movement by Jai Prakash Narayan since his escape from Hazaribagh jail has already been mentioned. A few passages from a recent appeal issued by him to the student world are of interest:—

"The first phase of our revolution was a great success inasmuch as it succeeded in uprooting the British power from large tracts of the country. Its further development was checked not because the superior physical force of the enemy blocked its way, but because of our lack of adequate organization and complete conscious programme of revolution. This relates to the second point, namely that present task is clearly to prepare, organize and discipline our forces for the second and last major offensive. We have not much time before us and therefore we must not lose a moment. In every field of preparation we need your help. We have to work in the villages and industrial centres, on the railways and in the mines, in the army and the services; we have to publish and distribute our literature, maintain our contacts and communications; we have to raise and to train a militia and bands of technical workers for sabotage and similar activities; and we have to continue our present clashes and skirmishes with the enemy. A net work of organization, working under a co-ordinated and central command is being built up.... I have faith that when the time for the next offensive comes, you will be at the front of the battle again as you were in August. But in order that the offensive might this time completely rout the enemy, it is essential that you take up seriously and immediately, the work of preparation and organization." A specimen of mischief-making by students is given in a leaflet circulated by a students' organization in Gujarat, marking arrangements for a no-revenue campaign. (It may be mentioned that these arrangements were wholly unsuccesful.)

"This time the no-tax movement differs from the old one in one important point. In the old campaign, after refusing to pay land-revenue, we allowed the Government to attach our property, cattle, etc. This meant that we accepted the legality of the Government at this time, and only non-co-operated with it for certain reasons. This time, we do not consider the present Government as the legal Government of the country and consequently we have raised the banner of open rebellion against it and are carrying on a guerilla warfare. This time, after refusing to give land revenue, the peasants have to resist with their full strength the attachment of their property.

It is impossible to describe even a small proportion of the manifold leaders which are being churned out by presses and duplicators in many parts of the country. (The number has greatly diminished owing to effective action by the police. In Madras, for example, two secret production centres in Tamilnad, one in Andhra and one in Malabar, have been located; known Congressmen were found to be in charge of all these centres.) A selection of harmful pamphlets put out in the earliest phase of the rebellion is reproduced in Appendix XV. A few recent instances may be given. An issue of the "Bombay Congress Bulletin" of November 23rd contained an elaborate programme of revolutionary activity which included two new items, urging the withdrawal of all post office savings bank

accounts and attacks on docks where British troops were loading and unloading. Leaders in circulation in Bengal have been notable for their racial animosity; one declared that India was "fighting against the brutal British power and not against Japan", and another advocated attacks on British troops and police, and the boycotting of Europeans. Finally, Congress underground workers have made the most of the recent difficulties of the economic situation; a particularly mischievous leader emanating from Delhi contains the following passage:—

"Our city population should learn to come out of the streets every day indignant and raging at the British incompetence and bungling and deceit that has resulted in internal food scarcity and external defencelessness. Strikes for freedom and wage increase should become a permanent feature of our industrial life..... Food riots, strikes and agitation among the military and police, all on a mass scale, should culminate in the supreme moment when the murderers, Liuithgow and Wavell, are prisoners and the Indian Republic is proclaimed".

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

At the risk of some repetition it is necessary to emphasize again the fact that Mr. Gandhi knew that any mass movement started in India would be a violent movement. He knew this from his bitter experience of the movements he had led ten and twenty years before. In spite of this knowledge, he was prepared to take the risk of outbreaks of rioting and disorder—a risk which in his writings he tried to minimize but in his mind he must have estimated correctly. Consider again this series of statements:—

(1) "I leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to anarchy". (Harijan, May 24th).

(2) "That anarchy may lead to interminable warfare for a time or to un restrained atrocities". (Harijan, May 24th).

(3) "This ordered, disciplined anarchy should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India as a result I would risk it". (Harijan, May 24th).

(4) "I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait..... The people have not my Ahimsa, but mine should help them. I am sure there is ordered anarchy around and about us. I am sure that the anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us and our decision to defy their authority will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy, and I have a faith that out of that anarchy may arise pure non-violence". (Harijan, June 7th).

(5) "I don't want rioting as a direct result. If in spite of all precautions rioting does take place, it cannot be helped". (Harijan, July 19th).

Once it is realised, as has been clearly demonstrated, that Mr. Gandhi, the fountain-head of non-violence, knew perfectly well that the Indian masses were incapable of non-violence, a new light is shed on the events of the six months which have elapsed since the August arrests. It follows that every reference to non-violence, in the forecasts of the forms the movement would take made by Mr. Gandhi and his Congress disciples and in the post-arrest programmes and instructions, is nothing more than a pious hope, or at best a mild warning, which was known to have no practical value. Since such references have been shown to be valueless, they may be ignored and the pre-arrest forecasts and post-arrest instructions may be examined shorn of their "non-violence" mask. Omitting these valueless references, Mr. Gandhi wrote in "Harijan" of 19th July 1912, "It would be a mass movement..... It will include all that a mass movement can include": and again in "Harijan" of 26th July 1912, "The programme covers every activity included in a mass movement..... I would not hesitate to go to the extreme limit, if I find that no impression is produced over the British Government or the Allied Powers..... It will be my biggest movement..... With the arrests of leaders) it should gain strength, if it has any vitality". The Working Committee of Congress in the resolution passed at Bombay on August 4th and endorsed by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8th stated: "The Committee resolves therefore to sanction for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on the widest possible scale so that the country might witness all the strength it has gathered during the last 22 years". Again, omitting the lip-service to "non-violence" the 12-point programme

called for "non-cooperation on the widest possible scale" in a "titanic clash between the people and the alien Government," a struggle in which "Victory or death" is to be the motto of every son and daughter of India, a struggle which would "include all activities that a mass struggle can include," a struggle in which "whatever helps in the attainment of that objective" (of ending foreign rule) "is permissible and legitimate" and in which "people in the Provinces have to devise and adopt all ways of paralysing the administration". As a description of what actually occurred these instructions present a very accurate picture bearing in mind the limitations imposed by the prompt and firm action taken by the Central and Provincial Governments and the lack of sympathy for the Congress programme in large sections of the population.

In the face of all this evidence—the evidence of the atmosphere produced by Mr. Gandhi's writings in the "Harijan", the evidence of the speeches of the members of the Working Committee before and at Bombay, the evidence of the programmes involving violent action distributed at the time of the arrests, the evidence of the form of the uprising, the evidence of known Congressmen personally proved guilty of violent action, the evidence of the pamphlets broadcast in the name of the Congress—only one answer can be given to the question as to who must bear the responsibility for the mass uprisings and individual crimes which have disgraced and are still disgracing the fair name of India. That answer is—the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi.

APPENDIX I

Record of the Allahabad Meeting of the Congress Working Committee:—

Gandhiji was not present at this meeting (at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1) of the Working Committee. But he sent from Wardha a draft resolution for the consideration of the Committee. Miraben who brought the draft explained how Gandhi's mind was working along the lines sketched in it. The Committee gave earnest and careful consideration to the draft (Appendix A).

The draft contained the following points:—(i) A demand to the British Government to clear out, (ii) India is a zone of war as a result of British imperialism, (iii) No foreign assistance needed for the freedom of this country, (iv) India has no quarrel with any country, (v) If Japan invaded India it shall meet with non-violent resistance, (vi) Form of non-co-operation laid down, (vii) Foreign soldiers a grave menace to Indian freedom.

*Jawaharlalji:—*Gandhi's draft is an approach which needs careful consideration. Independence means, among other things, the withdrawal of British troops. It is proper, but has it any meaning, our demanding withdrawal? Nor can they reasonably do it even if they recognize independence. Withdrawal of troops and the whole apparatus of civil administration will create a vacuum which cannot be filled up immediately.

If we said to Japan that her fight was with British imperialism and not us she would say, "We are glad the British army is withdrawn; we recognize your independence, but we want certain facilities now. We shall defend you against aggression. We want aerodromes, freedom to pass our troops through your country. This is necessary in self-defence." They might seize strategic points and proceed to Iraq, etc. The masses won't be touched if only the strategic points are captured. Japan is an imperialist country. Conquest of India is in their plan. If Babu's approach is accepted we become passive partners of the Axis Powers. This approach is contrary to the Congress policy for the last two years and a half. The Allied countries will have a feeling that we are their enemies.

Kripalalji, intervening, said that the draft was a declaration of their stand. England and America might put what interpretation they liked but they (the Congress) had no designs against them.

Manilal Sahab: What is our position? Shall we tell the British Government to go and allow the Japanese and Germans to come or do we want the Government to stay and stem the new aggression?

Pantji: I want the right of self-government and we shall exercise it as we like. If the British troops and the rest must withdraw let them do so by all means and we shall shift for ourselves.

Jawaharlalji: A draft like this weakens their (the British Government's) position. They will treat India as an enemy country and reduce it to dust and ashes. They will do here what they did in Rangoon.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel The draft says to the British, "You have proved

The portion of the draft about resistance has some substance. The portion about minorities, Princes are unrealistic. We go on thinking in terms of what was and not what is, and that is a dangerous thing in a rapidly changing situation. There is no difference among us about (i) our reactions to Government and (ii) our total inability to co-operate with the Government. Our programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection helps the Government but that cannot be helped. (iii) We do not embarrass the British war effort because that in itself would mean aid to the invader. We agree on these points but we have different ways of getting at them. It is true that since my approach is different my emphasis too would be different.

Panty: One test to apply to the draft is whether it is consistent with our previous resolutions. The language about the condemnation of Cripps' proposal is highly exaggerated. If the proposals were so bad why did we spend so much time over them. My attitude to-day is: We must do our utmost to defend the country and swallow many things. If I can't co-operate with the British it is because it is not consistent with our dignity. But the approach in the draft makes every soldier I see my enemy.

Asaf Ali: The draft will not make any effective appeal to the Axis Powers. Telling the British to withdraw will do nobody any good. We passed at Wardha one which expressed our definite position. The resolution is made in an unreal way. It is inconsistent with our previous stand. We have said that if offered an opportunity we shall side with the Allies.

Rajaji: I do not think the changed draft is different from the original. We appeal to Britain and Japan. The appeal to Britain will fail but certain tangible results will follow. The entire policy of the Congress will be reinterpreted and the new interpretation will go terribly against us. Japan will say "excellent."

I do not agree that if Britain goes away India will have some scope for organizing itself even if Japan should make some headway. Japan will fill the vacuum created by the British withdrawal. Our reaction to evils of Britain should not make us lose our sense of perspective. It is no use getting upset on small matters. Do not run into the arms of Japan which is what the resolution comes to.

Dr. Patil: It is a comprehensive and appropriate draft. A time has come when we must realize ourselves. After the rejection of Cripps' proposals we must reconsider our attitude and restate our position. We have varied our position from time to time during the time the war has been on. Poona was a variation from the old position. Bombay was a variation from Poona. Bombay was followed by C. D. and C. D. by Cripps.

Sarojini Naidu: The changed draft is much better than the original. There is however a great deal of unnecessary matter in the resolution. The appeal is a rhetorical gesture. It is however good as an expression of our extreme disgust and hatred of the British Government. The appeal to Japan is a useless gesture. India is a part of the map they have drawn. I agree with the non-violent non-co-operation part of the resolution. It can be recast keeping the substance of the original. The draft is a narrowing of sympathies not consistent with the position we have taken up. I do not like foreign soldiers. The portion dealing with them is good.

Biswanath Das: I see two conflicting views in the Committee. This division of opinion is fatal at this juncture. I generally agree with the draft. The Cripps proposals if accepted would have kept us in permanent bondage. The appeal to Britain to withdraw is very proper. We can tell them that neither will they defend us nor allow us to defend ourselves.

The protest against the introduction of American soldiers in the country is also proper. They have brought in troops from the Dominions and other foreign nations. This is highly objectionable and dangerous.

Bardoli: One portion of the draft is operative and another ideological. If we lay emphasis on the operative portion the differences will be greatly minimized. For joint action I should be prepared to delete the portion which deals with the ideological background. We are already in the danger zone. This is no time for ideological discussion. Let us concentrate on the present action which cannot be anything other than non-violent non-co-operation.

Satyamurti: The changed draft is an improvement. I do not agree with the objection to the entry of foreign soldiers. India may defend herself even with the aid of foreign soldiers. I think we must make an approach to the Muslim League.

Achut Patwardhan : I am in general agreement with the draft. The open door policy is at an end. The resolution emphasizes a factor which has been emphasized by every intelligent man, i. e., the war is lost unless the people are in it. The war is an imperialist war. Our policy can be that we take no sides. The world is in the grip of fear complex. I would consider the position if the Allies could defeat the Axis. But I see clearly that Britain is going towards the deep. We want to create neutrality. Do not look to Japan or Britain.

Jatramdasji : The criticism that the draft is pro-Japanese is wrong. Opposition to the Japanese invasion is there in the draft.

The mention of foreign armies in the draft is very appropriate. The Indian History bears ample testimony of the highly undesirable consequences which foreign armies have led to. The draft creates an atmosphere of neutrality. The attempt is worth making.

Sardar Sahib : I see that there are two distinct opinions in the Committee. We have ever since the outbreak of war tried to pull together. But it may not be possible on this occasion. Gandhi has taken a definite stand. If his background is unsuitable to some members of the Committee there is the other background to the Cripps' mission. Cripps is a clever fellow. He has gone about saying that this mission has not been a failure. The draft is a perfect reply to his propaganda. I am not in favour of making any approach to Jinnah. We have made repeated attempts and courted many insults. The Congress to-day is reeling under two blows, one Cripps' and the other Rajaji's resolutions which have done us enormous harm. I have placed myself in the hands of Gandhi. I feel that he is instinctively right, the lead he gives in all critical situations. In Bombay, at the time of the A.I.C.C. meeting there was a difference in approach but the door to negotiations was closed. In Bardoli it was made clear that the door was still open and our sympathies were with Allies. It is time the door is finally closed after the repeated insults heaped upon us. I agree with the draft before us. If there is any pro-Fascist hint in the draft let it be removed.

Acharya Narendra Deo : I do not agree with the view that the war is one and indivisible. The aims of Russia and China are not identical with those of Britain and America. If it is one we should join the war and side with Britain. Our position has not been that we want power because without it we cannot kindle the national spirit. Our position has been that if the war was a people's war and there was proof of it in action we are willing to throw in our weight on the side of democracies.

It is necessary to counteract the mischievous propaganda of Cripps. Cripps has been saying that internal differences have prevented a settlement. Rajaji has strengthened his hands. Japanese threat has also influenced our attitude to Britain. It has led us to even modify Poona. We have to make it clear that Japanese threat has not unnerved us. We can tell the British to go, leaving us to our fate. Whatever unreality there is in Indian politics is due to the British rule. Let it go and the unreality will disappear. I am not interested in defeating Hitlerite Germany. I am more interested in war aims and peace aims.

Maulana Sahib : The discussion has been useful. But it is not clear to me the differences that divide the two groups. Cripps was a great hope. He came here with the reputation of a radical. But he proved a great disappointment. He made things worse. Cripps in his statements after the failure of negotiations has emphasized two points : (i) His mission has proved the sincerity of the intentions of the British Government towards India, (ii) The anti-Japanese front is the outcome of this mission. All this is false propaganda. Great Britain has made it impossible for us to defend our country. But we have something to do about the Japanese aggression. It is my firm belief that nationalism is the only religion for a subject nation. If I feel that Japan was better than Britain and her invasion was for the good of India I would have said so in public. But it is not so. Gandhi's prescription is the only alternative though I doubt its effectiveness.

Since the draft presented by Rajendra Babu was not acceptable to Jawaharlal and a few other members of the Committee the President asked Jawaharlal to prepare a draft of his own. Jawaharlal presented the following draft in the next sitting of the Committee.

The draft sought to cover the points contained in Bapu's draft but the approach was different. The discussions showed that the division of opinion revealed in the earlier discussions persisted. Jawaharlal modified his draft with a view to accommodating better the other group, but the difference in approach remained. The

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draft was not acceptable to the whole Committee. Thereupon the President put the two drafts to the vote. Those who voted for Gandhiji's draft as modified by Rajendra Babu were Sardar Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Babu, J. B. Kripalani, Shaukar Rao Deo, Sajoji Naidu, Pratulla Chandra Ghosh. Those who voted for Jawaharlal's draft were Jawaharlal Nehru, Govind Ballabh Pant, Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. Among the invitees Shri Jairamdas Daulatram, Acharya Narendra Deo, Achyut Patwardhan, Bardoloi and Biswanath Das voted for Rajendra Babu's draft and Shri Satyamurti and Mrs. R. S. Pandit voted for Jawaharlal's draft. Rajendra Babu's draft was passed by the Committee in the morning sitting on May 1. The subject was however re-opened by the President in the afternoon sitting. He pleaded with those who supported Rajendra Babu's draft to accept Jawaharlal's draft and make it a unanimous resolution. It was the President's opinion that there was practically no difference between the two drafts though the protagonists of both the drafts held that a vital difference in approach persisted. Supporters of Rajendra Babu's draft yielded to the wish of the President and accepted Jawaharlal's draft. The draft resolution for the A. I. C. C. as was finally passed by the Committee is as follows (See Appendix B).

Appendix A

Draft No. 1, dated Allahabad, April 27, 1942, Working Committee Whereas the British War Cabinet's proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps have come to the following conclusions:—

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that Britain is incapable of defending India. It is natural that whatever she does is for her own defence. There is an eternal conflict between Indian and British interests. It follows that their notions of defence would also differ. The British Government has no trust in India's political parties. The Indian army has been maintained up till now mainly to hold India in subjugation. It has been completely segregated from the general population who can in no sense regard it as their own. This policy of mistrust still continues and is the reason why national defence is not entrusted to India's elected representatives. Japan's quarrel is not with India. She is warring against the British Empire. India's participation in the war has not been with the consent of the representatives of the Indian people. It was purely a British act. If India were freed her first step would probably be to negotiate with Japan. The Congress is of opinion that if the British withdrew from India, India would be able to defend herself in the event of Japanese or any aggressor attacking India.

The A. I. C. C. is, therefore, of opinion that the British should withdraw from India. The plea that they should remain in India for protecting the Indian Princes is wholly untenable. It is additional proof of their determination to maintain their hold over India. The Princes need have no fear from unarmed India.

The question of majority and minority is a creation of the British Government and would disappear on their withdrawal. For all these reasons the Committee appeals to Britain for the sake of her own safety, for the sake of India's safety and for the cause of world peace to let go her hold on India even if she does not give up all Asiatic and African possessions.

This Committee desires to assure the Japanese Government and people that India bears no enmity either towards Japan or towards any other nation. India only desires freedom from all alien domination. But in this fight for freedom the Committee is of opinion that India while welcoming universal sympathy does not stand in need of foreign military aid. India will attain her freedom through her non-violent strength and will retain it likewise. Therefore the Committee hopes that Japan will not have any designs on India. But if Japan attacks India and Britain makes no response to its appeal the Committee would expect all those who look to Congress for guidance to offer complete non-violent non-co-operation to the Japanese forces and not render any assistance to them. It is no part of the duty of those who are attacked to render any assistance to the attacker. It is their duty to offer complete non-co-operation. It is not difficult to understand the simple principle of non-violent non-co-operation:—

1. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders.
2. We may not look to him for any favours nor fall to his bribes. But we may not bear him any malice nor wish him ill.

3. If he wishes to take possession of our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist him.

4. If he is attacked by disease or is dying of thirst and seeks our aid we may not refuse it.

5. In such places where the British and Japanese forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. At present our non-co-operation with the British Government is limited. Were we to offer them complete non-co-operation when they are actually fighting, it would be tantamount to placing our country deliberately in Japanese hands. Therefore not to put any obstacle in the way of the British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the Japanese. Neither may we assist the British in any active manner. If we can judge from their recent attitude, the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. They desire our help only as slaves—a position we can never accept.

It is necessary for the Committee to make a clear declaration in regard to the scorched earth policy. If, in spite of our non-violent resistance, any part of the country falls into Japanese hands we may not destroy our crops, water supply, etc., if only because it will be our endeavour to regain them. The destruction of war material is another matter and may under certain circumstances be a military necessity. But it can never be the Congress policy to destroy what belongs to or is of use to the masses.

Whilst non-co-operation against the Japanese forces will necessarily be limited to a comparatively small number and must succeed if it is complete and genuine, the true building up of Swaraj consists in the millions of India wholeheartedly working the constructive programme. Without it the whole nation cannot rise from its age-long torpor. Whether the British remain or not it is our duty always to wipe out unemployment, to bridge the gulf between rich and poor, to banish communal strife, to exercise the demon of untouchability, to reform dacoits and save the people from them. If crores of people do not take a living interest in this nation-building work, freedom must remain a dream and unattainable by either non-violence or violence.

Foreign soldiers

The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that it is harmful to India's interest and dangerous to the cause of India's freedom to introduce foreign soldiers in India. It therefore appeals to the British Government to remove these foreign legions and henceforth stop further introduction. It is a crying shame to bring foreign troops in spite of India's inexhaustible manpower and is a proof of the immorality that British imperialism is.

Appendix B.

All-India Congress Committee Resolution, May 1, 1942

In view of the imminent peril of invasion that confronts India, and the attitude of the British Government, as shown again in the recent proposals sponsored by Sir Stafford Cripps, the All India Congress Committee has to declare after India's policy and to advise the people in regard to the action to be undertaken in the emergencies that may arise in the immediate future.

The proposals of the British Government and their subsequent elucidation by Sir Stafford Cripps have led to greater bitterness and distrust of that Government and the spirit of non-co-operation with Britain has grown. They have demonstrated that even in this hour of danger, not only to India but to the cause of the United Nations, the British Government functions as an imperialist Government and refuses to recognize the independence of India or to part with any real power.

India's participation in the war was a purely British act imposed upon the Indian people without the consent of their representatives. While India has no quarrel with the people of any country, she has repeatedly declared her antipathy to Nazism and Racism as to imperialism. If India were free she would have determined her own policy and might have kept out of the war though her sympathies would, in any event, have been with the victims of aggression. If, however, circumstances had led her to join the war, she would have done so as a free country fighting for freedom, and her defence would have been organized on a popular basis with a national army under national control and leadership, and with intimate contacts with the people. A free India would know how to defend herself in the event of any aggressor attacking her. The present Indian Army is in fact an off-shoot of the British Army and has been maintained till now

mainly to hold India in subjection. It has been completely segregated from the general population, who can in no sense regard it as their own. The essential difference between the imperialist and the popular conceptions of defence is demonstrated by the fact that while foreign armies are invited to India for that defence, the vast manpower of India herself is not utilized for the purpose. India's past experience teaches her that it is harmful to her interest and dangerous to the cause of her freedom to introduce foreign armies in India. It is significant and extraordinary that India's inexhaustible manpower should remain untapped while India develops into a battle-ground between foreign armies fighting on her soil or on her frontiers, and her defence is not supposed to be a subject fit for popular control. India resents this treatment of her people as chattels to be disposed of by foreign authority.

The All-India Congress Committee is convinced that India will attain her freedom through her own strength and will retain it likewise. The present crisis, as well as the experience of the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, makes it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain, even in a partial measure, British control and authority in India. Not only the interests of India but also Britain's safety, and world peace and freedom demand that Britain must abandon her hold on India. It is on the basis of independence alone that India can deal with Britain or other nations.

The Committee repudiates the idea that freedom can come to India through interference or invasion by any foreign nation, whatever the professions of that nation may be. In case an invasion takes place it must be resisted. Such resistance can only take the form of non-violent non-co-operation as the British Government has prevented the organization of national defence by the people in any other way. The Committee would therefore expect the people of India to offer completed non-violent non-co-operation to the invading forces and not to render any assistance to them. We may not bend the knee to the aggressor nor obey any of his orders. We may not look to him for favours nor fall to his bribes. If he wishes to take possession of our homes and our fields we will refuse to give them up even if we have to die in the effort to resist them. In places wherein the British and the invading forces are fighting our non-co-operation will be fruitless and unnecessary. Not to put any obstacle in the way of British forces will often be the only way of demonstrating our non-co-operation with the invader. Judging from their attitude the British Government do not need any help from us beyond our non-interference. The success of such a policy of non-co-operation and non-violent resistance to the invader will largely depend on the intensive working out of the Congress constructive programme and more especially the programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection in all parts of the country.

APPENDIX II

Mr. Rajagopalachari's letter of July 18th, 1942, to Mr. Gandhi :—

"Madras, July 18, 1942.—Dear Mahatma! We have carefully read the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Working Committee at Wardha on July 14, which is to be placed before the meeting of the A. I. C. C. next month. In view of the far-reaching consequences of the adoption of this resolution, we feel it our duty, having worked with you since 1920, to place before you our considered views in this matter. While there can be no difference of view over India's demand for complete freedom from foreign domination, the idea of the withdrawal of Government being automatically replaced by another Government is altogether impossible. The State is not a mere superstructure, but is so intimately bound up with the functioning of every activity of the people that the withdrawal of the Government without a simultaneous replacement by another must involve a dissolution of the State and of society itself. It is unnatural for any Government to withdraw without transferring power to a successor by consent or without being forcibly replaced by another. The formation of a provisional Government as well as the convening of the constituent assembly are possible only if the continuity of the State is assured.

"We feel, therefore, that, however difficult of achievement the Hindu-Muslim settlement may be, while the British Government is here and functioning, it is essential that, before a demand for withdrawal can be reasonably made, the major political organizations of this country, namely, the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, should evolve a joint plan with regard to the provisional Government which can take over power and preserve the continuity of the State. Even if we imagine that the British could ever under moral compulsion be made to withdraw uncondi-

tionally, we are convinced that the chaos that would follow under existing conditions would not permit within any reasonable time the formation of a provisional Government such as you contemplate.

"We consider it wrong to formulate a demand which, if complied with, must necessarily lead to anarchy or to frame a programme of widespread self-indicted suffering based on the refusal of such a demand.

"Your proposal that while the civil power may be withdrawn, the British and Allied forces may continue in India in anticipation of a treaty with a problematical provisional Indian Government will only lead to the exercise of all governmental functions by the military forces. This will happen if only for their own safety and effective functioning. They are further likely to be urged towards this step by local chieftains and suffering people. This would be the reinstallation of the British Government in a worse form.

"In spite of these objections we might have submitted to your proposal if only because of the fact that the British are not going to withdraw, and in actual operation the movement would amount to a nationwide protest against the existing Government and may be productive of a satisfactory settlement in due course. But the critical international situation in which India is directly involved makes it certain that the party to gain immediately by the movement will be Japan. If the movement could possibly displace the British Government, installing a national government capable of resisting Japanese aggression, it might be worth while taking all risks attached to it. But, as this result is not even remotely probable, it will only produce more intense and large-scale repression and suffering which will facilitate Japanese invasion and occupation.

"It is hardly likely that the authorities will allow the movement to proceed under central direction in an orderly and direct fashion. Even if we do not mind sporadic violence that may result from lack of proper control, there is another serious danger. When responsible leaders are removed and their guidance is no longer available the movement can easily be taken advantage of by the enemy and be converted into a fifth column activity on his behalf.

"Any movement started by you would have commanded our loyal participation, in spite of differences of opinion, if the movement did not involve such grave consequences as pointed out above. Our conviction is strong enough to make it our duty publicly to oppose the proposal on these grounds. But it may be thought and bring about a fresh approach towards a political settlement for India without actually plunging the country in direct action. In order that any step on our part may not lessen this chance we refrain from giving public expression to our opposition but send this letter to entreat you to desist from taking the steps you have undertaken." (Sd.) C. Rajagopalachari, K. Santhanam, S. Ramanathan, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan.

Mr. Gandhi's Reply

Sevagram, Wardha, July 20, 1942.—"My dear C. R., I was about to write to you when your letter came. Of course, I understand and appreciate the exquisite consideration running through your letter. I invite you all four to come here and pour out your love and argument to wear me from what appears to be an error. Anyway your monthly visit is due. You can come any day you like. What I wanted to write to you about was this. Why don't you form a league with Muslim friends to propagate your idea of settlement? Have you Q. A.'s reply to my note? Do you accept his definition of Pakistan? What is the common idea about independence? Surely you should have a common understanding over fundamental matters before you come to an agreement. Let not your fear of the Japs betray you into a worse state of things. But more of all this when you come. Love to you all. Bapu."

APPENDIX III (1)

Text of the resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee at Wardha on 15th July 1942:—

The events happening from day to day and the experience that the people of India are passing through confirm the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must end immediately, not merely because foreign domination even at its best is an evil in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and in affecting the fortunes of the war that is desolating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India, but also for the safety of the world and

for the ending of Nazism, Fascism, militarism and other forms of imperialism, and war, the Congress has studiously pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its satyagraha ineffective, it deliberately gave it a symbolic character in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment carried to its logical extreme would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It had also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to tighten Britain's hold on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed to pieces. The abortive Cripps' proposals showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed. In the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, the Congress Representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. This frustration has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms.

The Working Committee view this development with grave apprehension as this, unless checked, will inevitably lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee hold that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjection. The Congress is anxious to avoid the experience of Malaya, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on or invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign Power. The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into goodwill and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations and peoples of the world and in the trials and tribulations which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign power and only after the ending of foreign domination and intervention, can the present unreality give place to reality and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them on a mutually agreed basis.

The present political parties formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British power, will then probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, the realisation will come home that the princes, 'jagirdars', zamindars and propertied and monied classes derive their wealth and power from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government, representative of all important sections of the people of India which will later evolve a scheme by which a constituent Assembly can be convened in order to prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of free India and representatives of Great Britain will confer together for the adjustment of future relations and for the co-operation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression.

It is the earnest desire of the Congress to enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it. In making the proposal for the withdrawal of the British rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied powers in their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increase pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the Allied powers. The Congress is, therefore, agreeable to the stationing of the armed forces of the Allies in India, should they so desire in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression and to protect and help China. The proposal of withdrawal of the British power from India and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live as citizens and as equals with the others. If such a withdrawal takes place with goodwill it would result in the establishing of a stable provisional government in India and co-operation between this government and the united nations in resisting aggression and helping China. The Congress realises that there

may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially at the present juncture in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over from far greater risks and perils. While, therefore, the Congress is impatient to achieve the national purpose it wishes to take no hasty steps and would like to avoid, in so far as is possible, any course of action that might embarrass the United Nations. The Congress would be pleased with the British power if it accepts the very reasonable and just proposal herein made not only in the interest of India but also that of Britain and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence. Should, however, this appeal fail the Congress cannot involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and the weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to utilise all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1930 when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of the political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. As issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations the Working Committee refer them to the All-India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A. I. C. C. will meet in Bombay on the 7th of August, 1942.

APPENDIX III (2)

Text of the resolution adopted by the All-India Congress Committee on 8th August 1942

"The All-India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1942 and to subsequent events including the development of the war situation, and criticisms made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution, and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further justification, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuation of that rule is degrading and humiliating India and making her progressively less capable of defending herself and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

"The Committee has viewed with dismay the deterioration of the situation on the Russian and Chinese peoples its high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathise with the victims of aggression, to examine the foundations of the policy so far pursued by the Allied Nations, which have led to repeated and disastrous failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom so much as on the domination of subject and Colonial countries, and the continuation of the Imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become the crux of the burden and a curse. India, the classic land of modern Imperialism, has become the focus of the question, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the peoples of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

"The ending of British rule in this country is thus a vital and immediate issue on which depended the future of the war and the success of freedom and democracy. A free India will assume this success by throwing all her great resources in the struggle for freedom and against the aggression of Nazism, Fascism and Imperialism. This will not only affect materially the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give these nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India in bondage will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the cause of that Imperialism will affect the United Nations.

"The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British dominations. No future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or meet that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the flow of freedom now can release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

"The A. I. C. C., therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional Government will be formed and free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the joint enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional Government can only be formed by the co-operation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary functions must be to defend India and resist aggression with all the armed as well as the non-violent forces at its command, together with its Allied Powers and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially all power and authority must belong. The provisional Government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the Government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one. With the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units and with the residuary power vesting in these units, the future relations between India and the Allied Nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their co-operation in the common task of resisting aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

"The freedom of India must be the symbol of and pride to this freedom of all other Asiatic nations under foreign domination. Burma, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other Colonial power.

"While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and defence of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the future peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other basis can the problems of the modern world be saved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of its constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by one nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

"An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and co-operate on an equal basis with the countries in the solution of international problems.

"Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must inevitably, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations, such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

"The Committee regretfully realizes, however, that despite the tragic and overwhelming lessons of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the Government of few countries are yet prepared to take this inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the misguided criticism of the foreign Press also make it clear that even the obvious demand for India's independence is resisted, though this has been made essentially to meet in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to embarrass in any way the defence of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardise the defensive capacity of the United Nations. But the peril grows both to India and these nations, and in action and submission to a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression but is no answer to that growing peril and is no service to the peoples of the United Nations. The earnest appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response and the criticisms made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to India's freedom, which is significant of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

"The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this last moment, in the interest of world freedom, renew this appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperialist and authoritarian Government which dominates over it and prevents it from functioning in its own interest and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves, therefore, for the vindication of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lines on the widest possible scale, so that the country might utilize all the non-violent struggle it has gathered during the last 22 years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the nation in the steps to be taken.

"The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall to their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhiji and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of the movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to issue instructions or for instructions to reach our people, and when no Congress Committees can function. When this happens every man and woman who is participating in this movement must function for himself or herself within the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who desires freedom and strives for it must be his own guide urging him on along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

"Lastly, whilst the A. I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future governance under free India, the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on a mass struggle, it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India."

APPENDIX IV

Confidential. Andhra Provincial Congress Committee

Bezawada, 29th July 1942.
 The following instructions are issued to all D. C. Cs. The Presidents and the Secretaries are requested to undertake organisation work immediately on the lines suggested hereunder. But it is open to the D. C. Cs. to supplement the items or alter the lines of organisation subject to the conditions in para, below. The D. C. Cs. are requested to send their first report by 8th August 1942 and a report every week thereafter without fail.

The success of the movement when it starts will very much depend on the tempo we can give it at a swift pace from the time it begins. For this the organisation should not only be effective but also should be entrusted to capable hands and arranged in succession wherever possible.

The President and the Secretary of the P. C. C. will tour the districts and will be in active touch with the developments as long as they happen to be free.

The D. C. Cs. are also requested to pool together immediately all the amounts due from primary members. The quota due to the P. C. C. must be sent by about the 4th August, 1942.

If donations are collected anywhere for Congress work 25 per cent should be sent at once to the P. C. C. Even when the P. C. C. partakes in the collections work the same proportion will be claimed.

(1) The whole movement is based on non-violence. No act which contravenes this instruction should ever be undertaken.

All acts of disobedience committed should be overt and never covert (open but not under cover).

(2) Organisation.—The district may be divided into convenient groups based on Revenue divisions or Taluks and should be placed under an organiser. The organiser should be given the assistance of select Congress workers who will actively arrange the details—place, date and the persons. Consolidated lists of those organisations with available details should be sent to the P. C. C. office immediately.

The following suggestions can be followed immediately—

1. Collect information as regards items of programme—portmanteaus with today yielding trees and natural salt depots, liquor shops, railway stations, Telegraph and Telephone lines, troop locations, recruiting centres, etc.
2. Names of persons put in charge of various items of organisation work should be listed.

- III. Organise public meetings and intensive propaganda in villages at once. Congress resolutions and replies to counter-propaganda must be widely circulated. Printing work may not be possible. Duplicators may be used. Material can be gathered but will also be supplemented from time to time from the P. C. C.
- (3) The form of disobedience may be individual, generalised individual, or mass. Items of the programme :
- Group I.—First stage—
- (a) Breaking of prohibitory orders.
 - (b) Picking salt.
 - (c) Continuing openly to be members of unlawful associations.
- Group II.—Second Stage—
- (a) Items of non-cooperation—
Lawyers to leave practice.
Students to leave colleges.
Jurors and Assessors not to respond summons.
 - (b) Government officers including village officers to resign their jobs.
- Group III.—Third Stage—
- Arranging labour strikes.
- Group IV.—Fourth Stage—
- (a) Picketing of foreign cloth shops.
 - (b) Liquor shops.
 - (c) Foreign concerns in trade and industry.
- Group V.—Fifth Stage—
- The following items are not prohibited but not encouraged and to be considered at this stage only :—
- (1) Stopping trains by pulling chains only.
 - (2) Travel without tickets.
 - (3) Cutting today yielding trees.
 - (4) Cutting telegraph and telephone wires.
- N. B.—Rails should not be removed or permanent way obstructed. No danger to life, should be a great caution. (sic).
- Group VI.—Practically the last stage—
- (a) Non-payment of taxes excluding Municipal taxes. Especially Zamindari rent should not be paid if the Zamindar will not join the movement.
 - (b) Picketing of troops.

Convictions.—When people are sent to jail, they need not keep quiet as usual. But they should continue disobedience here also through work and lock out strikes (sic). Hunger strikes also should be undertaken, but voluntarily, on personal risk of the individual as it may lead to the glory of self immolation.

Warning.—99 out of 100 chances are for the inauguration of this movement by Mahatmaji at an early date, possibly a few hours after the next All-India Congress Committee meeting at Bombay. The D. C. Cs. should be alert and begin to act immediately. But please also take note that no movement should be launched or any overt act done till Mahatmaji decides. After all he may decide otherwise and you will be responsible for a great unwarranted mistake. Be ready, organise at once, be alert but by no means act.

APPENDIX V

A comparison of the "A. I. C. C. twelve-point programme" with Mr. Gandhi's pre-arrest writings and statements

"12-Point" Programme,

Instruction (1).—There shall be a hartal throughout the country in all the cities and villages of India. The hartal will be peaceful. The hartal will be country's protest against the arrest of Gandhiji, the Congress President and members of the Working Committee. It will also be symbol of our determination to carry on the struggle, which started with the arrest of Gandhiji, to its successful conclusion. If participation in a hartal carries with it any penalties, they should be cheerfully borne.

There will be a meeting in the evening in villages and cities where we shall deliver the Congress messages "Quit-India". If there are bans on the meetings, they should be resisted.

Instruction (2).—Salt is a prime necessity of our life. Our countrymen should consider themselves free to manufacture it wherever they can do so

whether in coastal or inland areas. Laws prohibiting the manufacture should be resisted and all consequences taken.

Instruction (3).—"Our struggle is 'non-violent non-cooperation' on the widest possible scale. The teeming millions that inhabit the 700,000 villages form the backbone of our struggle. They have the biggest and most vital part to play. Let them withhold all co-operation from the alien administration that reduced them to servitude and abject poverty. Let them when the time comes withhold payment of all revenue to the Government. Where there is zamindari system, the zamindar may be given his share of the revenue provided he throws in his lot with the people and refuses all co-operation with the Government."

Instruction (4).—"The students are the vanguard of our struggle. It is their solemn and sacred task to rouse and awaken and vitalise the dumb millions from one end of the country to the other. It is unthinkable that they can be passive spectators of the grand fight for freedom that is going on about them. Let students above all leave their colleges and universities and conduct the non-violent struggle to its victorious conclusion. They are the intelligentsia of the country and know full well how our leader wants them to act. Our leaders have been arrested. The few that remain will soon be clapped, if worse does not befall them. Students alone can fittingly supply the gap. There is no doubt they will prove worthy of the great call that has come to them."

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"As to salt famine, the law is not quite on the people's side, but the right is wholly on their side. I would advise them to manufacture salt even at the risk of prosecution. Necessity knows no law."—*Harjan* (28-4-42).

"The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character mentioned (*vide*) breach of salt laws, calling out Government servants and labour) are included."—*Harjan* (26-7-42).

"Non-violent non-cooperation is the most effective substitute for every kind of violent warfare. If the whole nation takes to non-violent action, it can be wholly successful."—*Harjan* (26-4-42).

"What I am hoping and striving for is an irresistible mass urge on the part of the people and an intelligent response on the part of all privileged classes to the popular demand."—*Harjan* (14-6-42).

"If the (British) withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure. Thus we can disown the authority of the British rulers by refusing taxes and in a variety of ways."—*Harjan* (5-7-42).

"As regards students, I have not formulated my plans as yet and I do not want them to join this struggle for the moment, but I wish that the students and professors should imbibe the spirit of freedom. They should stand by the Congress and should have the courage to say they are for the Congress. When they get the call, they should cheerfully abandon their studies and their careers and support the movement whole-heartedly."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"12-Point" Programme.

Instruction (5)—"The members of the Government services are faced with a choice. In this titanic clash between the people and the alien Government, what is their place? Must they earn their livelihood by betraying their country at a time when it is engaged in a mortal and deadly struggle? Is it part of their duty to suppress, to betray the people? Do they like to have the blessing of the present and future generations or their curses? The days of the administration which is giving them their bread and butter are now numbered. Why lean on a broken reed?

If those who do not have the strength to resign their jobs have at least the courage to say 'no' to all orders that are designed to suppress and crush out people. If the saying of 'no' involves dismissal let it be cheerfully courted. Every such dismissal will be a nail in the coffin of the Empire that is throttling us."

Instruction (6).—"As Gandhi! said let every soldier in the army consider himself a Congressman. If his officer issues an order which hurts his conscience as Congressman let him disobey them and take the consequences cheerfully. It can be no part of their duty to take charge, fear gas or shoot non-violent crowds, peaceful processions or meetings. India hopefully looks to them to play worthy part in the great struggle. The fellow soldiers in other lands fraternised

with the people when they rose in revolt against misrule and oppression whether indigenous or foreign. Let the Indian soldiers follow their glorious example. *Instruction (7)*—The Indian States are a part and parcel of India. The struggle today is as much theirs as of the so called British India. Gandhi! at the A. I. C. C. issued an appeal to the Princes to make common cause with the Indian people and throw off the common yoke. Whatever the response of the Princes to Gandhi's appeal let our brothers in Indian States make the struggle their own. Their fight today is not with the Princes but with the alien master who is keeping them and the people in subjection. If the Princes side with the alien masters it will be the painful duty of the people to wage a struggle against a combination of the Princes and the alien master.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. Therefore undoubtedly the things you have mentioned (*viz.*, breach of salt laws, calling out Government servants and Labour) are included."—*Harjan* (26-7-42).

"There is no need for the Government servants to resign, but they should write to Government to say that they are with the Congress."—A. I. C. C. meeting Bombay (8-8-42).

"The sepoy should also declare that they belonged to the Congress, but that they were working for their livelihood, and, if they were asked to shoot Indians, they should refuse to do so saying that they are prepared to fight the Japanese."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"Will the Princes march with the times or must they remain tied to the Imperial chariot-wheel? If they take their courage with both their hands and make common cause with the nation, they can run the risk of dispossession. Will the Princes and princely landholders and merchants take the lead. It is for them to take the lead, not for the have-nots. If the 'haves,' who are in fact the pillars on which the mighty British Power rests, can realise their obvious duty the British Power must yield. It was because I had despaired of response from the pillars, that I have thought of moving the masses on whom the pillars rest."—*Harjan* (2-8-42).

"Princes are the creation of the British Power. Their number may be 600 or more. They are created by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian and British India. The Congress claims to represent them as well. Whatever the Princes may say their people will acclaim that we have been asking for the very thing that they want. If we carry on this struggle in the way I want it, the Princes will get more through it than they can ever expect. I have met some Princes and they have stated their helplessness by saying that we are more free than they are because they can be removed by the Paramount Power."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (7-8-42).

"12-point" Programme.

Instruction—(8) Gandhi! has time and again stressed the vital and decisive part that our womenfolk can play in the non-violent struggle. It is for them to justify Gandhi's faith in them. If they bring to the struggle the non-violent sacrifice and suffering of which they are capable our struggle will inevitably be short and swift. Let it fall to them to infuse and energise the people of India at the fateful period in her history.

Instruction (9)—Let every man and woman in the country carry on his or her person a badge bearing the motto "Do or Die". This will proclaim our determination to be free or perish in the attempt to be free.

Instruction (10)—This is a struggle in which all Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians have to participate. Freedom's struggle knows no communal or racial distinctions. If there must be competition between Communities let it be one in sacrifice and suffering for the great cause.

Extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"Let the Princes know that I am their well-wisher from the bottom of my heart. The Princes should rise to the occasion. They must part with responsibility of administration to their subjects. Let them read the sign of the times. If they fail to do this, they will have no quarter in a free India. Let the Princes shear themselves of their autocracy. Their only chance of survival depends on the goodwill of their people. I would venture to ask the Princes whether they are not equally anxious to see India free. If the answer is in the affirmative, let them come forward. If the answer is in the negative, then I do not hesitate to say that

even the Paramount Power will not be able to come to their rescue because the Power itself will not be there. Responsible Government should immediately be conferred on their subjects."—A. I. C. C. meeting. Bombay (8-8-42).

"If they (the Allies) don't (do the initial act of justice and put their case on unassailable basis), they must face the opposition of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it."—*Hurrian* (2-8-42).
 "If I could turn India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the direction of non-violence I should do so. But that feat mere human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hands. For me I can but do or die."—*Hurrian* (3-8-42).

"You have to forsake wife, friends, forsake everything in the world.....Even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead, not for India's sake alone, but for the sake of the world..... I have pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

"I wish all conflicting elements and interests will make a combined effort to India of foreign domination."—*Hurrian* (24-5-42).

"The fight has been conceived in the interest of the whole of India.....They will fight not to seize power but to end the foreign domination cost what it may.....The movement has only one aim—that is displacing British power.....Why should not Muslim who believe in Pakistan but also believe in Independent India join such a struggle?"—*Hurrian* (12-7-42).

"12-Point" Programme.

*Preamble and instruction (11).—*With the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi every man and woman in India is his successor. Victory or death should be the motto of every son and daughter of India. If we live we live as free men, if we die we die as free men. "There can be no rest for us so long as Gandhi is in jail." This is our final struggle. If all do their duty, the struggle should finish in two months time. All classes of men are called upon to join the fight. Millions have to move and break the chains that bind India. The struggle will include all activities that a non-violent mass struggle can include. Let our struggle gather momentum from day to day till it becomes an irresistible force and we regard our previous heritage. Let us be true to the message which Gandhi has left us : Do or Die."

Ending of foreign rule is our objective. Whatever helps in the attainment of that objective, subject to inexorable condition of non-violence, is permissible and legitimate. People in the Provinces have to devise and adopt all non-violent ways of paralysing the administration. Every man is his own guide and leader. All Provinces have full Provincial autonomy in the matter of carrying on the struggle. Let them remain true to non-violence and all will be well with the struggle. There is no place for fear in the struggle : it should be banished from our minds and hearts. Each one of us should feel and assert that he is a free man. Suffering that comes our way as a consequence of this assertion and our action on it shall be cheerfully borne. Our leaders have done their part, it is for those who are left out to do theirs. The burden of carrying on the struggle falls on them. Let them carry their burden worthily.

Excerpts from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.

"I ask for a bloodless end of an unnatural domination and for a new era."—*Hurrian* (17-5-42).

"British rule in India in any shape or form must end. Hitherto the rulers have said, 'We would gladly retire if we know to whom we should hand over the reins. My answer is, Leave India to God. If that is too much, leave her to anarchy.'"—*Hurrian* (24-5-42).

"Nor is waiting possible till hatred abates. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause gone, hatred must cease.....In this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease which has sapped our manhood and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an insufferable thing. The cost of the cure, I know, is heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance."—*Hurrian* (21-5-42).

"We want the (British) rule to end altogether, for that is the poison that corrupts all it touches, that is the obstacle that stops all progress. And what is needed for this are two things—the knowledge that the domination is a greater evil than any other evil that we can think of and that we have to get rid of it no matter what it may cost.....Next is the will to throw off the chains.....That (the

resistant anarchy) is the consideration that has weighed with me all these 22 years. I waited and waited until the country should develop the non-violent strength necessary to throw off the foreign yoke. But my attitude has now undergone a change. I feel that I cannot afford to wait. If I continue to wait, I will have to wait till doomsday. For the preparation I have prayed for and worked for may never come, and in the meantime I may be enveloped and overwhelmed by the flames that threaten all of us. That is why I have decided that even at certain risks which are obviously involved I must ask the people to resist the slavery. The people have not my Ahimsa, but mine should help them. There is ordered anarchy that may result because of the British withdrawal or their refusal to listen to us and our decision to defy their authority will in no way be worse than the present anarchy. After all those who are unarmed cannot produce a frightful amount of violence or anarchy. But to be passive witnesses of the terrible violence that is going on in the name of resisting a possible foreign aggression is a thing I cannot stand. I am also sure that those who cannot, or will not, understand me will do so in the light of experience. e., if they survive the present catastrophe. —M. D.'s report of Gandhi's address to the Rashtriya Yuva Sangh. —*Harjan* (7-6-42).

"Our arrests would work up the movement, they would stir everyone in India to do his little bit. My invitation to the British to withdraw is not an idle one. It has to be made good by the sacrifice of the invaders. —"

"Strikes can be and have been non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be assisted. What I am hoping and striving for is an irresistible mass urge on the part of the people and an intelligent response on the part of the privileged classes to the popular demand. But because I know that this picture is for the time being imaginary, I am quite prepared for the worst. Hence my statement that I would end the present state of things even at the risk of anarchy reigning supreme in the land. —"

"I have been working for it (the end of the British rule in India) for years. But now it has taken definite shape and I say that the British Power in India should go today for the world peace. (The next move) will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of the British troops but it is sure to engage British attention. I do not know if what is wanted is relaxation of civil grip I want undiminished independence. If the military activity serves but to strengthen the strangle-hold I must resist that too. —"

"If the withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure. —Thus we can disown the authority of the British rulers by refusing taxes and in a variety of ways. —*Harjan* (5-7-42).

"I am not going to make a call on the Khadi workers. But if there is a general conflagration, Khadi workers cannot escape it. —You must also understand that I am not thinking of civil disobedience or non-cooperation of old. —No hard and fast rules can be laid down this time. —*Harjan* (5-7-42).

"My proposal presupposes shedding of all fear and distrust. —All this may not come to pass. I do not mind. It is worth fighting for, it is worth staking all that the nation has. —*Harjan* (5-7-42).

"Why should you shove all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an overdue debt and that too just when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life? —"

"It will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character. —It will include all that a mass movement can include. —I am not going to court imprisonment. —It is too soft a thing. We had no doubt made it a business to court imprisonment up to now, but there will be no such thing this time. My intention is to make the thing as short and swift as possible. —*Harjan* (19-7-42).

"12-Point" Programme.
Instruction (12). —Last but not the least let us not forget spinning so dear to Gandhiji. If millions spin it will administer a powerful stimulus to struggle.

Extract from Mr. Gandhi's writings or statements.
 "The programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. I shall handle the movement gently but I would

not hesitate to go to the extremist limit, if I find that no impression is produced over the British Government or the Allied Powers.....(It will be) my biggest movement.....(With the arrests of leaders) it should gain strength, if it has any vitality."—*Hartjan* (26-7-42).

"For a swift ending a general strike is necessary. It is not outside my contemplation, but seeing that I shall take every step in terms of my oft-repeated declaration that a mass struggle is not conceived in any INIMICAL spirit, I shall move with utmost caution. And if a general strike becomes a dire necessity, I shall not flinch."—Press interview, Bombay (6-8-42).

"This is the last struggle of my life. Delay is injurious and waiting any further would be humiliation for all of us. Our struggle is about to start. But before launching the movement I will address a letter to the Viceroy and wait for his reply. It will take a week, a fortnight or three weeks. In the meantime we will have, apart from carrying out the thirteen points of the Congress Constitutive Programme, to observe the following code:—

Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. He must be ready for the actual attainment of freedom or perish in the attempt. His attitude towards life should be that he is a free man.....There is no compromise on the demand for freedom. Freedom first and then only the rest. Do not be cowards, because cowards have no right to live. Freedom should be your 'mantra' and you should chant it."—A. I. C. C. meeting, Bombay (8-8-42).

APPENDIX VI

The "A. I. C. C." instructions for a no-tax, no-rent, no-grain campaign

During the last three months the Indian people have risen to new heights of resistance of the usurper authority. While the towns were the first to flare up into flames, it was inevitable that they should be overpowered with superior military force. But the most heartening feature of our revolution is the spontaneous extension of our field of action from the towns into the countryside. It is not easy to paralyse the civil administration in the towns for any considerable length of time, mainly because civil administration can stand on the support of dayonets and machine guns. Besides industrial general strike is the core of urban resistance. If it is not possible to maintain such general strike urban resistance is bound to collapse. The spirit of revolt can, however, be kept alive by a continuous programme of specific defiance.

2. In the rural areas civil administration is not backed by the same overpowering superiority of military and police force. Therefore in the first month or two rural India brought the apparatus of civil administration to a standstill. The war on communications (railroads, telegraph and motor roads) prevented the enemy from concentrating his military might and distances because the strongest weapon of the revolution. This phase of the struggle lasted for over two months and even to-day resistance is spreading to newer areas where civil administration has been rendered ineffective. This situation is, however, not as extensive as it should be. Bihar and Eastern U. P. were the first to lead the way. It is only now that gradually the spirit and technique of this revolt are spreading all over India. But it has brought the full fury of police and military violence on those areas which had completely overthrown the usurper authority. A period of military reconquest ushered in the worst excesses to history. Looting and burning of villages, rape and raptine on a mass scale, machine-gunning and even aerial attacks with such weapons the gangs-ter that these indiscriminate and ruthless atrocities are a sign of weakness. It is the last resort of a collapsing authority.

Unfortunately the primary impulse of revolt could not be extended continuously from one district to another, or from one province to the next. The rural areas were thrown on the defensive. Repression could not break the iron will of our leading cadres. But the spontaneous up-surge of entire villages was suppressed for the time being.

On the other hand the inhuman barbarity of British authority has widened the gulf between the people and the agents of this regime. Today there is a conscious hatred of the foreign rulers where before there was a vague groping for a way out of existing hardships. But all the same over wide areas it is not immediately practicable to launch another offensive against this regime, based on a spontaneous mass action of the people as a whole. The core of resistance is still unbroken but a reorganisation of our forces has become necessary. Such a reorganisation is the essential preliminary to a renewed assault which would bring civil administration to an end

and render the tax collecting agency ineffective and effete. This task devolves upon :—
 (a) Those active congress workers who have spread the fire of revolt in the country-
 side and have still remained free, (b) those students who have left their colleges and
 schools and who have taken up the leadership of rural revolt, (c) those newer ele-
 ments from among the rural and urban workers who have been fired into activity
 by the events of the last three months, (d) and those adventurous elements who
 have found a new worth-whileness in struggle; all these forces must combine
 to tackle the tasks of reorganisation for a fresh offensive.
 Our ranks have been depleted; our resources, in the form of local assistance in
 rural areas, and active enthusiastic support from village young men have been re-
 duced by repression. With such resources as we have we can yet set ourselves the
 task of rekindling the fire on a more extensive scale. The time for tax collection is
 approaching and the business of administration will be extended on a scale which
 cannot be supported by threats of military and police action at all points.
 March and round about months of 1943 will almost decide the fate of the Indian
 Revolution. It is during this period that the usurper Government will collect its
 land tax throughout the country. If this can be made an occasion for mass-damage,
 ordination and simultaneous action in all the Provinces and districts of the country,
 Land-tax is important to the usurpers not only for the income that it yields
 but much more so for its administrative value. On land-tax alone hinges the rural
 administration of the British in India with its revenue officer and law courts and
 police stations. In resisting the land-tax we must therefore be clear about its revo-
 lutionary value. We must plan to go beyond our former no-tax campaigns. In
 former campaigns, the peasantry merely refused to pay the tax willingly, but per-
 mitted the revenue officers and the police to attach lands and other property. This
 must not happen. It must be a total resistance. The peasantry must obstruct
 the revenue and police officers to collect the tax, in fact to enter the village unless
 in the form of a military invasion. Even this can be temporarily rendered ineffective
 by flight into the jungles until the invaders are forced to retire. They can be harass-
 ed in the meantime by cutting their communications and supplies. This can be
 done and instructions will tell you how.

(1) We must start with a campaign for the non-sale of food-crops and cattle.
 It is in the interest of the people themselves that they should ensure an year's stock
 of food, when communications are so un dependable and when the food-prices are so
 unsteady due to the worthlessness of the paper currency.
 (2) Convert all cash into goods. Paper money is a fraud; it will starve the
 peasant as well as other classes. Put no faith in the illusion of well-being created
 by the currency notes.
 (3) In Ryotwari areas there is a struggle between the Government and the
 peasantry. In the Zamindari areas however the question of the landlord does crop
 up.

The landlord should be paid by mutual agreement a small part of the rent which
 will enable him to maintain his family. An informal understanding with his tenants
 will be able to secure for the landlord his reasonable requirements.
 It must however be made clear that the Zamindar must give a preliminary
 undertaking not to pay tax to the government, before the tenants can agree to accept
 the responsibility of maintaining his family. Any attempt on the part of the landlord
 to bend before the British power will be sufficient cause for the tenants to withhold
 all payment by way of rent.
 The A. I. C. C. has declared a moratorium on agricultural debts and interests.
 Arrangements should however be made between creditors and debtors for such pay-
 ments as will enable the creditor and his family to meet their reasonable require-
 ments of food, etc.

Communications should be continuously cut, young men of the village should
 cut wires from now on as a preliminary training. All the time tax-collecting
 is actually attempted communications should be so thoroughly put out of action
 that movements of police and military are rendered very slow and difficult.
 Who would form the Swaraj Panchayats, who would cut the communications,
 who would bring about and maintain the unity among villagers? The most satis-
 factory answer would be the villagers themselves without outside assistance. Just
 give them the idea. But even to do this, we need a fairly large number of active
 propagandists and organisers. These should in the first instance be recruited from :—
 (a) Such Congress and other political workers as are still out and active.
 (b) Students and teachers.

from factories.

(c) Strikers and dismissed workers.
The better type Gadhurs and Bakirs.
(d) Workers of social welfare institutions.
(e) The directors of each Congress province should immediately appoint a man in charge of the campaigns to resist land-tax and for the non-sale of food-crops. His task should be to meet at once, through a deputy to enquire them with the basic idea of the five groups mentioned in each district and to couch them upon the general line of propagandist and other instructions and to pay land-tax to them is sin against God and all prizes forbidden.

Propaganda.—Since the 9th of August and the arrest of Gandhiji and other leaders of these institutional activity.

Organisational activity.—The main lines of propaganda in the villages should be :—

(a) Political.—Since the Congress has declared unrepentant leaders, the British are Mother India, Gandhi, the peasantry to pay Mand-tax. (7) Currency—Collapse.—Sale of paper-notes are unable to buy even one-third of what they become almost valueless. The British of paper-notes without gold or goods instead

(2) *gamble. Already proposed to and they are using to-day existing Government silver or other valuables. Therefore convert your savings into Military in and out of War and aerial. All this will lead to food and cash.* (3) *Danger of Flood and Cloth Flames—The British Eastern Frontier. To-day is to prepare for suicide.*

(2) *India is using up our cotton on our exports or cattle feed. Therefore, to sell crops or cattle feed, we have to bombarding of clothes come on our exports.*

[illegible]

Revenue and Police Officers in the villages. These appeals should be spread the
Notes.—(1) The Peasants of India (2) The landlords (3) The
crops or cattle or to pay land-tax. The appeals should be spread the
Emphasise these three points. The appeals should be spread the
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APPENDIX VII

APPENDIX VII

"THE FREEDOM OF INDIA is stirring as she has never stirred before, and their revolutionary march to freedom and leadership, devoted guidance and planning and woman is deeply

Robbed of organisations, every man is feeling desperate repression, there is no country have established authority with desperate their condemnation, servile to our country in the air—every section, muddled heads that scorch their outburst is impelled to action. Established, uncontrolled and leaderless, the beating which are appalled, But the fact of this outburst is striving to beat down the upheaval of spirit. Undirected, Every individual, bodies that bend to crush this upheaval. Uncontrolled, diverse motives, That strength here. It is the profoundest fact of recent history. That feeling 2. The Nature of the upheaval. Impelled by diverse motives, the masses are surging, heaving, swaying in their own, The appeal is to the individual direct; the every group is acting on its own, The machine become redundant. The active units in this battle are individual, not stirring in his breast direct. The machine makes him rise. The medium of a party or organisational masses for formation dependent for every move on extraneous command. This feature and all-embracing quality which is thrillingly unique in its national and international possibilities. Gandhiji has given us a new technique in revolution. It is ethically superior to all other methods in that it eschews collective massacre and invests the movement with a spontaneity, flexibility and deathlessness, an elemental

entails the minimum of bloodshed. It is a weapon of self-defence, self-expression and liberation of a people, not of territorial aggression or exploitation of another. It is economical in resources in that the enemy is fought, not with a colossal array of costly armour, but by paralysis of its organisation by individual resistance, it is a process of mass education on the most extensive scale offering an inherent guarantee of the permanence of its achievement, in that it strengthens each individual participant by bringing to him a consciousness of his latent power and a realisation of his unity of interest with his fellow fighters. Unity is not to be looked for in a static formula of percentages, but is realisable only through this dynamic struggle, while pursuing an obvious political objective, it simultaneously solves the problems of fear, ignorance and disunity. In laying stress on the common man and awakening him to power, it makes sure that he will be the centre round which the structure of the new state will be raised.

3. *The need for plan.*—There can be no doubt about the essential soundness of this technique. Whatever the opinion about its universal applicability for all militant action, there can be no gainsaying that it is the only feasible method in the present circumstances of this country. But the stress it lays on the individual, which is the secret of its unique efficacy, is also the source of weakness one must most carefully guard. The individual is thrown on his own resources of thought and action. How small these resources are in a suppressed people we know. There are some who would eternally postpone the struggle on that account, forgetting that it is only through struggle that they may enlarge these resources. But this limiting factor dictates the form which the struggle must take. The objective must be immediately appealing to the common man, because immediately satisfying vital lack, (sic) clearly defined, so as to be easily grasped by the masses in intelligence. The ultimate issue, the final goal is perceived and maintained aloft only by a sustained process of reasoning and must be allowed to emerge before the fighting ranks only in careful stages, though a progressive series of secondary and immediate aims. The action demanded to cover each stage must be of the most direct and simplest kind. Else there will be perplexity and false manoeuvrings and despair. The final goal of the struggle must be kept steadily in view of (by ?) some; the stages to its attainment must be carefully set by some. That is the task of planning.

4. *The scope of planning.*—This movement is decentralised, individualistic, anarchical. Yet because it is a movement and not an involuntary explosion of pent-up energy, it has a direction, and its anarchy is deliberate and purposeful. The object of planning is to set the direction, inform and animate the participants with the purpose. But the scope of central direction and control in a movement of this atomistic character is strictly limited. The function of planning in this movement is therefore: It must furnish the ideological perspective at each stage; it must indicate the broad principles which will guide action; and it must provide a general co-ordination of the efforts of groups and individuals, by arranging contracts, dissemination of intelligence, suggesting avoidance of overlapping or mutually cancelling actions. Central direction cannot attempt much the essential quality of this movement. The detailed application of the general principles in concrete acts and manoeuvres must be left to the primary fighting units. The movement will not conform to a uniform pattern in all areas for this reason. Its outward manifestation will exhibit as great a variety as local problems and circumstances will vary. This infinite diversity of expression should be welcome. It is bewildering to the enemy and should be encouraged by working up and bringing to a head the particular local grievances which is most acute in any area. It may be a shortage of foodgrains in one place, the exaction of rent-collector in another, the refusal of permission to irrigate the fields in some other, the realisation of collective fines is still another. Each such problem is the focal point for the initiation of the movement in that area. The general plan will direct the search for such force; point out why our festering economic sores will be the most amiable starting points for local agitation, being the most deeply felt and the quickest, most natural and the most unifying incidents for the local people; explain how these issues can never be solved within the framework of the existing system; and as this understanding spreads and the agitation has reached a sufficient pitch, suggest the precipitation of the next wider issues, taking the people forward to the next higher phase of the struggle.

5. *The machinery for planning.*—The machinery set up to undertake this planning must be suited to its special and limited purpose. That purpose is, as

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be helped to take the lead and prepare the man for direct action; by organised and orderly seizure of stocks of essential goods; by retaining payment of rents and debts; by refusing to part with crops; by ignoring court processes for distraint and refusing to attend or bid at sales; by taking possession of the machinery of local administration, such as Union Boards, Chowkies, Thanas, and running it themselves; by setting up new machinery where necessary. If the developments can be fairly synchronised in a number of areas from the centre, and to a great extent this will be helped by the natural infectiousness of the process—the forces of the State will be helpless to check this progress, the disturbances will be too widespread and scattered. The police and military may advance on one village and reduce it to ashes. But their flanks and rear and front will be constantly harassed, their communications will be constantly cut off, their food supplies will be precarious. The tactical plan of defence for the villagers will be to isolate their areas, organize scouts to give warning of the enemy's approach, retire and disperse before its advance and return like the tide when the enemy must presently withdraw, having nothing to do and little to subsist on. The suffering of the villagers will be great. But the stakes are also high. If they have been made to realise these at the outset, if they know that the alternative is inaction and suffering no less, if they have been trained what to expect and do, then this suffering will not break them, then each time they will return to their razed villages with a grimmer determination of spirit, an increased bitterness of heart. And the news of happenings in other villages, other districts must filter through to fortify their resolve.

7. *Other fronts*.—We have a better organisation and greater experience of work among industrial labour. Here also unrest must be brought to a head on immediate economic issues. The situation will be directly helped by the campaign in the villages which will dry up the sources of food supply and raw materials to the urban and industrial areas. Unrest allowances can never keep pace with prices, which will soar higher with a progressive inflation of the currency. Price control will show up as the senseless deception it is. Strikes should be easy to organise in this context. Propaganda should be meanwhile pressed home on the capitalists' front, appealing to this class on emotional patriotic grounds to view the strike programme with favour. The bourgeoisie must be exhorted to keep up political discontent at high pressure, 'declare' members of the 'petit bourgeois' sections must be recruited to lead militant demonstration of students and labourers. The Indian officialdom should be approached for secret contributions in money and information and sabotage of vital processes of the administration. The precise points and methods of attack must be left to their own decision in this as in other cases, but countless illustrations can be cited and innumerable opportunities discovered once the general lines of our movement are clearly grasped. That general analysis of the struggle should be made known in every suitable case.

8. *Administrative tasks*.—The training of workers; the issue of leaflets, news sheets, slogans; the organisation of contacts; the raising of funds; frequent reviews of progress; issue of directions to the fighting line. These are the urgent administrative problems of the Freedom Struggle front. Help is pouring in from all sides. The tasks will be done. But in administration, as in programme, the greatest decentralisation should be provided for. In that, rather than in secrecy for which the scope is strictly limited in a movement of this character, lies the biggest safeguard against its suppression.

APPENDIX VIII

AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE

Independence Day, 26th January 1943

To-day is the 26th January. Twelve years ago on this day we took the vow of freedom, and since then every year we have renewed that solemn pledge. These twelve years have been years of travail and suffering, and every Independence Day has brought us nearer our goal. This day, however, on which we are privileged to live—January 26th, 1943—is different from all such dates that have gone before. The battle of freedom which began twelve years ago has now reached its climax and shall soon reach its end. Beginning with Satyagrah and disobedience of specific laws, we are now in the midst of total revolution. It is not this or that law of the foreign power that we defy but that power as a whole. It is not this or that Constitution that we demand, but total withdrawal of the Imperialist aggressor. Therefore, the pledge that we take to-day must be different from that pledges we have taken before. Our only pledge to-day can be to make 1943 the last year

of our national slavery. On August 8, last year we declared ourselves as free people but the enemy is still in our midst and is trying by fascist terror to crush out will to freedom. We must, therefore, vow to-day that before January 26 come round again we shall be a free people, and on the Government House in Delhi, all Government Houses and all our houses in the country shall fly not the arrogant British flag but the proud flag of the Republic of India. Every section of the people must therefore pledge to-day to discharge its duty to the Nation and play its appropriate part in the National Revolution.

Therefore in the name of the Indian Nation a Congress and the Republic of India, which is being born to-day, we appeal:—

To the Peasants.
To pay no taxes or revenues to the British usurpers.

To pay no rents to the landlords who pay revenues to the British Government.

To establish Swarni Panchayats in their villages.

To boycott Law Courts and to settle their disputes in panchayats.

To keep no paper money and to deal through barter.

To form Guerrilla Bands.

To sell no crop or cattle.

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To keep no paper money and to deal through barter.

To form Guerrilla Bands.

To sell no crop or cattle.

- To leave schools and colleges.
- To enrol as soldiers of revolution.
- To form Guerrilla Bands.
- To form vacation brigades.
- To cease business with Englishmen.
- To withdraw deposits from Imperial and other British banks.
- To subscribe to "Swarni Karaz".
- To take prescribed oath of allegiance to the republic.
- To refuse to be used against their own countrymen.
- To vow to rise against the British usurpers on the command of the congress.
- To the Police and other Government servants to refuse to be used against the national revolution.
- To every body.
- To help in every big and small way to destroy the usurper authority and to establish the Republic of India.
- To Raise the slogans of "Inquilab zindabad".
- "Karange Ya Mareng" and "Angrezon ko nikalo".
- At 8 A. M. and 9 P. M. everyday.

APPENDIX IX

*Central Directorate
All India Congress Committee.*

"TO ALL FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM"
Revolutionary greetings

Comrades,
Let me first of all offer you and those comrades who have been made prisoners of war my heartiest congratulations on the magnificent battle already given to the enemy. Nothing like it ever happened or was expected to happen in this our long suffering and suppressed country. It truly was the "Open Rebellion" envisaged by our incomparable leader Mahatma Gandhi.
The Rebellion, no doubt, seems to have been suppressed for the moment. But I hope you will agree with me that it has been suppressed only for the moment. As a matter of fact had the very first assault been successful and had it completely crushed imperialism, that in reality would have been a matter of surprise. The very fact that the enemy himself has admitted

that the Rebellion came pretty near destroying his power, shows how successful was the first phase of our National Revolution.

And how was the first phase suppressed? Was it the Military power of the enemy, his unmitigated reign of goondaism, looting, arson and murder that did the job? No. It is wrong to consider the "Revolt" as having been "suppressed". The history of all Revolutions shows that a Revolution is not an event. It is a phase, a social process. And during the Evolution of a Revolution, tides and ebbs are normal. Our Revolution is at present going through the period of low water, so soon rather than rise to higher heights and go from Victory to Victory, not because the superior physical force of the Imperialist aggressors intervened, but because of two important reasons.

Firstly there was no efficient organisation (or) the national Revolutionary forces that could function (and) give effective lead to the mighty forces that were released. The Congress, though a great organisation, was not tuned to the pitch to which the Revolution was to rise. The lack of organisation was so considerable that even important Congressmen were not aware of the progress of the Revolt, and till late in course of the rising it remained a matter of debate in many Congress quarters whether what the people were doing was really in accordance with the Congress programme. In the same connection should be mentioned the regrettable fact that quite a considerable number of influential Congressmen failed to attune their mental attitude to spirit of this "last fight for Freedom". The earnestness, the urgency, the determination that marked the attitude of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Dr. Rajendra Prasad or Sardar Patel failed to reflect in the minds and hearts of all Congress leaders.

Secondly, after the first phase of the rising was over there was no further programme placed before the people. After they had completely destroyed the British Raj in their areas, the people considered their task fulfilled, and went back to their homes not knowing what more to do. Nor was it their fault. The failure was ours: we should have supplied them with a programme for the next phase. When this was not done, the Revolt came to a standstill and the phase of the ebb began. This situation was created many days before the British soldiers arrived in sufficient numbers to push back yet further the receding works of the revolt. What programme should have been placed before the people in the second phase? The answer is suggested by the nature of Revolutions. A Revolution is not only a destructive process, it is at the same time a great constructive force. No Revolution could succeed if it only destroyed. If it should survive, it must create an authority to replace the one it has destroyed. Our Revolution too having accomplished over large territories of the country the negative task of destruction, called for a positive programme. The people who destroyed the objects and means of administration of the foreign power and drove away its agents should have set up in their areas their own units of Revolutionary Government and created their own police and militia. Had this been done, it would have released such an unprecedented volume of energy and opened up such a vast field for constructive work that the waves of the Revolution would have mounted higher and higher till—if the rising was countrywide—the Imperialist power had been broken and the people had seized supreme authority throughout the land.

The lack of efficient organisation and of a complete programme of National Revolution: these were two causes of the downward course of the first phase of the present Revolution.

The question now is what are our present tasks? First, to banish all depression from our minds and those of the people, and create an atmosphere of joy instead at the success achieved and of hope for success in the future. Second, we must keep steadfastly before our minds and of the people the nature of this Revolution. It is our last fight for freedom. Our objective can, therefore, be nothing but victory. There can be no half way houses. The efforts that men like Rajagopalachari are making for the establishment of National government are not only fruitless but positively harmful in as much as they distract public attention from the real issue. There is no compromise between the slogans of "Quit India" and of a "national government." Those who are running after the slogan of Congress-League unity are merely serving the ends of Imperialist propaganda. It is not the lack of unity that is obstructing the formation of a national government, but the natural unwillingness of Imperialism to liquidate itself. Mr. Churchill left no manner of doubt about it, when he declared recently that he had not assumed the office of the king's first minister

to preside over the liquidation of the Empire. He would be a foolish student of society indeed who expected empires to wither away of their own accord. Those erstwhile "revolutionaries" who are attempting today to wish away the Indian Empire by the catalytic force of humble memorials are making of themselves the most pitiable fools of history.

It is not the unity of all the important elements in Indian life, to quote the imperialist jargon, that is the need of the hour but the unity of all the national revolutionary forces. And these are already united under the flag of the Congress. Unity between the League and the Congress does not forebadow the growth of these forces, but their absolute relation, for the League cannot conceivably tread the path of revolution and freedom.

The complete overthrow of imperialism, then, is our objective and we must keep this steadfastly in view. There can be no compromise on this issue. Either we win or we lose. And lose we shall not. Not only because we are determined ceaselessly to work for victory, but also because powerful world forces are drawing the doom of imperialism and fascism ever nearer and nearer. Do not believe that the formal results of this war settled laboriously at the Peace Conference would settle the fate of the post-war world. War is a strange alchemist, and in its hidden chambers are such forces and powers brewed and distilled that they tear down the plans of the victorious and vanquished alike. No peace conference at the end of the last war decided that four mighty empires of Europe and Asia should fall into dust—the Russian, the German, the Austrian and Ottoman. Nor, was the Russian, the German, the Turkish Revolution decreed by Lloyd George, Clemenceau or Wilson.

Throughout the world where men are fighting, dying and suffering today, the alchemist is at work, just as he is in India, where he has already let loose a mighty social upheaval. Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt, neither Hitler nor Tojo will determine the fate of the world at the end of this war. It is force such as we represent that will fulfil that historic task. Can we doubt that revolutionary forces are stirring everywhere? Can we believe that millions of people are undergoing untellable suffering without a thought for the future? Can we believe that millions are satisfied with the lies that their rulers daily feed them with. No, it cannot be so.

Having therefore definitely fixed our vision on the goal of total victory, we have to march ahead. What concretely must we do? What does a general do when he loses or wins a battle? He consolidates and prepares for the next battle? Rommel stopped at El Alamein after this great victory to consolidate and prepare. Alexander too prepared and he turned his serious defeat into a resounding victory. Ours was not even a defeat. We really won the first round of the fight in as much as our large territories of the country the civil rule of the British aggressor was completely uprooted. The masses have now learnt from experience that the imposing edifice of the police and magistracy and law courts and prisons which imposes by the name of British Raj is but a house of cards when they hurl against either collective power. This lesson is not likely to be forgotten and it constitutes the starting point for the next offensive.

Our third and most important task then at the present moment is to prepare for the next major offensive. Perhaps organisation, discipline ourselves—these are our present watch-words.

The next offensive? When do we expect to launch the next offensive? Some people think that the masses will not rise again for the next five or six years. The estimate might be true of peace time but it does not hold good for a stormy war-torn world of fast moving events. The savage tyrannies of the British fascists—the Littlebrowns, the Halletts, the Stewarts and the myriads of others and their base Indian lackeys—may have compelled the people to lie low for the present, but they have nowhere converted them into friends of the oppressors. The whole country side, where this British type of Nazi Hell was let loose, is seething with the most intense discontent, anger and thirst for revenge. The people have merely to understand that powerful preparations are afoot to take courage again and to enter the work; it would be wholly favourable for the next assault. International events may come to our aid. Then there is Gandhi's ever impending fast unto death, a constant reminder to us and to the people not to slacken, not to waver, not to rest on the oars.

The question of the next offensive is linked up with the question of the positive task of the Revolution—i.e., the establishment of the units of the Revolutionary

governments. With the latter question is bound up the question of violence and maintained) armed forces. I wish, therefore, to place before you my view on this question, as to my mind it affects vitally the future of our Revolution.

First of all, I feel I must say a few words about the noise the British authorities have made about the violence committed in the course of this revolution. There was some violence indeed under extreme provocation, but it was remarkably little as compared with the magnitude of the rising and the staggering manifestation of individual and collective non-violence. It is not realised, perhaps that thousands of British and Indian employees of the foreign power were for some days literally at the mercy of the masses, who took compassion on their foes and spared them their lives and property. And what of the cool, sublime courage of those thousands of young and old who received the enemy's bullets on their chests with the flag revolution in their hands and "Inqab Zindabad" on their lips? Have the British a word of praise for this godly courage?

In any case is it not remarkable that the British power which is soaked in violence, which is based on violence, which daily commits the most pitiless forms of violence, which grinds down millions of people and sucks their life-blood should make so much noise about the violence that others commit? How are the British concerned with what weapons we choose to fight them with? Have they pledged non-violence if the rebels adhere to it? Have they not already shot down thousands of our non-violent soldiers? Whatever weapons we use the British have only bullets for us and looting and rape and arson. So let them keep quiet as to how we fight them, it is our business entirely to decide that.

Coming to the question as it affects us, I would first remind you of the difference between Gandhi's views on non-violence and those of the working Committee and the A. I. C. C. Gandhi is in no event prepared to depart from non-violence. With him it is a question of faith and life-principle. Not so with the Congress. Then Congress has stated repeatedly during this war that if India became free, or even if a national government were set up, it would be prepared to resist aggression with arms. But if we are prepared to fight Japan and Germany with arms, why must we refuse to fight Britain in the same manner? The only possible answer can be that the Congress in power could have an army, whereas the Congress in wilderness has none. But supposing a revolutionary army were created or if the present Indian army or a part of it rebel, would it not be inconsistent for us first to ask the army to rebel and then ask the rebels to lay down arms and face British bullets with bared chest?

My own interpretation of the Congress position—not Gandhi's—is clear and definite. Congress is prepared to fight aggression violently if the country became independent. Well, we have declared ourselves independent, and also named Britain as an aggressive power; we are, therefore, justified within the terms of the Bombay resolution itself to fight Britain with arms. If this does not accord with Gandhi's principles that is not my fault. The Working Committee and the A. I. C. C. themselves have chosen to differ from Gandhi and to reject his conception of non-violence as applied to the war. Nor was Gandhi allowed by the British power to lead and shape this resolution; so, in following interpretation we should in no manner be false to him. We should only be discharging our duties in the light of our own reason. As far as I am concerned, I feel that I should be completely justified as an honest Congressman, without in any manner intruding my socialism upon the question, in repelling the British aggression with arms.

I should add that I have no hesitation in admitting that non-violence of the brave, if practised on a sufficiently large scale, would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent, I should not allow cowardice, clothed in Shastri subtleties, to block the development of this revolution and lead to its failure.

With the implication of the last phase of the revolution clear in our minds, we have constantly to bear in mind that ours is not to be merely a conspiratorial action. It is total revolt of the masses that is our objective. So, along with our immense technical work, we must do intensive work among the masses—peasants in the villages and the workers in the factories, mines, railways and elsewhere. We must do ceaseless propaganda among them and help them in their present difficulties, organise them to fight for their present demands, recruit from them selected soldiers for our various activities and train them technically and politically. With training a few may succeed where thousands failed before. In every Baka and Baluka and thana, in every considerable factory and workshop or other industrial centres, we must have a band of militants, mentally and materially equipped for the next rising.

Then there is our work in the Indian Army and the services. There is agitation and demonstrative work. There is work in the schools and colleges and in the market place. There is the work in the Native States and on the frontiers of India. It is not possible for me here to describe our preparations more concretely. Let it suffice to say that there is tremendous work to be done and work for every one. Much is being done at present, but vastly more remains to be done.

Who but youth can accomplish all this? Is it too much to hope that our students who have set such a brilliant record already will follow up their achievements and vindicate the promise they have given? It is for the students themselves to answer.

I should make it clear that preparation does not mean that fighting entirely ceases for the moment. No "Skirmishes", "frontier activities", "minor clashes", "sniping", "patrolling"—all this must go on. These are in themselves a preparation for the offensive.

With full confidence in the people and devotion to the cause, let us, then, march ahead. Let our steps be firm, our hearts resolute and our vision undimmed. The sun of the Indian freedom has already risen above the horizon. Let not the clouds of our own doubts and disputes, inaction and faithlessness, obscure that sun and drown us in our self-created darkness.

In the end, comrades, I should like to say that it has made me indescribably happy and proud to be able once again to place my services at your disposal. In serving you, the last words of our leader, "do or die" shall be my guiding star, your co-operation my strength and your command my pleasure.

Somewhere in India.

B. JAI PRAKASH.

APPENDIX X

Mr. Gandhi's last message

Every man is free to go to the fullest length under *Ahimsa* by complete death-lock, strikes and all other non-violent means. *Satyagrahis* should go out to die and not to live. It is only when individuals go out to seek and face death that the Nation will survive. *Karanage Va Marenge*. (We shall do or die).

APPENDIX XI

1. Instructions from the ALL INDIA CONGRESS COMMITTEE to the Provincial Congress Committees and others

Our chief task is to keep up the enthusiasm witnessed in urban India on the day of the arrest of Gandhi! and other leaders and to organise it along positive lines and, at the same time, to work up rural India to a similar pitch of activity with a view to make the culminating point of our struggle simultaneous in all the country. The essential consideration is time. Not only that we have to show what we are worth within two or four weeks, for else, Gandhi! might resort to a fast, but that our rural and urban movements should be so co-ordinated and timed together that the Government may not already have crushed the one before the other is ready to meet with the same fate.

Rural India.—The village population should be encouraged to declare at public meetings and elsewhere that they are free and that the laws, taxation and police and other arrangements of a foreign Government no longer bind them. The beginning of such meetings may be made in the smallest units, say a village, but the activity must soon develop to freedom and fraternity processions marching from one village to another. All this is intended to lead to the bigger meeting of any ten and twenty villages, where the declaration of freedom and unity is reiterated. Nevertheless this propagandist and agitational activity must be given a positive programme and definite direction, or else it will fizzle out. Such a positive programme cannot be one of no-rent or no-tax campaign except as agitation, for the month for rent collection is yet far off. Nor can it be merely of educational agitation in respect of food, shortages, currency inflation, price control and the like. All this must be done together with the declaration of freedom, in order to rouse the people. Once the people are roused, and even while they are roused, their energies must be given a definite task. In the present circumstances, this can be nothing else than the non-violent raids of thousands of people on the symbols and centres of British authority, the *Thanas* and the *Tehsils*. These must be put out of action. The police and other Government servants should be invited, in the first instance, to accept the

authority of the people or, in their refusal to do so, should be dispossessed both of their weapons and their governmental positions. It is essential to re-member (1) that such raids should take place in the best awakened and organised two or three Tehsils or any one district and care should be taken not to select such areas in which there is friction of any kind, (2) that not only must these raids be timed together in the same district but throughout the province, or, at least in the majority of the districts where the Congress message has reached best. The culminating point of these raids will be reached when the spontaneously awakened but organised energies of the people in their thousands raid the district headquarters. The government machinery will then not only be paralysed but shattered. Either at this moment, or in the process while this is taking place, a parallel authority of the people will be formed. This will be the beginning of the Free Indian States. It is also necessary to remember that efforts should be made to time together, as far as possible, the paralysis of the existing government machinery in all provinces. The climax of this paralysis should be designed to reach in four weeks from now; or a little earlier or a little later. It is needless to say that between their declaration of freedom and their attempt to put the existing administrative machinery out of action, the people must have completed their disobedience of all political and general laws of the government, with which we are in disagreement. They must, for instance, start manufacturing salt at their will, disobeying evasuation and other orders, refusal to appear in law courts.

Certain problems of (1) cadres to organise this work, (2) dislocation of government communications arise. This will be treated separately. Moreover all attempts at violence must be seriously discontinued and this problem will be treated more thoroughly in an examination of our relations with government servants. The instructions in succession, therefore, are:—

- (1) Get everyone of our seven lakhs villages to organise meetings of declaration of freedom.
- (2) Organise freedom and fraternity marches from one village to another.
- (3) Disobey government authority and laws especially D. I. R. and engage in positive activity such as formation of people's executive and manufacture of salt and cessation of recruitment and war contributions.
- (4) Put Thanas and Tehsils and, later, district headquarters out of action through non-violence.
- (5) Arrange completion of this programme in four weeks or thereabout. We must, however, be alert and careful that we do not fall behind the temper of the people.

Urban India.—From reports obtained of happenings in Bombay, Ahmedabad, Allahabad, Calcutta and elsewhere on the day of Gandhiji's arrest, and even later, it is obvious that the people are highly excited. The enormous crowd in Shibaji Park where Gandhiji was to have spoken stood over dozen repeated attempts to tear-gas it. There have been hundreds of lathi charges and quite frequent fringes. The people appear to maintain the spirit of resistance, (2) to further strengthen it so that, even in the event of fringes, a determined band of men and women at any rate should not run away.

The instructions are as follows:—

- (1) To canalise the spontaneous outbursts of the people, an organised form should be given to it. An authoritative call for a general strike till Gandhiji and other leaders are back among us throughout the country is hereby given and in the first twenty cities of India effect should be to make it complete.
- (a) Colleges and Universities must close indefinitely till freedom is won and Gandhiji is back among us. The striking students will (1) lead the demonstrative action in the towns or (2) go into the villages to further our four-weeks programme.
- (b) All general offices, such as whole-sale trade, banks and other establishments must close and their clerical personnel brought out. Retail shops with the exception of foods and similar provisions must also be persuaded to close.
- (c) Stoppage of work in manufacturing industries such as textile and engineering should be completed in the course of the indefinite general strike and the workers brought out.
- (2) Efforts should be made to reach the workers and clerical staff in the transport industry such as railways and docks and in the government agencies such as posts and telephones and radio and in the electricity producing and

to keep the fires burning, to carry on and intensify the struggle, to reach the Congress message to all our countrymen whether in urban and rural areas. Here

(1) All students above sixteen should leave their schools, colleges and Universities a bare outline of what they can do.

(1) All students above sixteen should leave their schools, colleges and Universities. They cannot carry on the studies and the Great Revolution simultaneously. Colleges and Universities must close down by the students voluntarily withdrawing from them. Let them remember that the light we are in is not a long drawn out agony. We are resolved to make it a short and swift revolution. We have therefore to bring to it utter desperation born of the unquenchable will to DO OR DIE. If the students are possessed of this spirit they will infect the whole nation with it. They cannot have this revolutionary spirit unless they burn their boats, leave the colleges and bring themselves wholeheartedly into the light.

(2) Our fight will be waged on two fronts—Rural and Urban. The students colleges and bring themselves wholeheartedly into the fight.

have a decisive part to play on both the fronts. Complete paralysis of the administrative machinery in all its branches is the objective of the struggle. The forces of law and order which are being used to lathi charge and tear-gas people into submission to be paralysed by all non-violent means, the courts of law set up to administer laws made by the Imperialist Government to suppress our people to be rendered functionless, stoppage of work in manufacturing industries till our goal is reached. Communication, which to-day instead of being public utility services are used to throttle us to be put out of use without causing hurt to life, to give a few instances of what we need to do if our struggle is to succeed in the contemporary period of time. It will be the task of students, as leaders of this struggle, to canalise the energy and enthusiasm of the people and divert it into fruitful channels. The revolutionary spirit must be kept up by all non-violent ways open to them.

Our is a vast country. The message of the Congress has to reach each village and each hamlet. The rural India has to be roused into a spirit of open rebellion and who will do this if not the students. Such among them as are suited for this work should singly or in parties visit the rural areas and deliver the message. Only the message has to be delivered and explained and the people will do the rest. They have to be told that the British Raj is no more and they have to take steps to establish the Raj of the people. Let the people combine and take steps to establish the Raj of the people. Let the people combine and take the administration of the villages into their hands. This must inevitably involve disobedience of orders received from officials high or low. There shall be complete non-co-operation with the alien administration. There must be utmost harmony and unity among the people if our revolution is to succeed in the minimum time. The disappearance of the existing apparatus of administration should synchronise with the establishment of our own Raj in each village and Tehsil. The Raj will have behind it the united will and strength of the people.

(3) We must remember that non-violence is the basis of our struggle. Activities which tend in the direction of violence should be discouraged. Disciplined non-violence on a mass scale will generate in us ever growing strength and power. For purely practical considerations non-violence should be adhered to even under circumstances of the gravest provocation. At all events care should be taken to avoid all danger to life. Violence is self-destructive. Nothing will be more conducive to the success of the struggle than that our people remain non-violent while violence rages around them. Acts of non-violence, bravery, readiness to face death without retaliation disarm our opponents and win widespread sympathy for our cause. The struggle is hardly two days old and yet we have reports of many soldiers and military officers resigning from the service. This is largely the outcome of the appeal that our non-violent struggle without retaliation makes to them. It is in the face of innocent and indiscriminate violence. They have endured the hardships and dangers of the struggle as non-violent soldiers are expected to do.

(4) The Government has suppressed all existing channels of publicity. It is for the students to explore fresh avenues. They have skill and resourcefulness enough to reach all relevant news about the movement to the people. Let them organise an information bureau. The instructions that reach them from the A. I. C. C. and other authoritative quarters should be broadcast to the people. They may print bulletins and leaders of their own and distribute them in thousands among the people in the language or languages of the province as also in English. A group of students should be especially appointed for the publicity work.

(5) While the work of preparing bulletins and leaders is to be entrusted to

one group of students, another group, a much larger one, should be charged with the work of distributing them among all classes of people.

(6) We have to approach all classes of people, the labourers, mill-owners, the clerical personnel in the various services, the merchants, the petty traders, the police, the military and so on. Students have to maintain close and constant contacts with them. Their contacts with the police and the military can be especially useful. There is a large and growing element in the police and military services which is friendly and sympathetic to the Congress. We have to plead with them, wherever we find them to play the part worthy of them in the Great Fight. A soldier's duty is to protect the people and fight and if need be lay down his life for a good cause. It cannot be the duty of an Indian soldier to help in putting down his own people struggling for their birth-right of freedom. Our earnest pleadings coupled with the events that are happening from day to day cannot but have a salutary effect on the minds of our countrymen in the military and the police services. The American and other soldiers should also be approached. More about them separately.

(7) Processions and meetings should form a daily feature of our struggle. In big towns meetings may be held in different localities on different days. Besides speeches there should be a liberal distribution of printed literature among the audience. Initiative in organising meetings etc. should be taken by students.

(8) Paper or metallic Badges bearing suitable mottoes such as "DO OR DIE" should be distributed in thousands among the people.

(9) It is our firm hope and belief that the present struggle will bring us communal harmony. The three days of struggle have brought us abundant evidence of growing fraternalism among Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and others. Nowhere is this fraternalism more in evidence than among students. We see this in strikes, processions, meetings and other activities. Common suffering, common devotion to the cause of Liberty have abolished all communal distinctions. Let it be the proud privilege of a student to be the agent of a communal harmony. Students, Hindu, Muslim, Christian and others, should lay their heads together and find out ways and means of cementing the unity that is emerging out of the crucible of common suffering for a common cause. The message of unity should reach the man in the street through leaflets, slogans and appropriate cries.

(10) Our struggle is thickening with each passing day. There can be no slackening, no relaxation of our work. There is going to be no going back on the decision the Congress has taken. If we live we live as free men in a free country else we die in the attempt. Gandhi need not last, need not make the supreme sacrifice if we all stand by him, and in one united mass assert the will to be free. A miracle will happen. What appears to be a formidable structure will collapse like a pack of cards in an incredibly short space of time. Let our students be the agents of this miracle.

DO OR DIE

WE WILL DIE, GREAT LEADER, BUT
WE WILL ALSO DO
WE WILL FREE GANDHII BEFORE HE FASTS
LONG LIVE THE FREE STATE OF INDIA.

APPENDIX XII

Survey of the first five months of "Our Revolution"

EXTRACT FROM BOMBAY CONGRESS BULLETIN No. 132, DATED 9TH JANUARY 1943

Looking Back: Our Revolution has now completed five months of its giant sweep, and is now in the sixth month. Five months of hard struggle, of toil, tears and blood, on a scale unparalleled in the history of our country. Five months of mass-uprisings, of acts of individual bravery and fearlessness, of heinous acts of inhuman brutalities and atrocities on the part of the alien Imperialist agents, and five months sustained and cheerfully braved sufferings on the part of the large masses of our people. To-day on the memorable 9th, let us, for a while, pause and ponder over these months of our freedom-march, and analyse our failures and our achievements.

Let us, at the very outset, admit that the Revolution has not been able to attain that pitch, that momentum, which we all expected it would. The march has been slower than expected. Thousands of our dear and valued comrades have laid down their lives, and many more thousands have suffered and are suffering im-

foundments and untold hardships. The gigantic and sweeping mass up-risings and mass demonstrations and mass attacks that we witnessed in the beginning of our struggle have slowed down and subsided. The defiant temper that showed itself on the faces and the activities of our people in the earlier stages of our struggle is today, after a strenuous march, rather seasoned down to solid bitterness. We confess that while numerous centres of usurper administration have been attacked, and in many cases, destroyed, and the war on communications has been carried on with more or less sustained tempo, we have not been, as yet, able to paralyse the administration completely. The factories which have been producing intellectual slaves are still active: The students have again lapsed into inactivity and drifted into the old rut. That is our debit side. These can be put as our failures. But what about the credit side? What about our achievements?

The dynamics of our struggle do not allow us now to expect any swift results. Our achievements are going to be a sustained, even if long-drawn-out, struggle. Our achievements during these five months, however, give us a certain hope of ultimate success. If mass-demonstrations have ceased, we have gained immeasurably individual bravery and resourcefulness. The movement has gone underground, and is slowly atomising into strong and virile pockets. The earlier tempo may not have been maintained. Yet the spirit of defiance and determination has spread and developed widely and intensely. In place of disorganised and scattered mass demonstrations, we have now strongly formed groups of brave and courageous and resourceful cadres, working day and night, planning and executing numerous and varied raids on the enemy.

Together with this, the social and economic discontent upon which revolutions like ours are based and are being fostered, is coming into its own. The untold poverty, hunger and daily increasing food scarcity are rapidly rising to a pitch when all the revolting elements will join hand and crash with a bang upon the usurper authority and, through chaos and confusion and through violent upheavals, lead the Revolution to a success and create a new and better world to live in.

APPENDIX XIII

"Six Commandments of Gandhi Baba"

[Bapu's (Mahatma Gandhi's) message to the nation at the time of going to jail.]

1. Look upon yourself as free.
2. We are free to do anything so long as we remain within the limits of non-violence.
3. Paralyse the administration of Government by means of complete hartals and other non-violent means.
4. A satyagrahi should join the struggle for dying and not in the hope of remaining alive.
5. Keep the nation alive even at the risk of death.
- (6) Do or die.
- (How should you put into execution this message?)
1. Do not acknowledge any power other than the public.
2. Keep closed all factories, mills, colleges, schools and markets so long as full independence is not achieved.
3. Maintain complete non-cooperation with Government.
4. Destroy the administration of Government.
5. Do picketing in Government offices and dislocate Government administration by every means.
6. Destroy tram, railway and motor services.
7. Destroy telegraph and telephone wires.
8. Persuade policemen not to carry out Government's orders.
9. Let the people take possession of college and school buildings and Government administration and keep them closed and in suspension if the British Government does not leave India.
10. Violate all prohibitory orders of Government.
11. Disseminate by every possible means and in every corner the news of this open rebellion against Government (for example give up to this by writing on walls, by leaflets, by writing on the ground of mouth or by distributing leaflets etc.).

APPENDIX XIV
 EXTRACT FROM THE "HARIJAN" DATED AUGUST 23, 1942.

Question Box.
 Permissible Items.

Q.—What may be permitted for disorganising Government within the limits of non-violence?

A.—I can give my personal opinion only. In my opinion looting or burning of offices, banks, granaries etc. is not permissible. Dislocation of traffic communications is permissible in a non-violent manner without endangering life. The organisation of strikes is the best and it that can be accomplished it itself will be effective and sufficient. It will be non-violence without blemish. Cutting wires, removing rails, destroying small bridges cannot be objected to in a struggle like this, provided ample precautions are taken to safeguard life. If the Japanese were invading us, there can be no doubt that even on principle of non-violent self-defence, these would have to be carried out. The non-violent revolutionaries have to regard the British power in the same way as they (i.e. revolutionaries) would the Axis powers and carry out the same measures.

APPENDIX XV

Miscellaneous Congress pamphlets.

Inglis Bulletin No. 1.

* Friends, We put before you the following few instructions:—

- (f) To make complete deadlock possible all factories, mills, colleges, markets, etc. must remain closed till freedom is achieved. *Instead of idling away their time students should form their own groups in their localities to prevent their people from attending business offices.*
- (g) Persuade Government officers and officials to disobey Government orders and give up their slavish jobs.
- (6) Completely paralyse communications and transport, dislocate tram and bus service, uproot telegraphic and telephone post, dig up roads, cut railways, tear out motor and bus tyres and dislocate the Government machinery in every possible way.

Congress Bulletin No. 5

Britishers' ordered anarchy

The real fighters for India's freedom and independence will never flinch of the word "chaos": rather they should invite it. That is going to overpower the present ordered anarchy carried on by the Britishers in the ugliest form for the last five days in all the cities and towns of India. Remember what Mahatma! said on the 25th May last:—"I am convinced that we are living to-day in a state of ordered anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy should go and it as a result, there is a complete lawlessness in India, I would risk it and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos".

Every freedom-loving man and woman must follow this instruction of Gandhi! to complete the task that he left unfinished.

Anglo-American Third Front in India

The most virulent form of violence is being used by the combined Anglo-American forces and this must be met by all available means including violence wherever necessary.

Mass murder all over India

The India Office in London says that our movement has not affected the masses. Since the first phase of demonstration against the British offensive in cities is now over it is incumbent on the townsmen, villagers, factory and land-workers to organise wholesale strikes, stop payment of taxes and revenue, withdraw money from Postal Savings Banks, take possession of post offices, tabal headquarters, thanas and chowkies, picket recruiting centres, persuade military and policemen

athies, guns and bayonets against their Indian brothers and sisters and against their masters for unjust and inhuman order. Thus, this task should be carried on relentlessly for some time and open the road for the Indian armies, who had gone out of India to fight for British but now allies of other powers, to come back to India and join your struggle. Remember that as a protest against the British firing on Indians since 9th August the arrest of nationalist leaders and patriotic workers here, one Indian Army officer and another in North Africa have refused to fight for the British and their officers and ranks have been mercilessly shot as rebels. Another Regiment of Indian Army in North Africa has revolted and as a result, 20 per cent have been shot dead and the rest made prisoners.

International Affairs

Look to the battle of Solomon Island. Japan has had the upper hand there as elsewhere; yet false news is given that Japan is being defeated. On the other hand the whole of the Pacific is controlled by the superior Jap Naval Force. America is provoking Great Britain to launch offensive everywhere, so that it gets crushed as Britain provoked all the countries only to be crushed. Marshall Timoshenko has now given up the hopes of saving the Caucasus; he is concentrating all energies and forces towards the Stalingrad front which is in a very precarious position. It is only a matter of a few weeks for the German drive towards the borders of Iran.

The British Premier Mr. Churchill is away from London—but where and why? The treacherous role played by Mr. Harris, British Vice-Consul at Ishpahan has been avenged by the Persian Patriots. They believe in slogan of "Asia for Asians" and therefore they greet each other with the abbreviated expression "Asia". Similarly, those Indians who think and act in terms of "India for Indians" propose their greeting terms as "I.I".

The United Nations profess to fight for freedom and democracy but yet none of them has yet condemned the British atrocity and brutal massacre of Indians in the last few days. While all the countries forming the Axis Power and other neutral countries have been sending every day their sympathies with us and condemning gangsterism of Britishers.

Japan has consistently and persistently pronounced that she has no interest nor just for conquest of India except that the Britishers are driven out and India becomes free at once.

The Indian soldiers including those of the Mysore, Baroda, Kapurthala, Nizam States who are now free in Japan and German occupied countries or even, in Free States of Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Batavia, etc. are sending their greetings to their Indian brothers with assurances that they would come back soon to liberate India. Once the struggle has begun it must be carried on vigorously simultaneously all over India till Gandhi's Birthday—2nd October next.

Bombay Congress Bulletin dated 17th August 1942

TO SOLDIERS. Let us appeal to the soldiers and the police in our country to refuse to act as the repressive arm of the law. For this organisation and continued effort is necessary. The will of the people is with us. Let us get down to our workers and tell them that they must refuse to supply with their labours the requirements of an unjust government. Actual organisation of their relief is another heavy task. Determination to strike work cannot succeed without adequate food for those who come out. Let us collect food and aid for the workers so that a general strike of a long enough duration may succeed.

It is the legitimate duty of a people to end tyranny and thwart its opponents by the organised strength of its will. Let us exercise our will and—

1. Refuse all co-operation to the Government.
2. Deny the use of communication to troop movements or troop supplies.
3. Refuse to obey their unjust laws.
4. Refuse to work in war factories.
5. Refuse to help the government in repressing our own people.

Remember that our five hundred people have been shot dead and five times as many wounded all over India during the week after Gandhi's arrest. Nearly thirty thousand men and women have been thrown into prisons during the first week of the struggle for freedom but the spirit of the people is undaunted. Government is congratulating itself already but he laughs best who laughs last.

The fire within and underneath will express itself in some day. Each one of you help in this expression. Non-cooperate with the industrial economic and legal machine of the Government. Stay away from your jobs.

'The finger of our brave martyr is pointed at you. Shall it be one of accusation or praise?

Leaflet entitled "Workers of India" issued in the name of the A. I. C. C. Office. Gandhi has called upon every Indian to declare himself or herself as a citizen of free India. This declaration implies that we refuse to obey British laws or accept British authority. The process of smashing British authority has already begun with the beginning of Indian Revolution.

Workers have always been in the forefront of Revolutions and you must lead the Indian Revolution. You have already shown your determination by walking out of your factories which were today mostly doing jobs for the British Government you have begun to overthrow. Keep out of these factories till British power is smashed and becomes a thing of the past. Bring out your comrades who are still inside the few factories. You will not have to keep out long and the factories you go back to will not be the monuments of exploitation that they are for with British rule must end.

The resolution of the Working Committee dated 14th July which was subsequently reiterated by the Bombay A. I. C. C. states, "Only after the end of British authority will the realisation come home that princes, jagirdars, zamindars and protected and moneyed classes drive their wealth and property from workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere to whom essentially power and authority must belong." It is in your hands to make this possible by sweeping away British authority and exploitation at one stroke.

You have all over the country faced ladies and bullets and you are facing them today as brave men and women. Nothing worth while is achieved without the necessary sacrifice.

In addition to the stoppage of work you have to see that communications in any shape or form must stop, the foreign army must be immobilised so that it can have no power to strike you and your countrymen.

Every article which this army and the British authority needs must also be cut off. We did not invite them here. Let them feed and clothe themselves as best they can.

Start organising yourselves in your street and mobola committees so that you protect yourselves against the attempt by the police and the military to re-establish British authority.

You know that Gandhi asked you to rebel because Japanese are knocking at your door and perhaps Germans might be doing so in the near future. The British Government has proved itself incapable in Malaya, and Burma to protect those people. They are no more capable of protecting you. The people want the power to organise themselves for defence for the British and other foreign armies if defeated will run with their tails between their legs. You will have to live in this country and you do not want to exchange masters but be masters in your own country. The right and ability to defend our country can only be effective after we have the power to do so, a power the British have withheld from us because in spite of their tall talk of democracy they want to hold India in bondage.

Bulletin No. 6—War of Independence *Devilish Slaughter*

The devilish slaughtering by the British Army and Police is going on still more ruthlessly. In addition to the place mentioned in our previous bulletin, the firing was resorted to on the unarmed people at Madura, Saugli, Benares, Gorakpur and several other places. Further brutal attacks with tear gas, batons, lathies, guns, bayonets and bombs etc., are made freely while the defensive weapons of our soldiers are only stones and soda water bottles. The casualties so far being 700 killed and about 7,000 wounded; about 4,500 people have already been made prisoners of war by the British while the number of such prisoners in Bombay alone is in the neighbourhood of 1,000.

No Negotiation—Right on

Those who talk of negotiation and compromise even at this stage, are doing greater harm than good to the cause of the country. The Government has first

started the offensive and ours is only defensive. "Victory or Death" is our determination. We must carry on to

War Programme

This programme has already been given to the country and we dealt with items in our previous bulletins. While reiterating the same we now ask you to include the following items as well and they should be worked out according to the suitability of different places and capacity of the soldiers of freedom—

1. Boycott of all English goods.
2. Boycott all British firms and shops.
3. Social boycott of persons who help the British in any shape or manner.
4. Formation of Guerilla Bands to give surprise attacks on the Tommies.
5. Prevention of personal harm or physical injury of the public.
6. Symbols of slavery like the British monuments, statues are to be demolished and destroyed
7. Slow and inefficient work by clerks and ministerial staff in the offices of Government and British and American firms.
8. Wholesale strike in mills and factories concerning textile and engineering.
9. Britishers' cooks are to be organised to cook bad food for their masters.
10. Formation of battalions in streets to prevent police and military attacks.
11. Defence of all laws.
12. Prevention of all courts functioning.
13. Non-payment of all kinds of taxes whenever possible.
14. Stopping of all trains carrying troops and war materials.

Bulletin No. 7—War of Independence.

....., the soldiers of the our National Militia have been so far successful in dislodging all the railway traffic, telephone and telegraphic communications almost all over India. The notable success in this direction is in Bengal which the Government had admitted.

Workers' Task

This movement has opened up the greatest opportunity for the industrial workers to fight for their salvation. So long as they were fighting only on economic grounds and had their piecemeal settlement. But now let them secure the political freedom and take rein in their hands. For this they must strive every nerve to sabotage the supply of war materials to British. This they can and should do by stopping work in all mills and factories specially of textile and engineering. They should leave their work immediately, leave the cities and go to their native places and take up the whole programme to work out in the interior. Those who remain in and around the cities should picket vigorously all the places including transport services, create all kinds of harassment to the civil, police and military of the Britishers.

The self-respecting citizens, youths and students would retaliate the insulting and most humiliating expressions of the Britishers when they call out soldiers of the National Militia as "mobs", "hooligans", "rowdy elements" etc.

Regular bands of youths and students should be organised to approach the mothers, sisters, and wives of those Indians who are now working in the Police and Military and make them persuade their relatives to revolt against their masters and win freedom for their own motherland. As a matter of fact, within these ten days our own Indian brethren have shot out brilliant brothers and molested our sisters. If they do not stop this behaviour, they will be suitably dealt with for which the mothers and sisters of such police and military men should be warned before hand.

Bonfire of English Goods

There should be organised raids on shops dealing with English goods and asked to stop selling such goods. If they refuse to do so, there should be bon-fires of such goods in front of those shops.

Picketing of English and American Banks

The Bank clerks of such banks should ask all depositors to withdraw their money, destroy such records as are useful to the English Directors and the Bank itself. Students and workers should raid such banks as well, but before it is done the depositors should be asked to withdraw their money from all English and American banks.

"Victory or Death"—Must be our answer

Do or Die—Mahatma's Command.

INGULAB ZINDABAD. AZAD HIND ZINDABAD.

Leather entitled "Free State of India Gazette", dated 18th August 1942.

In order to shorten the struggle against the foreign authority it is very necessary among other things to starve it of vital supplies. Your Association is concerned with one such vital supply and it gladdened our hearts to see that there was practically a complete stoppage of work in textile mills. It helped us in two ways. stopping supplies to the British and releasing large man-power to assist in the task of smashing British authority.

The All India Congress Committee

Bombay—7th. August to 9th. August 1942

Mahatma Azad's Speech

The first sitting of the All-India Congress Committee commenced at 2-45 p.m. on the 7th, August 1942 in a spacious and beautifully decorated pandal on the Gowalia Tank Maidan, Bombay. Nearly 250 members of the A. I. C. C. and 10,000 visitors were present.

The proceedings began with the singing of the *Vande Mataram* by Desh Sevikas.

After the minutes of the last meeting had been read by the Secretary, Mahatma Azad, the President addressed the House.

Explaining the full meaning of the resolution coming up before the committee, the Congress President, Mahatma Azad, in the course of a hundred minutes speech, said :

"What this resolution says is this :—Let us not depend upon promises. Let us have a declaration of Indian Independence forthwith and we, on our part, shall immediately enter into a Treaty of Alliance with the United Nations for the sole purpose of fighting and winning this war".

Mahatma Azad added : "This is the crux of our demand and there is no need unnecessarily to cloud the issue by raising fears of anarchy and chaos. If the British Government is earnest about this and true to its professions regarding India's freedom, this can be done immediately. This is what we are asking the United Nations to do and I proclaim from this platform that the newly freed India will wholeheartedly be with the United Nations in the fight against all aggression."

Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps' latest statement, Mahatma Azad said that it was absurd to suggest that "we want anarchy and complete absence of government in this country. What we want is a change of administration. It is also wrong to any that we want the British and American armies to leave India. Mahatma Gandhi has explained this times without number. The slogan 'Quit India', means nothing more and nothing less than the complete transfer of power to Indian hand."

Mahatma Azad explained at length the Working Committee's Warha resolution as well as the recent resolution relating the Congress demand

atresh, and said, "Whatever we have to do on both sides let us do it now."

Opening the proceedings, Mahatma Azad referred to the Allahabad session of the A. I. C. C. and said that the decision taken then was impelled by necessity. They might forget everything but they could not forget the decision taken then.

On the failure of the Cripps Mission, the only course open to them was to take the decision reached at Allahabad, namely, that for the effective defence of the country against foreign aggression the only course was to have the reins of Government in Indian hands. When a nation was denied such authority it could not effectively resist foreign aggression.

The menace of aggression to India was ever-increasing and the danger which

was only a distant one a few months ago was fast approaching them. In the face of such danger it would be a calamity to allow the people to remain sullen and down-hearted. The Congress wanted to see that every Indian youth took part in resisting aggression. If the people of India were indifferent and sullen the responsibility was not that of the Congress but that of the British Government. Appeals during the last three years to set up a National Government in India had been rejected by the British Government.

If events had been allowed by the British to take a different shape, Indians would have been whole-heartedly engaged in the war. The British attitude was one of not allowing Indians an opportunity to put their heart into the war in the service of humanity.

In the circumstances, said Maulana Azad, there were two alternatives before the country. The first was to wait for events that might happen. The second was to act and save the country from the threatened invasion. In order to instil enthusiasm into the people, they must be made to feel that in participating in the war they would be defending their own hearts and homes. One could not expect them to fight with sincerity unless they were sure that they were fighting for the protection of their own freedom.

FREEDOM AND THE WAR EFFORT

The Congress, Maulana Azad emphasised, had already declared that its sympathies were with the Democracies, but there was no other way of saving India than by bringing about a political change in the country. With the imminence of the danger from Japan it was no longer so much a question of India's freedom but of India's protection. The fundamental test of the Congress demand, if it was granted, was whether it would hamper the effective prosecution of the war. With all the responsibility which rested on him as Congress President, he had not the slightest hesitation in saying that freedom would mean a new life in their war effort and the change would not endanger the cause of the United Nations. It must necessarily help the cause and the purpose of the war. It had to be remembered that what they wanted was that the reins of Government should be in Indian hands. They did not demand the withdrawal of the Allied forces, although Independence would entitle India to demand the withdrawal of such forces also from the country. But they did realise that such a demand was not practicable. They wanted the successful termination of the war in favour of the Democracies.

DEMAND FOR A POLITICAL CHANGE

If conditions were different they would not have hesitated to demand the complete withdrawal of the British from India, even if it meant exposing the country to the dangers of anarchy and civil war. The demand which was being put forward for a political change in the country was not of such a nature as to upset civil administration and law and order. They wanted a change which would help the prosecution of the war, and not bring about chaos. If fairplay and justice prevailed, the British Government and their Allies would not find their demand such as would bring about chaos and disorder in the country. It was sheer travesty to interpret the Congress Demand in the manner interpreted by Sir Stafford Cripps.

The Congress President explained that the "Quit India" demand did not mean the physical removal of all the Britishers from India. It only meant the transfer of political power to Indian hands. After the demand had been originally made by *Gandhi ji* both *Pandit Nehru* and himself went to Warilha to discuss the matter with *Gandhi ji* who made it clear to them that it only meant the transfer of power.

"NO TIME FOR THREATS OR PROMISES"

Continuing Mr. Azad said that events had reached such a pass that there was no time either for threats or for promises. They must face facts reasonably and act instantly. The Congress did not want promises nor did they want to make promises. The need of the hour was action and action right now on the part of the Congress as well as the British Government. Let the British Government sign India's Independence and simultaneously, "we will sign our agreement with the United Nations to fight along with them against all aggressors." He could say with all the emphasis at his command and speaking with the responsibility attached to the Congress Presidency that they would be prepared to sign such an agreement. But were the intentions of the British Government honest? Were they willing to grant the Independence of India?

Concluding, Mr. Azad said the zero hour was fast approaching. They were making a final appeal to the British and to the United Nations and it was the duty of the latter to accept it if their eyes were not blind and their ears were not deaf.

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the meeting (see *post*).

Mr. Nehru moves resolution

Following *Mahatma Gandhi's* speech, Pandit *Jawaharlal Nehru*, who moved the resolution, said that the conception of the resolution was not narrow nationalism but it had an international background. The arguments for the resolution had already been sufficiently before the public. He was sure that the bona fides of the resolution had been fully understood by all friends. The resolution was in no sense a challenge to anyone. If the British Government accepted the proposal it would change the position for the better, both internal and international, from every point of view. The position of China would be improved. He was convinced that whatever change *Mahatma Gandhi* come about in India it must be for the better. The A. I. C. C. knew that *Mahatma Gandhi* had agreed that British and other foreign armed forces stationed in India might continue. This, he maintained, was in order not to allow the Japanese come in.

BRITISH ATTITUDE CONDEMNED

Referring to the opposition to the Congress demand both in England and in America, Mr. Nehru expressed surprise how intelligent people there could have misunderstood it. He had regretfully come to the conclusion that not only the British Government but to some extent other Governments as well were following the British line of thought towards India. To-day the British Government was opposed to the Indian national movement for freedom. He was convinced that the British Government could never really think in terms of advancing the freedom of India unless, of course, the entire character of the present British Government was changed. He was not personally concerned with those changes he mentioned, but he was for cutting away from that Government and that country. It was not for him to advise the British people what Government they should have.

BLACKMAN CHARGE ABSURD

There was a great deal of criticism in America, too, about what India wanted. "We are accused", he said, "by some newspapers that we are blackmailing. It is a curious charge for a people to make who themselves had for generations carried on a struggle for freedom. If by demanding freedom we are called blackmailers then surely our understanding of the English language has been wrong. Whatever may happen in Whitehall it is not going to stop us from working for independence. We live for it and will die for it. I do not want to say anything at the present moment which might add to the feeling of bitterness that exists everywhere. I know that this war—and this is one of the worst effects of the war—has produced great emotional reactions in people's minds which make it very difficult for people to think straight and not to think in terms of violent hatred."

"UNPARALLELED EXAMPLE OF INEFFICIENCY"

"Nobody in Whitehall can think straight, I suppose. There is falsity everywhere. You listen to the radios, London, Berlin or to Tokyo. One does not know which is the truth. I am prepared to make many allowances for the emotional background in England and in America. I do not really mind if people get angry. But I am sorry for the people in England and in America who have a perverted way of looking at the Indian question. They are so wrong that they would land themselves in difficulty. After all, think just what would be the course of history, particularly that of Britain, if she had done the right thing by India in the last two years. If Britain had done rightly, the entire history of the war would have been different. England has stuck to her Imperialism and Empire. The fact is patent to me that the British Government and for certain the Government of India think the Indian National Congress to be Enemy Number One. If the Government of India is going to treat the people of India like this, then, we know, how to treat them. We have seen in the last few months an unparalleled example of this inefficiency and incompetency of this Government. The system is a rotten one. I do not want to associate myself with the creaking shaking machinery that the Government of India is. As for the so-called National War Front there is neither the nation nor the war nor any front in it. All that this Front is now doing is

opposing the Congress. I certainly do not mind that. The whole Government of India is built that way. The only occasion when it does function effectively and efficiently is when overnight it starts rounding up large numbers of people. One of these days some such efficient functioning will reappear against Congressmen.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE TO ASIA MUST CHANGE

"It is a curious tangle that we are in. It is not going to be untangled by shouting or by the approaches of the British Government. If I may, with all respect, suggest China and to the whole of Asia. You (America) have looked upon India as an appendage of Britain and Asia as the dependents of Europe and America. Some of you have thought in terms of benevolence towards these countries, but always with that taint of racial superiority. You have considered yourself, with your inventions of the Machine Age, to be infinitely better than us and that we are a benighted backward people. But the people of Asia do not propose to be treated in that manner any longer. Asia is the mother continent of the world and India and China constitute the real mother country of the world. What is the good of a people, simply because they have some very great material achievements, when they have forgotten and are not learning the very essence and art of living? They have built and are building better motor cars. This is a Machine Age. But we will also learn to build machines—better machines. The Americans have forgotten the experience of ages who have learned the art of living deeply without merely the material achievements of such living.

Condemning British rule in India, Pt. Nehru deplored the poverty of the country. "I hate poverty. My grievance against the British is that they have made Indians miserable, poverty-stricken wrecks of humanity. We are now taking a step from which there will be no going back. If there is goodwill on the other side, then everything would be all right and the whole course of the war and the future of the world will be changed. The change would be not merely positive but in the material sense also. But that is not to be. There might be some difficulty. It is my conviction that this (the resolution) is the only effective way in which we can help China and Russia and I know how terrible is the position there. Britain and America must change their whole conception of the war. It is no good looking at Asia as a side-show. Asia is the seat of the war and it is Asia that is going to determine the final result of the war. Therefore, I want to be the right kind of result. We must go forward even though it involves certain perils which face that step. I should like my friends, who do not agree with this resolution or who do not try to understand it, to respect our *bondages*. People should realise that if there is any trouble in India, it is we who would suffer. If there is internal trouble or an external invasion by Japan, it is we who would suffer. England might be distantly affected but we will have to die immediately. The problem of meeting aggression affects us deeply. How can I, after seeing the incompetence of the Government, trust them? Their whole attitude is one of retirement. We want to be valiant fighters. It is not a narrow nationalist resolution. I am proud of Indian nationalism because it is broad-based and has an international back-ground."

"A FIGHT TO THE FINISH"

Earlier in his speech, Mr. Nehru emphasised that the movement contemplated was not for merely achieving national ends but for achieving world freedom. The Congress was plunging into a stormy ocean and it would emerge either with a few days, to be suspended and talked over. It was going to be a fight to the finish. The Congress had now burnt its boats and was about to embark on a desperate campaign. He could never persuade himself to work with a Government which had neither vision nor intelligence. Nor would he remain a passive spectator of the great happenings that were taking place in the world. It appeared to him, perhaps, he would live in eternal opposition to the Axis Powers. He repudiated the suggestion that the Congress and Mahatma Gandhi were bargaining and bagging. In moments of excitement people were prone to say certain things, but they should not be dubbed as bargaining. Mr. Nehru asked how by granting India's independence, the war efforts of the United Nations would be hampered or that chaos and anarchy would follow in India. The resolution, he asserted, did

not give out even one-tenth of the real feelings of Indians towards the British Government.

Sardar Patel Second Resolution

Seconding the resolution, *Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel* pointed out that in last few days since they passed the resolution in the Working Committee, the outside world had suddenly developed an enormous interest in India. They were now getting more publicity than they could ever get all these years even by spending money. They were now getting advice freely from those whom they had advised, some were threatening, and some, who professed to be friends of India, were declaring that their action would not be in India's good. But he did not want to give any answer to any of these criticisms and advice for the simple reason that whatever answer he could give them would not reach them. The normal channels of publicity that were available were not in their control and were not open to them. Only such things as were palatable to the Government were allowed to go out of India.

"MAKE IT A PEOPLE'S WAR FOR INDIA"

Sardar Patel declared that if America and England were still thinking that they could fight their enemies from India without the co-operation of four hundred millions of people, they were foolish. It must dawn on the people that this war was a people's war and they should fight for their country and their freedom. As long as this feeling was non-existent no amount of propaganda through the newspapers and the radio could rouse the people to a supreme effort. For three years, the Congress was scrupulously adhering to their policy of non-embarrassment and did nothing, even under provocation. But this attitude was not appreciated and Britain thought that conditions would remain the same throughout. Now the enemy was at their door and they could not risk being idle any longer.

BRITAIN'S UNWILLINGNESS TO TRANSFER POWER

Referring to the question of transfer of power to Indians, Sardar Patel declared that whenever the British Government were talking about transfer of power, they were never sincere in their professions. In India they pointed the Muslim League and asked to whom they should transfer power. But they never asked the same question of Burma. They were calling, in their radio broadcasts and newspapers, the Government established by Japan in Burma as a Puppet Government, but he asked what sort of a Government was it they had at Delhi now. So far as India was concerned, even the so-called friends of India in England like Mr. Attlee were talking the same language as Mr. Churchill. He declared that Britain was interested in defending India only for the purpose of making India safe for future generations of Britons. In Russia, it was a people's war; in China it was a people's war who were not fighting for their freedom, but for preserving it. But he asked, if India was not for Indians, how could they make it a people's war. They were calling this a war for Democracy, Sardar Patel went on. The Congress had given three years to Britain to make that principle apply to India. When Mr. Churchill declared that the future of India was purely a British question and it had already been decided by the British Government, no American, who professed sympathy now for India, would raise a protest against this declaration.

"CAN NOT TRUST JAPANESE"

At the same time Sardar Patel warned his audience against going to the other extreme and putting any faith in the professions of Japan about their good intentions regarding India. From her acts in Manchuria, China and elsewhere it was clear that Japan was following the same ambition of empire-building as England and even outdoing her in it. India could have no trust in Japanese declarations. Referring to the recent statement in the House of Mr. Amery regarding the transfer of power to Indians, Sardar Patel declared that the British need not worry about to whom to transfer power. Let her transfer the power to the Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha, to any Indian, so long as they gave up their control over India. There were some people in India, said Sardar Patel, who still thought that there would be some compromise between the Government and the Congress. He wanted to disabuse them of any such delusion. There was no more hope of any settlement with Britain. An opportunity was given to the people now to fight for

their own Independence as the Russians and the Chinese and many other nations were doing now elsewhere. They should not miss that opportunity; such an opportunity might not come again.

SCOPE OF PROPOSED MOVEMENT

Mr. Patel warned the people that the fight that was before them was going to be a tough one and as *Mahatma Gandhi* had emphasised, should be short and swift. Without wishing to go into details, he told them that it would not be this time the fall-going type of movement. This time it would not happen that they would remain in jail for a year or two and cease to think about what was happening outside. Their object was to free India before the Japs came here and to fight them if they did. The movement would not be confined to Congressmen only; it would take in all men who called themselves Indians. It would also include all items of non-violent resistance already sanctioned by the Congress and probably some more.

M. Gandhi Explains Stand

After *Maulana Abul Kalam* had spoken, *Mahatma Gandhi* addressed the session. He said:

"Before you discuss the Resolution, let me place before you one or two things. I want you to understand two things very clearly and to consider them from the same point of view from which I am placing them before you. I ask you to consider it from my point of view because, if you approve of it, you will be enjoined to carry out all I say. It will be a great responsibility. There are people who ask me whether I am the same man that I was in 1920 or whether there has been any change in me. You are right in asking that question. I may tell you that I am the same man to-day that I was in 1920. The only difference is that I am much stronger in certain things now than what I was in 1920. I may explain it by pointing out that a man goes about heavily clothed in winter. But the same man may be found without much clothing in summer. This outward change does not make any difference in the man. There are people who may say that I say one thing to-day and another thing to-morrow. But I must tell you that there is no change in me. I stick to the principle of non-violence as I did before. If you are tired of it then you need not come with me. It is not necessary or incumbent upon you to pass this Resolution. If you want Swaraj and independence and if you feel that what I place before you is a good thing and right thing, then only accept it. It is only that way you can give complete support. If you do not do that, I am afraid you will have to rue what you do. There is not much harm if a man does a wrong thing and repents, but in the present case you will be putting the country also in danger. If you do not believe fully in what I say, then I will request you not to accept it but to leave it. But if you accept it and do not understand me properly then there is bound to be friction between us, although it may be of a friendly nature. Another point I want to impress upon you is your great responsibility. Members of the A. I. C. C. are like members of a Parliament. The Congress represents the whole of India. The Congress, from its very inception, has not been of any particular groove or any particular colour or caste or of any particular province. It has claimed, ever since its birth, to represent the whole nation, and on your behalf, I have made the claim that you represent not only the registered members of the Congress but the entire nation."

POSITION OF THE STATES

Referring to the Princes, *Mahatma Gandhi* stated that they were the creation of the British Power. "Their number may be 600 or more. They are created by the ruling power, as you know, to create differences between Indian India and British India. It may be true that there are differences in the conditions obtaining in British and Indian India but according to the people of the States there is no difference as such. The Congress claims to represent them as well. The policy which the Congress adopted towards the States was drawn up at my instance. There have been some changes but the basis remains the same. Whatever the Princes may say their people will accept it and we have been asking for the very thing that they want. If we carry on this struggle in the way I want it, the Princes will get more thorough helplessness by saying that we are more free than they are because they can be removed by the Paramount Power." Proceeding *Gandhi* said: "I will again remind you that you should accept

the resolution only if you approve of it from your heart because if you do not do that you will expose both you and me to danger. That is the warning I want to give you. I did not, in the past, have before me the material I have ready to-day. God has given me an opportunity, and if I do not have it, I will be a fool. Not only will I lose myself, but I will be throwing away that great jewel of non-violence that God has placed in my hands.

"FREEDOM TO CONSTRUCT"

"I will not take up much of your time because if you accept the resolution then I will have to address you again, but even then, I will not take more than an hour of your time. What I want you to understand clearly is the way you have to tread and the man with whom you have to travel. There are people who say that I am meant for destruction and that I do not know how to construct a thing. The reason is that I do not get an opportunity to construct. If I were given an opportunity I would certainly welcome it and I hope to show what can be done. I am accused of demolishing things. If you understand it properly, you must have from the beginning that confidence in yourself. We had an opportunity of running the Government at least in seven provinces. We did put in good work which was praised even by the British Government. Your work will not finish in a non-violent way. Militantists, as soon as they get power, become dictators. There is no place for such dictators in our scheme of things. Our object is to achieve Independence and whoever can take up the reins may do so. It may be that you decide to place it in the hands of the Parsis. You should not say, why should the Parsis be entrusted with power? It may be that power may be given to those whose names have never been heard in the Congress. It will be for the people to decide. You should not feel that the majority of those who fought for it were Hindus and the number of Muslims and Parsis in the fight was small. The entire atmosphere will change when we get Independence."

"There are people who have hated in their hearts for the British. I have heard people saying that they are disgusted with them. The mind of the common people does not differentiate between the Britisher and the imperialistic form of their government. To them both are the same. There are people who do not mind the advent of the Japanese. To them, perhaps, it would mean a change of masters. But it is a dangerous thing. You must remove it from your mind. This is a crucial hour. If we keep quiet and don't play our part, it would not be right on our part. If it is only Britain and the United States who fight this war, and if our part is only to give monetary help, whether given willingly or taken from us unwillingly, it is not a very happy proposition. But we can show our real grit and valour only when it becomes our own fight. Then even a child will be brave. We shall get our freedom by fighting. It cannot fall from the skies. I know full well that Britishers will have to give us freedom when we have made sufficient sacrifices and proved our strength.

"We must remove hatred for the British from our hearts. At least in my heart there is no such hatred. As a matter of fact, I am a greater friend of the British now than I ever was. The reason for this is that at this moment they are in distress. My friendship demands that I must make them aware of their mistakes. As I am not in the position in which they are—on the brink of a ditch and about to fall into it—therefore, even if they want to cut off my hands, my friendship demands that I should try to pull them out of that ditch. This is my claim at which many people may laugh, but all the same I say that this is true. At a time when I am about to launch the biggest fight in my life, there can be no hatred for the British in my heart. The thought that because they are in difficulties I should give them a push is totally absent from my mind. It has never been there.

"It may be that in a moment of anger, they (the British) might do things which might provoke you. Nevertheless you should not resort to violence and non-violence to shame. When such a thing happens, you may take it that you will not find me alive, wherever I may be. Their blood will be on your head. If you don't understand this, it would be better if you reject this Resolution. It will redound to your credit. How can I blame you for this which you may not be able to grasp?

"BRITISH ARE NOT GOING TO FAIL"

as I have never believed—that the British are going to fail. I don't consider them to be a nation of cowards. I know that before they accept defeat, every soul in Britain will be sacrificed. They may be defeated and they may leave you just as they left the people of Burma, Malaya and other places with the idea of recapturing lost ground when they can. That may be their military strategy, but supposing they leave us, what happens to us? In that case, Japan will come here. The coming in of Japan will mean the end of China, and perhaps of Russia too. In these matters, *Pandit Nehru* is my Guru. I don't want to be the instrument of Russia's defeat nor of China's. If that happens, I would hate myself."

HOPE THAT MR. JINNAH WILL CHANGE"

Continuing, Mahatma Gandhi said : "You know I like to go at a rapid speed. But it may be that I am not going as rapidly as you want me to. *Sardar Patel* is reported to have said that the campaign may be over in a week. I don't want to be in a hurry. If it ends in a week it will be a miracle, and if this happens, it would mean the melting of the British heart. It may be that wisdom will dawn on the British and they will understand it to be wrong for them to put in jail the very people who want to fight for them. It may be that a change may come in Mr. *Jinnah's* mind too. After all, he will think that those who are fighting are the sons of the soil and if he sits quiet, of what use would Pakistan be for him? Non-violence is a weapon which can help everyone. I know we have not done much by way of non-violence, and, therefore, if such a change comes about, I will take it as the result of labours during the last twenty-two years, and that God has helped us to achieve it."

"When I raised the slogan 'Quit India', people in India who were then feeling despondent, felt that I had placed before them a new thing. If you want real freedom you will have to come together and such coming together will create a true democracy,—a democracy, the like of which has not been so far witnessed, nor have there been any attempts made for such a type of true democracy. I have read a good deal about the French Revolution. Carlyle's works I read while in jail. I have great admiration for the French people. *Pandit Jawaharlal* has told me all about the Russian Revolution. But I told that though theirs was a fight for the people, it was not a fight for the real democracy which I envisage. My democracy means that everyone is his own master. I have read sufficient history, and I have not seen such an experiment on such a large scale for the establishment of democracy by non-violence. Once you understand these things, you will forget differences between Hindus and Muslims."

ADHERENCE TO NON-VIOLENCE

"The resolution that is placed before you says that we don't want to remain frogs in a well. We are aiming at World Federation. Disarmament is only possible if you use the matchless weapon of non-violence. There are people who may call me a visionary, but I tell you I am a real Bania, and my business is to obtain Swaraj. If you don't accept this resolution I won't be sorry for it. On the contrary I would dance with joy because you would then relieve me of the tremendous responsibility which you are now going to place on me. I want you to adopt non-violence as a matter of policy. With me it is a creed, but so far as you are concerned I want you to accept it as a policy. As disciplined soldiers you must accept it in toto and stick to it when you join the struggle."

After Mahatma Gandhi's speech the House adjourned till the next day.

Second Day—Bombay—8th. August 1943

Several Amendments Moved

The All India Congress Committee passed the official resolution by an overwhelming majority, only 13 members voting against it. Three of the amendments were withdrawn and the others were rejected. Gandhi addressed the gathering, after the resolution was passed. The committee resumed its session at 3 p.m. to-day.

MR. BALKRISHNA SHARMA'S AMENDMENT

The President ruled out of order an amendment which Mr. *Balkrishna Sharma* had given notice of, on the ground that it was in the nature of a separate resolution and amounted to contravention of the Working Committee resolution. Mr. Sharma's amendment sought a postponement of the proposed struggle.

MR. SAXENA'S AMENDMENT

Mr. *Chimanlal Saxena* of Gorakhpur moved an amendment seeking to delete

that portion of the Working Committee's resolution which guarantee India's full support to the United Nations in their fight against all aggression, provided India's Independence was conceded forthwith. Mr. Saxena said that it was the duty of the Indians first to look after their own interests and not to give undertakings which they were not in a position to fulfil. The immediate question was India's Independence. Once Independence had been achieved, it would be for a free India to decide her own foreign policy. He was opposed to any advance, guarantee and commitment of the kind envisaged in the resolution. Mr. Saxena insisted how Russia though an ally of Britain and America was still not at war with Japan.

DR. SUBBARAOYAS' AMENDMENT

Dr. P. Subbarayan, former Minister in Madras, moved an amendment stating "considering the extremely grave peril to India caused by the threat of Japanese invasion and also due to the fact that an alien Imperialism refused to part with power and further considering that genuine Hindu-Muslim unity based on the recognition of the right of self-determination is the only weapon with which India can wrest power from the British rulers the All-India Congress Committee decides that the Congress immediately takes the initiative in bringing about Congress-League unity and to form a Provisional National Government." The amendment also sought the deletion of the paragraphs relating to the proposed mass struggle.

Dr. Subbarayan, commending his amendment to the House, said that in the dangerous situation which now faced them they should try to come to a settlement with the other side so that a united demand could be presented. For sure success in the contemplated movement, Dr. Subbarayan said, Hindu-Muslim unity was absolutely essential. "We must face the menace of the Axis aggression with all the strength at our command. The movement, if launched, without communal harmony may lead to chaos and disorder which may help the aggressor Japan who may be many times worse than the one we have got to deal with in this country". Concluding, Dr. Subbarayan urged the A. I. C. C. to settle with the Muslim League before the movement was launched.

MR. SATRUGA SINGH'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Satrugna Saran Singh by an amendment urged the Committee not to commit itself in any manner in regard to the future World Federation. He said that the enemies of Britain to-day might very well be friends to-morrow. It was not wise to pronounce at this stage any final decision on such important questions and decide in advance their views regarding such world federation.

DR. ASHROFF'S AMENDMENT

Dr. Ashroff (Communist) by an amendment sought to give the right, as free and equal member, to secede from the future Federation of India, to every federalising unit comprising of more or less homogeneous sections of the Indian people and having contiguous territory as their homeland.

Dr. Ashroff urged that the Congress, as the biggest political organisation, should turn its attention to organising the masses into a disciplined nation. He was happy to note that some of the leaders' speeches the previous day had cleared many of the doubts that existed in the public regarding the Congress attitude and plan of action. Till yesterday, people were under the impression that the Congress held out for complete withdrawal of the British. Now, they were assured that the British forces could stay behind and give any help they wanted to. Till yesterday they were under the impression that, immediately after the withdrawal of the British, there would be anarchy in India. Now, the President had told them that there would be a National Government established. If the war was to be made a people's war, they should forge the people's will, and, for that, it was necessary to bring about unity in every direction in the country. To fight the fascists, what they wanted was an organised and disciplined nation. What the Congress had now was only a mass, a crowd, and it was for the Congress to harness the masses properly to fight organised Fascism.

MR. ZAHEDI'S AMENDMENT

Mr. Sajjad Zahedi (Communist) by an amendment urged the Congress to take the initiative in building a united national front of parties and sections of people who wanted to secure India's immediate freedom and who were prepared to participate in or support the formation of a Provisional National Government which would undertake the organisation of armed as well as non-violent defence against Fascist aggressors in close co-operation with the United Nations and their armies.

Sajjad Zaheer pointed out that the President had made it clear that the Congress was anxious to join in the fight of the Allied Nations against Fascist nations if only it was given an opportunity to do so freely. He was happy to declare that, so far as this question was concerned, the Communists were one with the Congress. But the present resolution before the Committee was against the professed sympathies of the Congress for democracy and liberty, was prepared to take move which might or might not lead to a National Government in India, but would certainly mean a serious blow to the United Nations. He doubted if the movement would take them any nearer the establishment of even a National Government. He pointed out that there was a revolution going on in the world and the freedom of all countries, not only that of India, was in danger. India was now given a chance to make a united stand in the cause of freedom, and she should not miss it. It might be a fact that, on account of inefficiency and weakness, Burma and Malaya had been lost; but that was the very reason they should make a united stand and prevent a similar disaster from overtaking India. For this purpose, he felt it was essential that they should bring about complete unity in the country and he thought that the Congress was the only organisation which could bring about such unity.

MR. SARDARS' AMENDMENT

Mr. S. G. Sardesai (Communist), in a lengthy amendment, stressed the need, in this hour of grave emergency, of all-in national unity for the purpose of forging mass sanction to secure the installation of a Provisional National Government and asked the Committee to make an earnest effort to effect an agreement and a joint front with the Muslim League.

Mr. Sardesai said that it would be superfluous for him to expatiate on the need for coming to a settlement with the Muslim League and other elements in the country. In recent days, a number of political sections has risen up, all clamouring for a hearing, and the cry of Pakistan had also been raised by some section of Muslims. He declared that it was not necessary for settling these questions with the various political groups to be carried away by what this leader or that leader might say. Mr. Jinnah might have his own views on Pakistan, that did not matter. The only thing that mattered, so far as the Congress was concerned, was the feeling and views of the Muslim masses in that matter. The Muslims, as a mass, the tolling suffering Muslims, had no faith in the Pakistan scheme. It was for the Congress, as the biggest political organisation, to make an earnest and direct effort to bring in these tolling Muslim masses into the Congress fold.

Mr. Sardesai went on to point out that, having achieved unity of all parties, the Congress and the League should simultaneously take the initiative in launching a joint campaign not only to educate the people for the installation of a National Government, but also to inspire and instruct the masses in national resistance to any aggressor and in fighting defeated elements in the country. He declared that, unless this perfect unity was effected, and unless any campaign that was launched had the full co-operation of all the parties, the war could not be made a people's war as in China and Russia.

After all the amendments had been moved, the Committee proceeded to a general discussion on the resolution.

"THE ONLY PROPER LEAD"

Mr. Mahesh Dutt asserted that the Working Committee's resolution was the only proper lead that could be given to the country. The very fact that a mass movement was to be launched after the war had been in progress for three years, clearly demonstrated what amount of patience the Congress had shown. The repeated appeals to the British Government to settle the Indian problem, so as to enable India to make her participation in the war real and her contribution effective, showed that the Congress had been prepared for a compromise. The speaker hoped that once all possibilities of a settlement by negotiation had been explored and found useless and the struggle was launched, it would not be suspended halfway through, until India's independence was secured.

"INAPPROPRIATE TO LAUNCH MOVEMENT NOW"

Mr. Balakrishna Sharma, whose amendment had been ruled out by the President, opposed the resolution in a vigorous speech. He said that while the country was facing the possibility of an invasion by Japan, it was most inopportune for the Congress to launch a mass movement. The proposed movement was

different from the past ones. Hitherto Mahatma Gandhi had been opposed to mixing up the working-class movement in the country with the political movements launched by him from time to time. Hitherto, the trade union movement and the Congress political movement had been running parallel to each other and there had been no fusion between the two. Gandhi appeared to be determined to mix up the working-class movement with the political struggle. The conditions in the country to-day were such that the trade union people (workers) were not likely to accord full and unequivocal support to Mahatma Gandhi's movement. The speaker maintained that the true implications of the Mahatma's message of non-violence would not be properly conveyed to the masses, and therefore, things might happen in the course of the movement which would lead to its failure. All the same, the speaker said that he would abide by the decision of the A. I. C. C., and would enlist himself as a soldier in the struggle.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Congress Socialist, supporting the resolution, declared that India's attitude towards the British Power had undergone a revolutionary change during the last few months. The course of events had shown that the British Power was not the invincible one it hitherto used to be. Consequently, subject peoples had shed their fear of Britain. Discontent against the way Britain was handling the Indian problem was daily growing. Criticising the Communists' attitude, Dr. Lohia asked how these people who had been demanding an immediately revolutionary struggle could now oppose the proposed movement.

Pandit Jagan Lal, supporting the resolution, repudiated the contention of the Communists that the present war was a people's war so far as India was concerned. He hoped that the Communists would, before long, see the error and correct themselves, and support the Congress programme. Urging unity in Congress ranks, he hoped that before long, it may become possible for Mr. Rajagopalachari to come back to the Congress.

Mr. Achyut Patwardhan, supporting the resolution, said that it was a strange argument to put forward that in order to establish unity in the country, the Congress should agree to break up the union and thus create Pakistan. He failed to understand how the so-called unity would come out of a division of the country. Answering the Communists' contention that millions of Muslims were behind the demand for Pakistan, Mr. Patwardhan said that many millions more were opposed to it. The speaker wondered why the Communists thought it necessary to appeal to the Congress only and not to the Muslim League.

Supporting the Official Congress resolution, Sardar Pratap Singh (Punjab) declared that it was absolutely false to state that the Sikhs were not behind the Congress. "The Sikhs are with the Congress in this final struggle for India's freedom" he declared. "The Sikhs are prepared to throw in their lot with Gandhi, who was now talking of the Communists to throw in their lot with Gandhi, who was now talking of 'rebellion and revolt'."

The speaker referred to the Punjab Premier's allegation that the Congress was stabbing the country in the back, and said that, in point of fact, Sir Sikandar's statement constituted a stab in the back of the country. The Congress was determined to win freedom. The Congress could have, he added, on various occasions stabbed the British Government in the back, but they had never utilised their opportunity to that end. The movement which would now be launched, in fact, needed no one to lead it. It would be a spontaneous one and would grow in strength. Concluding the speaker appealed to the Communists first to think of India before they thought of Russia and China, and support Gandhi.

Acharya Narendra Dev (United Provinces), supporting the resolution, reviewed the happenings in the country since the war broke out in September 1933. Gandhi had now decided that India could not continue any further. The same Gandhi, who two and a half years ago had told the Viceroy that his sympathies lay with the Allies, was now asking them to fight for India's independence. Opposing the amendments moved on behalf of the Communists, Acharya Narendra Dev said that it was a pity that, at the time of the final struggle, there were still people who were not prepared to make the sacrifices required of them. During the Ramgarh Congress, he continued, the leaders were ready to launch a mass movement; he could now say that the people were ready, ready as never before, to fight and achieve India's freedom. They were fed up with inactivity and they wanted to do something.

Acharya Narendra Dev averred that it was wrong to insinuate that Gandhi was launching this movement as a result of disillusionment. It was also wrong to

state that Gandhi did not care what happened to China, Russia or the other Democracies. It was because Gandhi had been convinced that only a free India could effectively support the United Nations that he was embarking upon the movement.

Referring to the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan, *Acharya Narendra Dev* reiterated Gandhi's words that if the Muslims wanted it, no power under the sun could stop them. But, he added, Mr. Jinnah was afraid to discuss it with others. The country could not stop now, because no settlement had been possible with Mr. Jinnah. If they waited, the settlement would not come and the golden opportunity would slip away.

Mr. T. Prakasam, supporting the resolution, said that the proposed movement would be the last fight for India's freedom. From Wardha to Bardoli, from Bardoli to Delhi, from Delhi to Allahabad and back then to Wardha, and from Wardha to Bombay—all this meant great progress in India's march towards the goal of freedom. The speaker was supremely gratified to find that Mahatma Gandhi had once again assumed the leadership of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Prakasam had no doubt about the response the country would give to Mahatma Gandhi's call. The movement might embarrass the United Nations, but in a larger measure would frighten Japan and Germany if they had any aims on India. Mr. Prakasam was happy that the usual restrictions which Mahatma Gandhi generally imposed on those who joined him had now been relaxed, the only condition being that all those who joined were prepared to make any sacrifice for achieving India's freedom.

Maulana Nuruddin Behari, supporting the resolution, said that as soldiers of the battle for India's freedom, they had no right to question the strategy of their General. When the call came, it was their duty to follow. The Communists had confused the issue of Hindu-Muslim unity with India's right to freedom. The Hindu-Muslim problem was different. The proposed struggle was for India's freedom and the speaker had no doubt that the Muslims would not lag behind in this struggle for freedom. The Communists were keeping out of it not because of the Hindu-Muslim question, but because they did not want to join it, they were making an excuse of the Hindu-Muslim question. He assured Mahatma Gandhi that thousands of Mussalman would join the movement.

At this stage, *Maulana Azad*, the Congress President, said that the session would conclude to-night and called upon Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* to wind up the debate.

After Mr. *Nehru* had replied to the debate the Congress President made a statement on the Hindu-Muslim question (see *posts*) and then put the various amendments to vote. Three amendments were withdrawn and the remaining were all rejected by an over-whelming majority, only twelve members voting in their favour.

The original resolution was then put to vote and was carried by an over-whelming majority, only 13 members voting against. The Congress President declared the resolution passed amidst loud and continued cheers.

Mahatma Gandhi then addressed the House for hundred and twenty minutes in English and Hindustani. See below.

Maulana Azad, winding up the proceedings, stated that he was addressing the United Nations on the Congress demand and would strive till the last minute to reach a settlement. The session concluded at 10 p. m.

Mahatma Gandhi's Speech

"I take up my task of leading you in this struggle not as your commander, not as your controller, but as the humble servant of you all; and he who serves best, becomes the chief among them. I am the chief servant of the nation; that is how I look at it," declared *Mahatma Gandhi*, addressing the A. I. C. C. in English. He added: "I want to share all the shocks that you have to face."

Gandhi referred to the interpretations put in foreign countries on his utterances during the last three weeks and said: "I know that in the course of the last few weeks, I have forfeited the privilege of the friendship and the trust of many of my friends in India and abroad, so much so that they now have begun some to doubt my wisdom and some even to doubt my honesty. My wisdom is not such a treasure that I cannot afford to lose it, but honesty is a precious treasure to me."

"LORD LINLITHGOW—A PERSONAL FRIEND"

Gandhiji then referred to the friendship which had grown between him and many Viceroys, and in particular, between him and Lord Linlithgow. "It is a friendship which has outgrown mere official relations. I hope Lord Linlithgow will bear me out personally. This is not a secret," he said.

Gandhiji then referred to the deep friendship he cherished for the late C. R. Andrews and said: "At the present moment, the spirit of Andrews is sweeping me, and Andrews seems to me to be the highest that I have known in England. With Andrews, I enjoyed a relationship, closer than which I have not enjoyed with any Indian. There was no secret between us; we exchanged our hearts everyday. Whatever was in his heart, he would blurt out without the slightest hesitation or reservation. It is true he was a friend of *Guru Dev*, but he was awed by *Guru Dev's* presence."

"THE VOICE WITHIN ME"

Proceeding, Mahatma Gandhi observed: "With this background, I want to declare to the world—whatever may be said to-day to the contrary, and although I may have forfeited the regard of many a friend of the West, even the trust of some of them—that even for their love and for their friendship, I must not suppress the voice within me. Call it conscience, call it by anything you like, call it the promptings of my basic nature. I do not mind how you describe it, but there is something there. I have learnt Psychology and I know exactly what it is, although I may not be able to describe it to you. That voice tells me that I shall have to fight against the whole world and stand alone. It also tells me: 'You are safe so long as you stare the world in the face, although the world may have blood-shot eyes. Do not fear the world, but go ahead, with the fear of God in you.' That thing is within me. You have to forsake wife, friends, forsake everything in the world. I want to live the whole span of my life. But I do not think I will live so long. When I am gone, India will be free and not only will India be free, but the whole world will be free. I do not believe that the Americans are free, or that England is free. They may be free according to their conception. I know what freedom is. English teachers have taught me its meaning. I must interpret that freedom according to what I can see and what I have experienced."

CRITICS URGED TO SEARCH THEIR HEARTS

Gandhiji then referred to the work and philosophy of Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozshah Mehta and others and said: "Unconsciously, from its very inception, the Congress has always been non-violent. I do not claim that every Congressman conforms to the highest principles of non-violence even as a policy. I know that there are many black sheeps. But I am trusting them, in general, without subjecting them to an examination. It is this fundamental trust that rules my life. From its very beginning, the Congress in its fundamental policy—which is to bring about Swaraj—has been non-violent."

Urging all his critics to search their hearts before accusing him of dishonesty, Gandhiji said: "I want Englishmen and all the United Nations to examine their hearts, search their hearts. What crime has the Congress committed in demanding Independence to-day? Is it wrong to do so? Is it right to distrust that organisation? I hope, Englishmen, don't do so. I hope that it won't be done by the President of the United States, and by the Chinese Generalissimo, *Menghsih Chiang Kai-shek*, who is still fighting desperate battles with Japan for his existence. After having owned *Towharai* as a comrade, I hope he won't do it. I fell in love with Madame *Chiang Kai-shek*. She was my interpreter, and I have no reason to doubt that she was a faithful interpreter to her husband." Gandhiji added: "She has not as yet said that we were wrong in demanding our Independence, I have great regard for British diplomacy, which has enabled them to hold the empire so long. But now others have studied that diplomacy and are putting it into practice." Gandhiji asserted that "even if all the United Nations opposed me, even if the whole of India tried to persuade me that I am wrong, I will go ahead, not for India's sake alone, but for the sake of the world."

"WE WON'T HIT BELOW THE BELT"

Gandhiji declared that Britain had given India the greatest provocations, but in spite of all that, "we won't hit below the belt. We have too far progressed in real gentlemanly fashion. We will not stoop to any such thing." Gandhiji then explained the difference between his non-embarrassment policy in the recent past

and his present policy. "That policy was non-embarrassment, consistent with the honour and safety of India. There is no inconsistency between what we demand to-day and what we demanded before", he added.

Addressing the United Nations and Britain, *Gandhi* said they had the opportunity, now, of a lifetime, to declare India free and prove their real intentions. "If they miss it, they will be missing the opportunity of a lifetime, which never comes twice in the same generation, and history will say that they did not discharge their overdue debt to India. I ask for the blessings of the whole world and I ask for the active assistance of the United Nations. I do not want to say anything more to them." *Gandhi*, continuing, said that he had always differentiated between Fascism and the Democracies, despite their many limitations, and even pledged the Congress and the Congress will do or die.

"A FIRM BELIEVER IN COMMUNAL UNITY"

Speaking in Hindustani, *Abanindranath Ghosh* said:—

"I congratulate you on passing the resolution. Those who opposed it also deserve my congratulations for their courage of conviction. There is no shame in opposing the resolution. We have learnt this lesson since 1920. It is better to be in a minority, provided we stick to truth and determination. I have learnt this lesson long ago. I have now learnt a further lesson from the dissenting members. I am pleased to note that they have followed me in this direction. I would venture to suggest that the proposals that have been submitted are not perfect. Everything has got one or other defect. Nothing is perfect. Nothing is perfect without truth. *Abanindranath* and *Jawaharlal* have explained to you the implications of this resolution.

"There was a time when every Muslim was professing that India was his Motherland. The All Brothers thought so. I am not prepared to believe, for a moment, that it was a lie or bluff. I would prefer to be ignorant rather than to doubt my colleagues. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims have told me that if the Congress is really serious about solving the communal tangle and establishing permanent unity, the task can be accomplished during my life time only. From very childhood I have been a firm believer in Hindu-Muslim and communal unity. From my very school days, I have had firm faith in the unity of India. When I have been to Africa, I undertook a brief for a Muslim client. I championed the cause of Muslims there. I never distrusted them. I did not return from Africa as a disappointed or as a defeated man.

"I do not care for the abuses which are being hurled on me by some of my Muslim friends. I do not know what I have done that has offended them. I am undoubtedly a worshipper of the cow. It is my belief that every creature on this earth is the creation of God. My friends, especially the Muslims, *Abanindranath* and *Abanindranath* Azad can testify to this fact. I dine with the Muslims. I dine with all without any consideration of caste or religion.

"MR. JINNAH MISGUIDED"

"I hate none, and there is no hatred in me. The late *Abanindranath* was my host in Lucknow. He was a thorough gentleman. It was the time when there was no mutual distrust or suspicion. Mr. *Jinnah* has been a Congressman in the past. He seems now to be misguided. I pray for long life to him and wish that he may survive me. A day will certainly dawn when he will realise that I have never wronged him or the Muslims.

"I have the fullest confidence in the sincerity of the Muslims. I will never talk ill of them even if they kill me. They have every right to form any opinion of me, but I still continue to be the same man as in the old days. Muslims may one to abuse. If the Muslims of India are true followers of the Holy Prophet, then let them follow His teachings faithfully. Their abuses are worse than bullets to me, but still, I am prepared to welcome them.

LET ISSUE BE DECIDED BY A TRIBUNAL

"A World Federation could only be established by mutual agreement. I would pray to my Muslim brothers to judge for themselves dispassionately which is right and which is wrong. Let the issue be decided by a tribunal, and let us all abide by the verdict of the Tribunal. If the Muslim League is not prepared to accept this offer, then, how can they expect to force the scheme upon others by mere coercion? Let them persuade their fellow countrymen to their point of view and

make them agreeable to the scheme of Pakistan. If they failed to convince and convert, this would lead to internal strife. I have no desire to live to witness such a tragedy.

"Islam never teaches its followers to hate anyone. It preaches universal brotherhood and a spirit of mutual tolerance. I am devoting my time and energy, and I am even prepared to lay down my life for the mission which has been entrusted to me by God. Hindu-Muslim unity is dear to my life. I have no mental reservation on the issue of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot be away from Hindustan. Let both and all of us strive for the attainment of the freedom of India.

"CAN'T WAIT ANY LONGER FOR FREEDOM"

"Mr. Jinnah does not seem to believe in the Congress programme and in the Congress demand. But I cannot wait any longer for India's freedom. I cannot wait till Mr. Jinnah is converted for the immediate consummation of Indian freedom. I am very impatient. Communal unity is undoubtedly essential for the country's freedom, but you must know it is freedom for all and not for any particular community.

"I wholeheartedly endorse the Maulana Sahib's offer to the British that India be handed over to any community. I would not be sorry if the authority is transferred to the Muslim masses. India is the homeland of Indian Muslims. For instance, take the case of my son Hiralal. He had embraced Islam. By changing his religion, can he disown his nationality and country? Supposing he is able to change his nationality and country, all the same he cannot disown his father. Under the persuasion of his mother he wrote to me a letter. My wife told me that she was not sorry because her son had changed his religion, but was sorry because he was a drunkard. My grandson went in search of his father, but when he found him, he saw that he was addicted to vices.

"Let every Muslim stand by the Congress. The door is open for them. They can capture the Congress and then change its policy. Nobody can prevent them from doing so. The Congress is a democratic body. Let the Hindus also know this, that they will have to fight for all, including the minorities. Let them be ready to lay down their lives for saving the lives of Muslims. It is the first lesson in Ahimsa. One must be tolerant towards his neighbour. Let the Muslims and others also follow this advice. It is going to be a mass struggle. It can be made effective if everyone follows my advice.

"NOTHING SECRET ABOUT MY PLANS"

"There is nothing secret about our plans. It is an open campaign. But yet see the circular of Puckle Sahab. It is an utter impossibility for the authorities to oppose and crush the Congress with the aid of mushroom parties. We are opposing an empire and it is a powerful empire. It is going to be a straight fight and let there be no mistake about it. Let there be no confusion also. There should be no subterranean activity. Those who undertake underground activities will come to grief.

"I have always enjoyed the confidence of the masses. The time is very critical. I cannot ask Britain or Japan to wait till we are prepared to fight them. If I wait any longer, God will punish me. I am not speaking for India alone. This is the last struggle of my life. Delay is injurious and waiting any further would be humiliation for all of us. It is high time that we are free so that we can help other nations struggling for freedom.

"Our struggle is now to start. But before launching the movement, I will address a letter to the Viceroy and wait for his reply. It may take a week or a fortnight or three weeks. In the meantime, we will have, apart from carrying out the Thirteen Points of the Congress Constitutive Programme, to observe the following code :

"FREEDOM SHALL BE YOUR MANTRA"

"Let every Indian consider himself to be a free man. He must be ready for the actual attainment of freedom or perish in the attempt. His attitude towards life should be that he is a free man. Mere jail-going would not do. There is no more bargaining. There is no room for office acceptance. There is no compromise on the demand for freedom. Freedom first, and then only the rest. Do not be cowards, because cowards have no right to live. Freedom should be your 'mantra' and you should chant it.

"The Press should discharge its duties freely and fearlessly. Let it not allow itself to be cowed down or bribed by the Government. Let it be fair and dis-

charge its obligations honestly. It should have a free forum for one and all. I want the freedom of the Press. Let the Press be ready to be closed down, rather than allow itself to be misused by the authorities. The Press, besides, is a business proposition. They have buildings, machinery and big establishments. They will have to be prepared to sacrifice them. They can resume publication in a free India. I have sacrificed my Navjivan Press. A number of men were thrown out of employment. But it did not pain me in the least, because I closed it for upholding a principle. Let the Press disown the undertaking given to the Government by the Standing Committee. Let it be your reply to *Pucchie Sahab*. Let it not sacrifice its self-respect and submit to humiliations. It should strive for the creation of a new atmosphere.

DUTY OF THE PRINCES

"Let the Princes know that I am their well-wisher from the bottom of my heart. My father had been a Dewan. I myself was born in a State. I have eaten their salt. I do not want to be unworthy of the salt. The Princes should rise to the occasion. They must part with the responsibility of administration to their subjects. Let them read the signs of the times. If they fail to do this, they will have no quarter in a free India. The destiny of free India will be decided by *Jawaharlal* and others who have no sympathy for Feudalism. Let the Princes shed themselves of their autocracy."

"Let the Princes also not abuse their authority. Their only chance of a survival depends on the goodwill of their people. I would venture to ask the Princes whether they are not equally anxious to see India free. If the answer is in the affirmative, let them come forward. If the answer is in the negative, then I do not hesitate to say that even the Paramount Power will not be able to come to their rescue, because the Power itself will not be there. Responsible Government should immediately be conferred on their subjects."

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY DEPRECATED

"Let me emphasise that there should be no underground activity. There should be no secret movement. It is a sin."

Referring to Government servants, Gandhiji said that there was no need for them immediately to resign but they should write to the Government to say that they were with the Congress.

"Students and professors should", he said, "imbibe the spirit of freedom. They should stand by the Congress. They must have the courage to say that they are for the Congress. Should the emergency arise, they should cheerfully abandon their occupation and careers."

Mr. Nehru's speech on the Resolution

Speaking in English on the Working Committee's resolution, in the A. I. C. C. Mr. *Jawaharlal Nehru* declared: "This resolution is not a threat. It is an invitation. It is an explanation. It is an offer of co-operation. It is all that. But still, behind it, there is a clear indication that certain consequences will follow if certain events do not happen. It is an offer of co-operation of a free India. On any other terms there will be no co-operation. On any other terms, our resolution promises only conflict and struggle."

Mr. Nehru went on to say that some friends abroad thought that Congress-men were acting unwisely. He was not saying that they were wrong. In their environment, they could not think otherwise. But, he declared, "Let there be no mistake about it. We are on the verge of a precipice and we are in dead earnest." Mr. Nehru said that the resolution, when passed, would not only represent the decision of the A. I. C. C.; it would represent the voice of the whole of India. He would even go a step further and say that it represented the voice of the entire oppressed humanity of the world. If Britain had accepted this resolution and acted according to its demands, it would have seen a vast change not only in India but all over the world. The whole nature of the war would have been changed. A real revolutionary background would have been given to it. He pointed out that the essential thing about this war was that it was something infinitely more than a mere war. It was a world-war all right but greater than that; it was a prelude to and a precursor of a vast revolution that was enveloping the whole world. The war might end now or it might be carried on for some time more, but no peace would be established, no equilibrium attained until this revolution ran its appointed course.

REVOLUTIONARY SIGNIFICANCE OF THE WAR

It was a great misfortune, Mr. Nehru said, that the leaders in the West had not realised or if they realised, had not acted as if they had, realised the revolutionary significance of the war. They were still carrying on this war on the old lines and thought that they could win it only by building more ships and more aeroplanes. Probably, in their position, he would have done the same thing. They were not thinking in terms of a vast surge of the elemental emotions of humanity. Until they did that, they could never attain success, but would only go from failure to failure. He hoped that they would learn the lesson. He could only hope that they would not learn it too late.

Mr. Nehru asserted that Mr. Churchill and other Britishers had not got over thinking in terms of the Anglo-Saxon race, and recalled a recent speech of Mr. Churchill when he visualised the day when the Anglo-Saxon would march through the world in dignity and mastery. He reminded Britishers and Americans that there were other races in the world besides the Anglo-Saxon race and this racial superiority could never more be tolerated. At the present time, Mr. Nehru went on, the Allied cause was only negatively right, in the sense that Germany and Japan were worse. But Indian freedom would change the whole nature of the war and make it right positively. Even the people of Nazi Germany and those who were helping the Germans would feel the impact of the change.

"MARROW SOLDIER'S POINT OF VIEW WILL NOT DO"

Mr. Nehru regretted that people in England, America and elsewhere were looking at every question from the narrow soldier's point of view. But it did not matter to them how other people viewed the Indian question. He could only tell them that they would not be deterred from their course by any amount of threats. On the other hand, Westerners ought to realise that, at this stage, threats could only make the position infinitely worse and more difficult for them. Mr. Nehru made an earnest appeal to all the people in India that they should not forget their high aims and objectives, that they were fighting not only in the interests of India but in the interests of all countries of the world including China and Russia. He was a Nationalist, and he was proud to be a Nationalist, but they should not settle down to a narrow nationalism. They must always remember that they should develop right internationalism, but, not the pseudo-internationalism of the present day world or of the League of Nations. Mr. Nehru declared that they are going to face great difficulties in the days ahead. All that he could say to those Englishmen and Americans who considered that the Congress was not right was that it was for the Indian people to decide for themselves. They know what it was to be under suspicion much better than Englishmen or Americans. After all, it was the Indians who would have to undergo enormous sufferings and privations if there were a Japanese invasion of India. "We have entered the fire and we have now to come out of it successfully or be consumed by it," declared Mr. Nehru.

MUSLIM LEAGUE ATTITUDE CRITICIZED

Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru vehemently denounced what he called the one-sided propaganda that the Congress should resume talks with the Muslim League, without understanding the numerous attempts made by the Congress in that direction. "How many attempts have we not made, and how often have we not been frustrated in our attempts?" he asked, and added, "We are prepared to pay any price for unity except the price of Independence. How many obstructions have not been placed in our path which have had no relation to the real issue?" "I can talk and negotiate with anybody who recognises democratic freedom for India, but I cannot negotiate with anyone who refuses to recognise the fundamental issue, the freedom of India. I was told during the Cripps negotiations that a certain leader insisted on behalf of Muslims that the Viceroy's power of veto should not be removed or in any way qualified. If any section wanted that the British Viceroy should exercise his veto-power against the decision of his Indian Cabinet, it means clearly that that section is against the freedom of India. I do not want to injure for freedom. I tried, for one whole year, to find out what the League wanted, and I was unable to understand what they want. "I have not been able to find out a parallel to such a situation in the history of the world. I have not come anywhere else across such a situation

except in the land of Hitler. The Sudetan crisis bears similarity to the situation here. For purposes of negotiation, we are not even allowed to select our own representatives. We are told that we cannot send Muslims to represent the Congress. This is an insult to our great organisation and to our revered President. We were prepared to stake everything consistent with our dignity and self-respect towards finding a satisfactory settlement. Whenever we knocked we found the doors were bolted, and we knocked ourselves against a wall. Are we beggars to be treated like this? Are we going to be so dishonourable as to sacrifice our mission of Indian freedom which we want to build? Are we going to be kicked about by men who have made no sacrifice for the freedom of India and who can never think in terms of freedom at all?

"Our conscience is clear. We have made everything that is humanly possible for arriving at a settlement. The Muslim masses are not reactionary. We have made strenuous and sincere attempts to resolve the issue, and all our attempts have either been sabotaged or frustrated." Mr. Nehru said that the chief difficulty was that the problem was more political than communal.

President's Decision to address United Nations

Winding up the proceedings of the A. I. C. C. *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, the Congress President, stated that, in the present world conflagration, India could side with only one set of combatants. But for India to effectively participate with the right side in this war, it was necessary to properly mobilise the people of India. The present circumstances did not help in enthusing the people to all-out effort, which would most certainly change the trend of the war. However much one wished, it would not be possible to rouse Indians to enthusiastic participation in this war till the right thing was done by India, namely, the country was made free.

With a view that the position of the Congress and that of India should not be misunderstood, the Congress President stated, he had issued a number of statements since the passing of the Wardha Resolution. He was making the United Nations understand that the present move of the Congress was to enable India to take her rightful place in the world conflagration. "Though the resolution had been passed, he was for trying to bring about an understanding till the very last minute. He would try to do everything possible to make the British and the other United Nations understand that a free India would wholeheartedly help the United Nations. He was convinced that such efforts, instead of weakening the Congress case, would strengthen the hands of the Congress. If in spite of such efforts, the United Nations did not respond, the loss would be theirs and not that of India. The *Maulana* announced that he was sending copies of the resolution to President Roosevelt, to China and to the Russian Ambassador in London. If all their efforts failed, then it was for Indians to take a determined step forward, with the resolve that in this struggle they would venture ahead, no matter what happened to them whether they sank or swam, whether they would win or lose.

President on Congress-League understanding

The President, *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, in a statement before putting the Working Committee's resolution to vote, said that the Congress had been trying to bring about unity, but every time an effort was made the door was closed from the other side. If the Muslim League was willing to negotiate, he would persuade the Congress within twenty-four hours to start negotiations. But every time he had attempted a settlement, the door was closed and barred. Several attempts had been made by him during the last two years to arrive at a settlement, but it always proved to be a one-sided effort. The other side was not willing to come forward to discuss the question. Even during the Allahabad meeting of the A. I. C. C., he made it clear to Rajaji that the Congress was willing to discuss the question and was prepared to start negotiations. Continuing, the *Maulana* stated that the position of the Congress was well-known. It had always kept the door for negotiations open. What was the use of telling the Congress to arrive at a settlement, when it was always prepared to do so and had kept the door for negotiations open? What was required of those who were shouting for Hindu-Muslim settlement was not to shout at those who kept the door open, but to go and break their heads at the other door, which was not only shut, but bolted with nails driven so that it might not open at all.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

Working Committee Resolutions—New Delhi—29th, to 31st August 1942
DECLARATION OF INDIA'S FREEDOM

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was held in New Delhi on the 29th, August and continued till the 31st August. In a lengthy resolution, it demands an immediate declaration of India's independent status and the opening of immediate negotiations by the British Government with the principal parties in India to solve the present deadlock. The resolution further demands the formation of an Indian National Government, which, it asserts, will declare its determination to fight the common enemy.

The Working Committee asserts that if the British Government does not respond to its demand, the Mahasabha will be compelled to revise its present programme, and devise ways and means whereby Britain and her allies "will realise that India, as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed."

The Working Committee appointed a Committee of seven members to organise a campaign to mobilise public opinion in support of the National Demand, and if possible to negotiate with the leaders of the principal political parties and representatives of the British Government. The following is the text of the resolution:—

The peril confronting India demands the mobilisation of India's tremendous man-power and gigantic natural resources which can never be secure without a National Government. The experience of Burma and Malaya and the working of the present constitution in this country during the last few years demand the radical transformation of the present system of Government, which has failed either to mobilise public opinion or to utilise the resources of the country effectively in the cause of Democracy and Liberty. If the struggle has got to be won and if the present menace is to be destroyed, it is clear that India's national will must support the defending army and this can never be secured by the mere employment of non-Indian troops or by the continuance of the present Government, which commands neither the confidence nor the willing allegiance of the Indian people. The dangerous international situation which threatens India and the imminent danger of foreign invasion and the urge for national emancipation stimulated by the professed aims of the United Nations demand the immediate declaration of India's independence and the formation of a National Government to whom power must be transferred subject to necessary adjustments during the war for fighting the menace and for the national defence of India.

The All-India Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, therefore, demands—

- (1) The immediate declaration by Britain of India's independent status.
- (2) The immediate initiation of negotiations by the British Government with the principal political parties in India to solve the present deadlock, which is impeding war efforts and is bound to widen the cleavage between England and India.
- (3) The formation of an Indian National Government to whom all power should be transferred by the British Government.
- (4) The National Government will be composite in character and will consist of representatives of the principal political parties in the country.
- (5) Similar National Governments should be formed in the provinces which will include representatives of the principal political parties.

After the termination of the war, a Constituent Assembly is to be set up by the National Government to frame a constitution for the Indian nation based on democratic principles, and if any minority is not satisfied with the safeguards laid down in the constitution, the minority will have the right to refer the matter to an independent Tribunal whose decision will be binding on all concerned.

The Indian National Government in India will declare its determination to fight the common enemy. It will act in close collaboration with Britain and the United Nations for carrying out a common war policy, which will be determined by the Allied War Councils on which India will be represented by Indians chosen by the National Government, the Commander-in-Chief remaining in charge of the operational control of the war.

The Indian National Government will pursue a policy of militarisation and industrialisation for the effective National Army for the purpose.

In this national crisis, no party should raise any issue calculated to disrupt

Indian unity and hinder the establishment of a National Government. In case any party adopts an obstructive attitude and does not want to co-operate in the formation of a National Government, then the other parties should still be invited to form such a National Government.

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE CONDEMNED

This Committee records its emphatic opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of Nationalism and to the ordered evolution of a free India, if, as has been suggested in some quarters, the Muslim League alone, with its present avowedly anti-national outlook, is invited to form the Government at the Centre. The Hindus will never accept such a Government.

This Committee condemns the anti-national attitude adopted by the Muslim League and profoundly regrets that it is still pursuing a policy which will intensify the strife and bitterness between the communities calculated to help the continuance of foreign domination in India.

"BRITISH GOVT. ENCOURAGING ANTI-NATIONAL FORCES"

This Committee is of opinion that the anti-national and anti-Hindu force are being encouraged by the attitude of the British Government and by its reluctance to part with power to the representatives of the Indian nation. This Committee has reason to believe that immediately the British Government genuinely decides to transfer power to Indian hands, the reactionary elements will be rendered ineffective and the representatives of the leading political parties will join hands and save India from the impending disaster.

Federal one, with the largest possible measure of autonomy for the federating units. In the interest of maintaining the unity and integrity of India, residuary powers must be vested in the Federal Government and not in the federating units.

The Hindu Mahasabha, as the representative organisation of the Hindus of India, has pursued the policy of responsive co-operation in spite of the tragic surrender by Britain, through Sir Stafford Cripps, to the malignant disruptionists in India. The time has now come when the Hindu Mahasabha must ward off the British Government that, although force may suppress the violent outburst of popular discontent, for the time being, it can never appease or remove the fundamental cause of India's discontent. The only way to secure the willing co-operation of India in the titanic struggle against the present menace is to recognise India as a free country and to respond to India's demand for a National Government. The interests of England and her Allies require that political freedom should be conceded to India in such a full measure that it would be impossible for the enemies of England to offer anything more alluring to the people of India.

If the British Government still persists in its policy of callous indifference to India's national aspirations and does not respond to this demand for the recognition of India's freedom and for the formation of a National Government, the Hindu Mahasabha will have no alternative but to revise its present programme and to devise ways and means whereby Britain and her Allies will realise that India as a self-respecting nation, can no longer be suppressed.

The Hindu Mahasabha feels that in this crisis, when the Congress Committeees have been banned as unlawful bodies and the Muslim League has taken up an impossible attitude of mere negation, it is the duty of the Hindu Mahasabha to make an earnest attempt to bring about the solution of the present deadlock and to make a final effort for an Indo-British settlement on honourable terms and to mobilise public opinion throughout India in support of the National Demand.

COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO ORGANISE CAMPAIGN

For effectively carrying out this double objective, this Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha appoints a committee consisting of the Working President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookherjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, Rai Bahadur Meher Chand Khanna, Mr. G. Deshpande, President *Sauvarkar* and Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth (both ex-officio), in order to organise an intensive campaign for mobilising public opinion in support of the National Demand and if possible to negotiate with the leaders of the principal political parties as well as representatives of the British Government. This committee should submit its report to the Working Committee by the end of September and a meeting of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha should be summoned at Nagpur on 1st October to make recommendations as to the course of action which the Hindu

Mahasabha should adopt and the All-India Hindu Mahasabha Committee should meet thereafter at Nagpur on the 3rd and 4th October to discuss the recommendations of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha.

POLICY OF REPRESSION CONDEMNED

This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplores the complete lack of statesmanship exhibited by the Government. This Committee demands the immediate release of all national leaders who are now detained in jail.

RELEASE SRI Y. D. JOSHI

The Working Committee notes with satisfaction that Sri Yeshwantarao Joshi, General Secretary of the Hyderabad State Hindu Praja Mandal, has been recently given the status of a political prisoner, by the Nizam's Government as was demanded publicly by the Hindu Maha Sabha. The Working Committee brings to the notice of the Nizam's Government that as the Hindu Praja Mandal is the only political organisation representing 90 percent of the State subjects it is extremely desirable in the interest of the State to release Sri Yeshwantarao Joshi who is the trusted leader of the Hindu Praja Mandal.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS

(a) This Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy of repression which has been launched by the Government of India and deplores the complete lack of statesmanship exhibited by the Government, particularly in view of the fact that *Mahatma Gandhi* was anxious to approach the Viceroy, the British Premier and the heads of the principal Allied nations for the purpose of securing an honourable settlement before starting any movement. (b) This Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha records its strong condemnation of the assaults, lathi charges and indiscriminate bring-in by the Police on inoffensive and peaceful citizens who have not taken any part in the disturbances and offers its heartfelt sympathy to their families. (c) This Committee demands the immediate release of all National leaders who are now detained in jail.

WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS—New Delhi—3rd. to 5th. October 1942.

The next meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Hindu Mahasabha was held at New Delhi on the 3rd October and continued till the 5th. October. The following resolutions were passed:—

EXECUTIVE'S CALL TO NATIONALISTS

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha in a resolution expresses the opinion that the statements of the British Premier and the Secretary of State for India and the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to the members of the special committee to interview *Mahatma Gandhi* make it clear that the British Government have no intention of parting with power, or facilitating the formation of a National Government in India.

GOVERNMENT'S CONTENTION

"The Hindu Mahasabha," the resolution proceeds "put forward the National Demand in order to convert this war which was imposed on India by the British imperialists into a genuine people's war to effectually organise the national defence of India during the present crisis. The failure on the part of British to respond to this National Demand and the policy of blind repression which is being relentlessly pursued convince the Working Committee that the Government want to utilise and exploit the present situation in order to suppress the forces of nationalism in this country.

PROPAGATE THE DEMAND

"The Working Committee calls upon all Mahasabha organisations throughout the country and all sections of nationalists who are interested in the emancipation of India to mobilise public opinion on an intensive scale for carrying on a mass campaign which can truly be called the National Demand. "The Working Committee appeals to all political parties in India to co-operate with the Special Committee appointed by the Hindu Mahasabha so as to force England to take the initiative in solving the deadlock.

NEGOTIATIONS TO CONTINUE

"That having regard to the satisfactory progress made by the Special Committee in establishing contact with the various political parties and leaders, and in mobilising public opinion in this country, the Working Committee while reaffirming its resolution of August 31 considers it desirable in the larger interest of the nation, that the negotiations and discussions with the political parties should be continued by the Special Committee who should submit its final report within a month and calls upon the Hindu Sanghparishads throughout India to keep themselves in readiness to respond to any call that may be given by the Hindu Mahasabha in accordance with the aforesaid resolution.

BAN ON FESTIVALS AND PROCESSIONS

(1) The Working Committee notes with great concern that customary religious festivals and processions of Hindus have been stopped or restricted by authorities at places on the excuse that owing to the present political disturbances untuly elements might take advantage of the occasions to promote troubles. The Working Committee feels that it is the duty of the Government to afford protection and facilities to the exercise of the normal and purely religious festivals of the Hindus which have been observed from times immemorial as established customs. It calls upon all local Hindu Sabhas to use all legitimate means against any interference with their long established religious, customary ceremonies and festivals.

COLLECTIVE FINES CONDEMNED

(2) The Working Committee of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha condemns the policy pursued by the Government whereby heavy and disproportionate Collective Fines are being imposed only on Hindus and are being realised with the aid of the armed forces in a ruthless and peremptory manner. This glaring and cruel discrimination is the result of a deliberate policy of communal vindictiveness which must be opposed by the Hindus. The policy of the imposition of collective communal fines is not only immoral and unjust in view of the declaration of the responsible members of the Government to the effect that the general public have abstained from acts of violence and sabotage but is directly responsible for creating communal hatred and racial animosity. The Committee calls upon the Government of India to abandon forthwith the policy of imposition of such collective fines, which are being inflicted on many innocent and law-abiding Hindu citizens who had nothing to do with any subversive movement. The Working Committee further calls upon the Hindus not to submit to such arbitrary and illegal exactions but to resist the payment of such fines by all legitimate means.

INQUIRY COMMITTEE

(3) The Working Committee of the A. I. Hindu Mahasabha has learnt with horror and indignation, about the alleged wholesale burning and looting of Hindu villages, raping of Hindu women and of other acts of cruelty by the Military and the police in Bihar, United Provinces, and other parts in India, which, if true, in their savagery and heinousness, appear to be on par with those reported to have been committed by Germany and Japan on the people of territories subjugated by them.

In view of the numerous allegations made by some of the responsible and leading members of the Mahasabha, the Working Committee appoints an Enquiry Committee which will be nominated by the President, (1) to enquire into the allegations, (2) to collect accurate facts and (3) and to submit its report to the Working Committee by the first week of December, 1942. The Enquiry Committee is authorised to constitute Provincial Sub-Committees to assist them in such investigations and collection of accurate information. The Committee also calls upon the Government of India to appoint immediately a Judicial Committee of Enquiry for conducting investigation into these allegations with a view to remove the deepest resentment that has been caused throughout the country and to punish the officials responsible for these excesses.

(4) This meeting of the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha views with great concern the arrest of Shri Sant Tukdoji Maharaj by the Govt. of C. P. and Berar, who is greatly respected as such by millions of Hindus all over India and his arrest without any reasons having been published so far is bound to hurt the religious feelings of his disciples.

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

24th. Session—Cawnpore—29th. December 1942

In a tastefully decorated pandal which was filled almost to its capacity, the twenty-fourth session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha commenced its session at Cawnpore on the 29th. December, 1942.

Over 15,000 people and 500 delegates from different provinces attended the session. Mr. V. D. Savarkar who was indisposed and looked weak was carried in a chair to the base of the flag staff from the main entrance. He hoisted the Mahasabha flag amidst great ovation.

Messages wishing success to the session were read out among others from Dr. M. R. Jayakar, Master Tara Singh, Sikh leader, Dr. Heman Das, Sind Minister, and Mr. M. N. Mitta.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, ex-President of the Mahasabha, and Dewan Bahadur Harbilas Sarda, also sent messages regretting absence and wishing the session success.

The proceedings opened with "Bandemataram" song, whereafter Mr. Savarkar was formally elected President of the session. Prominent delegates from different provinces, including Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, Dr. B. S. Moonje, Rai Bahadur Harbilas Chandra and Mr. B. G. Khaparde, supported the election of the President in the language of their respective provinces on the proposal of Lala Lakshmi Prasad Singhanvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee.

Mr. Savarkar began reading his address at 5-15 p. m. He was given a great ovation when he appeared on the rostrum. Due to weakness Mr. Savarkar remained seated on a chair, while reading his address in Hindi. Mr. Savarkar concluded his address shortly after 6-30 p. m. He was heard with rapt attention by the audience and towards the close he received enthusiastic acclamation.

Lala Lakshmi Prasad Singhanvi's Address

Lala Lakshmi Prasad Singhanvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the President-elect and delegates, said: "It is not desirable at this time to blame the Congress for having always tried to come to terms with the Muslims by giving them concessions and raising their demands ever more. It is also not wise to say that they would accept only those demands of the Muslims which are reasonable and warranted by their numerical strength in the country. If we want freedom and if we want a National Government at the Centre during the war, we shall have to rise above these considerations and find out a solution."

Tracing the history of the efforts towards a political settlement of the Indian question the Chairman recognised that the political parties did not generate strong nationalism by forming coalition ministries. He opined that this resulted in communal bitterness and mutual suspicion. He did not think that the resignation of the Congress Ministries gave an impetus to the demand for Pakistan.

Laying down what, in his opinion, should be the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha in the present situation of the country, he begged the Sabha to ponder over past mistakes and import a wider outlook, although other parties might seem to have a narrow vision. The reaction of it was bound to melt their narrow-mindedness and create liberal attitude in them. Their political problems, intricate and complicated as they were, should be solved by a correct appreciation of the conditions prevailing in the country.

Proceeding, Mr. Singhanvi emphasised the need for a truly National Government and said: "The war efforts are going on in full speed, the recruitment to the army is increasing day by day and industrialisation of the country is proceeding rapidly. Hindus should enlist in larger numbers in the army and start as many industries as possible."

Lala Lakshmi Prasad characterised collective duties as morally wrong and exhorted the Mahasabha to devise some means to get the grievances of the Hindus redressed in this respect.

The Presidential Address

The following is the full text of the presidential address:—
You have really overwhelmed me with kindness in appreciating my services.

quite limited though they are, so highly as to elect me in an unbroken succession for the sixth time to the Presidency of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, the highest office of honour and duty which lies at the disposal of Hindudom today. If I too on my part do not shrink to accept this responsibility for the present, in spite of the most willing resignations tendered by me from time to time requesting you to relieve me of this post in view of my ailing health, it is only due to the fact that forces from outside the camp of the Hindu Mahasabha have actually been conspiring first to waylay the Mahasabha and then capture it by some *creaky coup-d'etat*. Some of them try to browbeat it into submission, others are scheming to kill it with kindness and all of them want it to betray that Hindu ideology and those fundamental principles of independence and integrity of Hindusthan, the holy land and fatherland of us Hindus, which alone form both the charter and the vindication of its existence apart from and independent of the Congress, as the foremost representative organisation of Hindudom as a whole. It is consequently the imperative duty of each and all of us Hindu Sanghastans on whom has fallen in this generation the duty to protect Hindudom and this Mahasabha, this holy shrine of our Hindu nation, to stand on guard at each of its gates and serve the post allotted to each with unswerving fidelity. It is this special emergency that has made me to take up this post which you have all summoned me again to hold.

BHAGALPUR, BPC

Before I proceed, I must first take a rapid review of some leading events which happened during this year in connection with the Hindu Mahasabha, so as to enable us to realise more precisely where we stand to-day and what should be our immediate programme.

This year opened just when we were in the very thick of the Bhagalpur Civil Resistance Campaign. The most important aspect of the struggle which constitutes an abiding source of strength and self-confidence to our people is the fact that we Hindus could present a United Hindu Front and demonstrate beyond call or criticism that in spite of castes or creeds, sects and sections, Hindudom as a whole does still pulsate with a common National Being. That Pan-Hindu consciousness which the Hindu Mahasabha has so long been striving to create has at last become a living reality, forceful and organised enough to resist and at times even to cow down the anti-Hindu forces which held their way unchallenged for such a long time in the past. From our esteemed leader Dr. Shyamprasad Mookerji down to those hero-souls who laid their lives unknown to fame or name, thousands and thousands of Hindu Sanghastans—Rajast and Rajast, Millionaires and Millionaires, Ex-Ministers and M.L.A.'s, Sanitarians, Sikhs, Jains and Aryas—all rushed to Bhagalpur from every corner of India, animated by the common urge to defend the honour of the pan-Hindu flag. The struggle was not restricted to Bhagalpur alone, but ultimately it spread all over six districts of Bihar which came under the ban and its shocks were felt throughout India. They faced lathi charges which were the order of the day. The armed mounted forces of the Government charged the processions and civil resisters at various places trampling men, women and children under the hoofs of their horses. Organised firing was also resorted to but in cities and towns and even villages of the Hindu civil resisters faced it all with unabated zeal in defending the honour of the Hindu colours and in winning the goal which was the objective at issue. There can be no exaggeration in proclaiming that the 23rd Session of the Hindu Mahasabha held at Bhagalpur, despite the Government ban, proved to be the most momentous and most successful one of all the Annual Sessions held till then by any All India organisation including the Congress in the modern history of India. I shall be wanting in my duty if I, as the President, fail to express on behalf of the Session our deepest gratitude to all those who took part in the Bhagalpur Dharma Yuddha as soldiers in the spirit of comrades although the Hindu Mahasabha has nothing else to offer to mark its appreciation of their services, but the crown of thorns of martyrdom to those who laid their lives in the struggle and their very wounds to those thousands of soldiers who were wounded as the "Iron-Crosses" they won.

The second aspect of the struggle which must be noted here is the fact that it was fought in defence of Hindu rights as Hindu rights and under the unalloyed Hindu colours. The Nizam Civil Resistance Movement and this Bhagalpur campaign wherein millions of Hindus rose in protest against the humiliation of the Hindu flag drove the last nail in the coffin of that pseudo-Nationalism which kept dominating the Hindu mind for the last 30 years or so, had penalised any

agitation to uphold any special rights of the Hindus as a "National" sin, brotified the Hindu voice, suppressed the Hindu spirit, reduced the Hindus to political orphans in this land. These struggles did also prove to all concerned that the Hindu Mahasabha was not only powerful enough to raise a mass movement of legitimate resistance on an all-India scale in defence of Hindu rights, but had a better tactical sense of timing them and conducting them strategically to an assured success. Within a couple of months of the cessation of the Bhabpur struggle, the All-India Committee of the Mahasabha was held in February in Lucknow and passed off successfully inspite of the riotous opposition staged by the Moslems there.

THE CRIPPS MISSION

Then came the Cripps mission at the end of March. The British Government had been for years feigning to believe that the Congress represented the Hindu, the Moslem League represented the Moslems and consequently the political equation followed inevitably that the Congress and the League together represented all India. But in the meanwhile the Hindu Mahasabha had established itself so firmly as a new political power in the land challenging both the Congress and the League whenever Hindu interest demanded it that the British Government had to recognise the Mahasabha, by the time the Cripps mission came, as one of the three outstanding All-India organizations and as the foremost accredited representative body of Hindudom as a whole. To the Congress and many other parties and leaders the Cripps scheme seemed at first sight sufficiently alluring to undertake a hoped-for survey to discover conveniently some oasis in that political Sahara. It was the Hindu Mahasabha alone which publicly declared just at the first glance at the scheme that Sir Stafford wanted really to play to the American gallery, and carried on those endless negotiations with the Indian politicians, just to make them play the tune he called. Not only that, but the Mahasabha undertakings and immediately discerned and pointed out the cloven-foot concealed under a heap of roses on which the scheme really stood. It was the clause laying down the condition that the declaration of freedom of India could be made by Great Britain only if the Hindus admitted the principle that provinces should be allowed to have the right of self-determination by their own majority to secede from the Central Indian Government, and even to set themselves up as States independent of it. This clause constituted a veritable danger aimed at the heart of the integrity of Hindustan as an indivisible Nation and a centralized State. The Hindu Mahasabha rejected it unceremoniously and in rejecting the clause it had to reject the scheme in toto. While all other parties including the Congress had tacitly accepted the clause and swallowing that camel kept straining at the girth of portions here and there, this total rejection of the scheme by the Hindu Mahasabha centralized at a stroke the attention of the whole nation in general, and the Hindus in particular, on the real point that mattered most. While the independence of India was still floating in the hazy clouds of promises alone, the integrity of India was in imminent danger of being stabbed in the back. The lead that the Mahasabha gave by rejecting the scheme at a stroke on this issue, was followed after some fuses of negotiations by almost all parties in the land, under this or that excuse.

The Working Committee of the Mahasabha which was immediately held regarding the Cripps scheme reassessed in its resolution that, in view of developments in the political situation in the world, nothing short of an immediate and unconditional declaration of India's independence could animate and enliven the whole country to mobilise its full and willing fighting strength, both in men and material, to fight out the war which then would have been our own concern as truly as it was in the case of the British people. It was necessary to demonstrate that the Hindu Sangathanist world was solidly behind the Hindu Mahasabha on these two fundamental points which compelled the Mahasabha to reject the Cripps scheme. It was therefore decided that an anti-Easterian day should be observed throughout India by the Hindus under the pan-Hindu colours on the 10th of May 1942, which being the anniversary of the National rising of 1857, had been annually celebrated by the Hindu Mahasabha the auspices of the Hindu Mahasabha with intense enthusiasm on an unprecedented scale. Jamn, Peshawar, Poona, Amritsar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Patna, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, almost all capital cities and hundreds of towns and villages held innumerable meetings which were altogether attended on

that evening by millions of millions of Hindus who took up a public pledge to support the Hindu Mahasabha and to stand by the two fundamental principles on which it had taken its stand, the independence and integrity of Hindustan. Although the Moslems were conducting, without let or hindrance, a pro-Pakistan campaign and men like Mr. Rajagopalachari were allowed to preach vivisection of Hindustan as they liked, illegitimate and one-sided ban was placed on the anti-Pakistan demonstrations at several places like Patna, Agra and others on this All India anti-Pakistan day. But the Hindu Mahasabhas defied those unjust bans, took out their processions and held meetings, even though hundreds of them got arrested for the only fault of asserting their basic civic rights. The determination with which Hindustan as a whole expressed on this day its uncompromising opposition to any scheme which involved the granting to the provinces the right of secession, proved once more the strength of the Hindu Mahasabha had come to exercise on Hindu mind and how it had thus established its right to represent genuine Hindu feeling far more correctly and effectively than the self-styled Indian National Congress could ever do.

The Congress, in the meanwhile, was rapidly on the other hand yielding to the pressure of the Moslems and had already got itself committed to the promise that it would not oppose the grant to provinces to secede if the Moslems insisted on it. As if the Moslems had not already insisted on its uncompromisingly enough to brow-beat the Congress itself into submission! Mr. Rajagopalachari in particular got simply possessed of the Pakistani spirit. He actually planned a triumphal tour to convert the benighted Hindus all over India to his new faith. He left Madras and selected his own presidency at the outset to infect it with the Pakistani epidemic, but the Mahasabhas were alert everywhere and gave him hot chase throughout his tour from Madras to Bombay. Dharmaveer Dr. Moonje and Prof. Deshpande, the indomitable champion of the Hindu cause who has only recently been arrested under the Defence of India Act, were deputed to tour the Madras Presidency and there along with the veteran Hindu Mahasabha leader Dr. Vardaraja Naidu, they dislodged Rajaji so completely from every platform that like the proverbial hare "whom hounds and horns pursue," even the redoubtable Rajaji, in spite of the oblique blessings and public sympathies of Gandhiji himself, had to return discomfited "back to the place from whence at first he flew"! Since then he seems to have left the forum and taken to his table to busy himself with the more congenial task of issuing statements after statements to convince the benighted Hindus that the Moslem demand were just. The Pakistani was the key to Svaraj, two and two do not make four but five!

"QUIT INDIA"

Just then the Congress had almost made it clear that it meant to start some kind of civil resistance movement, under the usual non-violent dictatorship of Gandhiji. The Hindu Sabhates from all parts of India grew naturally anxious to know what attitude they should adopt towards this Congress movement which was meant to order Great Britain straightway to "Quit India" forthwith. Now it was the duty of every Indian patriot, and especially of a Hindu patriot, to join a movement which had for its goal the absolute political independence of Hindustan. But the question of timing and the ways and the means were also of outstanding importance. Even leaving it all aside, the goal to be achieved by any movement was the question of questions which must be decided to begin with. You must know before you go to fight the object for which you have to fight. The Congress had made it crystal clear by that time that it was ready to agree, even to vivisection India as an organic and a centralised State, in order to placate the Moslems, and to persuade them to join the movement. Then again, "Quit India" was not the only demand which they advanced, but inconspicuously enough they added to it a rider which demanded of Great Britain that though the British should leave India, yet they must retain their British forces and even the American forces behind to protect India against the Axis powers invading her. In short the war-cry of the Congress movement came to "Quit India but keep the British army here and the Americans to boot"! And the price of the movement for Indian Independence was the vivisection of Indian integrity! Under such circumstances it became quite necessary to clear up the issue before the Hindu Mahasabha got committed to any such movement, even though it was primarily meant for freedom of India, which was the proclaimed demand of the Hindu Mahasabha itself on its own initiative. Consequently it laid down the following conditions in my speech in a mammoth meeting in Poona on the Bajirao Maidan on the 2nd of August, the report

of which was broadcast and published, not only in the Indian press but by the foreign press also, before the A. I. C. C. met Bombay.

CONDITIONS OF CO-OPERATION

The leading conditions were as follows:—(a) The Congress should guarantee the integrity of Hindusthan from the Indus to the Seas as an organic nation and an integral centralised state. (b) The Congress should, therefore, depudate the granting of any right to the provinces to secede. (c) Representation in the legislatures etc. should in proportion to the population of the majority and the minorities. (d) Public services should go by merit alone. (e) That the Hindu Mahasabha should be recognised as the representative body of Hindudom and consequently no step should be taken affecting Hindu rights without its consultation and sanction. (f) All minorities should be given effective safeguards to protect their language, religion, culture etc. but none of them should be allowed to create a "state within a state," as the League of Nations put it, or to encroach upon the legitimate rights of the majority as defined above. (g) The residuary powers should be vested in the Central Government.

Had the Congress agreed to these conditions the Hindu Mahasabha could have considered whether to co-operate with it on any reasonable lines of action. These conditions were so indisputably national that the Indian National Congress in fact ought to have been the first, instead of the Hindu Mahasabha, to proclaim them if it was genuinely and justly representing the Indian Nation as a whole. But the Congress refused stubbornly to have anything to do with these conditions. Nay, in their resolution at Bombay, the A. I. C. C. actually declared that the residuary powers shall be vested in the Provincial Governments instead of the Central, in addition to the concession the Congress had already made to the Pakistanees of the principle of provincial self-determination to secede. The climax came when Gandhiji, after being proclaimed as the de facto dictator of the Congress, wrote an authoritative letter to reassure Mr. Jinnah of his readiness to hand-over the whole Government of India including the India States to the Moslem League. I quote the relevant passage from the letter itself:—

"In all sincerity let me explain it again that if the Moslem League co-operated with the Congress for immediate independence, subject of course to the provision that independent India will permit the operations of the Allied armies in order to check Axis aggression and thus to help China and Russia, the Congress will have no objection to the British Government transferring all the powers it today exercises to the Moslem League on behalf of the whole of India including the so-called Indian India. The Congress will not only not obstruct any Government which the Moslem League may form on behalf of the people, but will even join the Government. This is meant in all seriousness and sincerity."—M. K. GANDHI.

Comments are superfluous. The betrayal of Hindu rights of genuine Nationality could have gone no further. Such a letter would have been burnt in protest from a thousand platforms throughout India by the enraged Hindu-Sanghast world, had we not been passing through abnormal times. Were the Hindu Mahasabhas deliberately to join a fight whose prize and inevitable consequence was the vitiation of their own Motherland and Holy land? Then again, there were the technical question which are also of no less importance regarding the timing, the ways and the means and, above all, the effectiveness of which we could depend upon on same calculation. This was the crucial and fundamental issue which made the Mahasabhas in general feel duty bound not to identify themselves entirely with the Congress movement as it was then vaguely contemplated. Since then, of course, the Congresses themselves have been disowning their connection with the present wave of violent disturbances passing over the country. Consequently we need not take upon ourselves the responsibility of labelling it all as a Congress Movement and the question of joining it or otherwise does not rise at all, so far as the point under discussion is concerned.

7. Then all of a sudden several hundreds of the patriotic Congress leaders including *Mahatma Gandhi* were arrested and later on a violent wave of popular discontent and governmental repression of it threw the whole country into turmoil. Today thousands of our Hindu brethren, Congresses and non-Congressists, have already suffered, or are suffering, untold calamities from death to detention. They are all our kith and kin and our deepest sympathies cannot but go out to them in grateful appreciation of the fact that they have faced these sufferings from a patriotic motive, or as the result of the patriotic struggle. Unscrupulous goodnism

which is inevitably let loose in such great commotions cannot of course deserve any sympathy. But even the British Government or the British public could not but admit that the struggle was essentially the struggle of the people for the freedom of their country. If that be a guilt, then we have all been participating in it and are proud to be guilty of it.

UNJUST PROPAGANDA

But patriotism itself demands that it is a national duty of all of us Hindus to see to it that sympathy with patriotic sufferings must not be allowed to get the better of our judgment and drive us headlong and blindfolded on a path, which we conscientiously believe to be detrimental to the best interest of our Hindu Nation. To make a common cause on a wrong issue or a line of action which is bound to lead to national disaster, simply to present a "United Front" is not the essence of patriotism, but amounts to a betrayal of national duty. It will be well if those who criticise the Hindu Mahasabha, either through indiscretion or impudence, for not following the Congress rightly or wrongly for the sake of and merely "Unity," because the Congress was actuated by patriotic motives, would do well to remember that patriots also are no exception to the general rule that it is human to err. Those who sincerely think that a particular line of action is detrimental to the Nation and therefore reject it and choose to serve it in the ways and means they are convinced to be more effective under the given circumstances to realise a common ideal cannot be deemed on that only ground as less patriotic than those who acted otherwise. It is regrettable, however, that forgetting this fact the Congress Press, day in and day out, have been trying to bring the Hindu Mahasabha into dispute. Their criticism when reasonable and decent could be met by reasons given above. But the larger part of the Congress Press and propaganda has thrown decency of criticism to the winds, and is growing malicious and sad. In righteous defence of the Hindu Mahasabha such criticism must be challenged and checked. Some of these critics seem to be irritated at the thought that the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha did not jump over the walls of the jail the very day *Gandhi* and others were arrested for raising such a momentous cry of "Quit India but keep your army here". So far as the "Quit India" is concerned it is enough to point out that some of the outstanding Mahasabha leaders and followers today had been amongst those handful revolutionists who publicly raised the standard of Indian independence for the first time in current history and rose in an armed revolt when *Gandhi* and some of the present leaders of the Congress were singing Hallelujahs to the British Empire, exolling its blessings and thinking it their duty as loyal citizens and subjects of that Empire to take its side against the Zulus and the Boers who were fighting for their freedom. When further on as the consequence of their revolutionary activities these Hindusabhaes of to-day had to stand under the shadow of the gallows or were undergoing the sentences of transportation for life, rotting in Andamaneese dungeons for decades, were not the present outstanding Congress leaders including *Gandhi* guilty for not making a common cause with the revolutionists merely for the sake of "United front" and for not seeking the gallows or getting themselves locked in the cellular jails in the Andamans? Coming nearer, what have you to say regarding the Congress when it not only kept itself at a respectable distance from imprisonment, but actually joined hands with the *Nizam* and took up a pledge "not to embarrass His Exalted Highness" while thousands of Hindu Sanghathans were carrying on a deadly struggle with the *Nizam* for the most legitimate rights of the Hindus and were facing lathi charge, imprisonments and tortures at the hands of the *Nizam's* Government? Far from sharing these sufferings with the Hindu Sanghathans were not the leaders and followers of the Congress strutting about as Ministers of provinces under the British Crown, some drawing fat pays, others rolling in the lap of luxury? And what about Bhaugpur, when for the defence of fundamental civil liberties, of freedom of speech and freedom of association, not less than one hundred thousand Hindu Sanghathans carried on an active struggle with the Government of Bihar throughout the six districts which came under the ban against all the forces which the Bihar Government could draw upon: firings, bayonettings, not to speak of whippings, imprisonments etc.

If they try to explain and justify this conduct on the part of the Congressites as not due to want of public spirit or to a lack of courage, but to an honest difference of opinion on patriotic grounds as to the line of action and principles, which the Congress had with the Hindu Mahasabhas and consequently attempt to justify the Congress on not presenting a "United front" at the cost of national

good, as Congresses interpreted it by joining the Hindu Mahasabha,—then they should have sense enough to perceive that very justification holds good in the case of the Hindu Mahasabha too, because they too did not like to be dragged as moral slaves by whatever the Congress resolutions decreed or movements demanded. Similarly another argument which forms the stock in trade of the millions of criticism and propaganda of the Congresses with regard to the policy of the Hindu Mahasabha of occupying centres of political power, however limited it be, springs back upon themselves and unlike the boomcrans hits only themselves hard. The Hindu Mahasabha, though its elected or supported representatives, has now come to occupy responsible positions in political councils, committees, ministries, legislatures, municipalities and such other centres of political power and it is this fact which the Mahasabha, and through it Hindudom as a whole has come to attain Congresses should get irritated to find that so many of the 'jobs' should have fallen into other hands and should make them accuse the Hindu Sanghans as more 'job-hunters'. We pity them for their irritation. But we cannot excuse them for making a virtue of necessity and go about posing as so many suffering saints who never cared a fig for these very worldly and service jobs.

For was it not only the other day that the Congress from one end of India to the other went on such 'job-hunting'? They agreed to act as Ministers—not as Kings, but servilely enough as Ministers—to the Governors, who, in their turn, were servants of the British Crown. They, who now accuse the Hindusthanis as helping Imperialism, took oaths of allegiance to the British Imperial Crown, accepted salaries, invited whole troops their followers and hangers on, to get the loaves and fishes of the offices, posts and positions, distributed only among themselves. They could do only those things which the Governors permitted at their pleasure in the last resort. They laboured under the constitution which they had presented to despise. Whenever they failed to satisfy this or that section of the public they either pointed out to the limitations under which they held office or they sallied out firing and delivering jallu charges on those of their countrymen who disobeyed them, or picketted them. If anybody fasted at their doors in protest of their actions they told him bluntly 'You may lie there comfortably till you die. I must attend my office and do my duty as I choose.' Did not Rajagopalachari himself the foremost of those ministers who 'followed the Mahatma' tell the world in blunt accents in justification of the actions of the Congress Government that the first duty of the Government was to govern.

POLICY OF RESPONSIVE CO-OPERATION

Do you condemn the Congress for this 'job-hunting' and rough riding? or do you justify all this as patriotic? Do the Congresses explain it all away on the ground that larger public interest demanded that even under limitations the Constitution should be worked out to acquiesce whatever public good you can get out of it? If you say 'yes' to the latter, then in justifying yourselves you justify the Hindu Mahasabha too, in its policy of capturing centres of political power, limited though it be to begin with and standing on that point of vantage, try to leap over and occupy more effective centres of power.

The Hindu Mahasabha holds that, leading principle of all practical politics, is the policy of Responsive Co-operation, and in virtue of it believes that all those Hindu Sanghans who are working as Councilors, Ministers, Legislators and conducting Municipal or any public bodies with a view to utilize those centres of Governmental power to safeguard and even to promote the legitimate interests of the Hindus without, of course, encroaching on the legitimate interest of others, are rendering a highly patriotic service to our Nation. Knowing the limitations under which they work, the Mahasabha only expects them to do whatever good they can under the circumstances and if they do not fail to do that much it would thank them for having acquitted themselves well. The limitations are bound to get themselves limited step by step till they get altogether eliminated.

The policy of responsive co-operation which covers the whole gamut of patriotic activities from unconditional co-operation, right up to active and even armed resistance, will also keep adopting itself to the exigencies of the time, resources at our disposal and dictates of our national interest.

It must be remembered in this connection that if there be any 'job-hunters', it is precisely these penny-a-liners, who betray such a low taste in their criticism of the Mahasabha and happen to conduct the majority of Congressite second-rate

sheets, and owing to that very fact, are within easy reach of the masses. The majority of them, we all know, have not suffered a scratch throughout their lives in any patriotic movement, and would write for any other party, if but they are more sympathetically paid. Many of them are actually known to have done so. It becomes inevitable, therefore, in defence of the Hindu cause that from time to time they too must be shown their proper place.

But I shall do injustice to myself if I fail to make it clear that my criticism against this type of a Congressite does not and cannot mean that all Congressites are equally blind to reason or are deliberately bent on harming Hindu interest, or humiliating Hindu honour which Hindus as they themselves are, cannot but be their own interest and honour.

Nay, I know many of these patriotic Congressites do actually appreciate the merits of the Hindu Mahasabha as well. Their racial pride as Hindus get wounded whenever the Congress goes wrong and sacrifices the most legitimate Hindu interests and makes the Hindus to undergo most cowardly surrenders. The very fact that thousands of the devoted workers and several all-India leaders who have now rallied devotedly round the pan-Hindu Standard had once been actively and prominently working in the Congress camp, is enough to bear out this truth that there are and must be thousands of Hindus in the Congress camp who cannot bear to see the Hindu cause anatomized by the Congress, but who nevertheless have not yet got rid of the habitual reluctance to get out of the Congress but and come openly out of it.

But this past experience makes me feel more or less confident that thousands of those of my Hindu brethren who are proud of their race and this their Motherland of the Rishis and the Avatars will have to leave the Congress before long, though the very urge of their conscience, and can find then but one path to go ahead in defence of Hindutva,—the path that leads to the Hindu Mahasabha Shrine.

MAHASABHA ASSUMES THE LEAD

As soon as Congress was removed from the political field as an open organisation under the Governmental ban, the Hindu Mahasabha alone was left to take up the task of conducting whatever Indian National activities lay within its scope. For, to call upon the Moslem League to lead any Indian National movement would have rightly enough been taken as insult by it, just as to call the Congress a Hindu body was perversely enough used to be taken by it as an insult. For, India to the Moslem League was but a sub-continent, no Nation at all. But the Hindu Mahasabha believes in an integral Indian Nation, even more intensely than the Indian National Congress itself. The first National point that required immediate attention at that time was to expose the hollowness of the British propaganda, which wanted the world to believe that the Congress scheme failed not so much owing to the unwillingness of the British to part with power, as to the intestine conflicts of the Indian people. The Congress Scheme was held dazzling before the world as a veritable Magna-charta countering on India all that could be offered to liberate a people from political slavery, and pointing out to the British press and propaganda called upon the world to witness how higher constitutions bestowed upon peoples, not politically developed enough, to deserve them, serve only to worsen their condition. The glorious Magna-charta which wanted to invest India with full freedom proved only an apple of discord. As soon as political power was offered to the Indians,—instead of its receiving it as a United Nation—they sprang at each others' throats, community against community and their ancient civil feuds instead of being healed grew only fiercer. There was no united demand and had we not withdrawn that glorious Magna-charta in time there would have broken up an immediate and bloody Civil War. Thus the British interpreted the Congress episode to India and the world.

That there was and continues to be communal disunity in India need not to be denied. Every country has had to pass through such phases including England and America. But the fact that it was the real cause of the withdrawal of the Congress scheme was a lie and it had to be nailed to the counter, because the British had almost succeeded in duping America and China and even a section in India. The American public and the press which were sympathetic to some extent to India's aspirations before the Congress Mission changed their tone and admitted that England had done all she could and in all sincerity in granting full political freedom to the Indians and that it was really the internal discord amongst the Indians themselves that was responsible for the failure of the scheme.

Above all, in India itself, the Congress and the majority of the Hindus in

particular laboured under the supposition that, if but we could produce a national demand, a United scheme then it will be simply impossible for England to refuse to grant it. That is why so many Congress more than often went up in smoke before the League. That is why so many all-party and non-party conferences had to be made. It was also advisable to find out how far the various parties in India did really differ and whether on the two or three questions which concerned all alike the Hindu Mahasabha decided to enter into negotiations with all important political parties and personalities on the three outstanding demands which the Mahasabha had already framed. The immediate declaration of Indian Independence, a National Government with full powers during the war with the exception of the Military portfolio, so far as the operative part was concerned and the holding of a constitution-framing assembly as soon as the war ceased, formed the leading clauses in this demand.

A special Committee was appointed to conduct these negotiations, consisting of the Working-President, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, Dr. Moonje, Sir M. C. Chatterjee, Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth, Rai Bahadur Mehrarchand Khanna and Prof. Deshpande. The response that the Committee received from different parties and eminent persons was encouraging and spontaneous. Under the able lead of Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee on whom fell the real burden of carrying negotiations, the Committee succeeded in creating such a wave of enthusiasm all over India that the public attention was centred on this topic only. Representatives of the English, the American, the Chinese press also took keen interest in the developments and gave a prominent publicity in their countries to these efforts of the Mahasabha.

The result also was not quite incommensurate with the troubles taken by the distinguished members of the Hindu Mahasabha Committee and of those Indian organizations and leaders who co-operated with them. Firstly, it was full of significance from the constructive point of view. For, the Committee succeeded in producing a 'National Demand' on the most crucial issues, referred to above which could not but convince everyone but those who found it inconvenient to get convinced that India as a Nation demanded with a united will and voice the declaration on the part of the British Parliament that she should be recognised here and now as an Independent Nation. When the Hindu Mahasabha—the second Great All India Hindu Organization—to quote *Lord Devonshire*, the present Under-Secretary of State for India, with the foremost leaders of our Sikh brotherhood, the Presidents of the Muslim Conference, and other Moslem organizations, the President of the Christian Federation, the National League, the Liberal Federation, along with the then Provincial Ministers of Sind and Bengal and scores of other eminent politicians who had been legislators and administrators and held most responsible positions in the Government—have signed or supported the demand it had every right to claim for itself and to be recognised as being nothing short of a national demand. When you add to it the fact that the Congress resolution, too, had more or less emphasised the very items which constituted its national character becomes unassailable. If it even be pretended that such a demand also falls short of a national demand, only because the League or some such sections chose to remain aloof, then no demand ever made by any nation can deserve to be called a national one.

It must be remembered that even the national plebiscites on the strength of whose demand the Canadian or the African or the American Federations were formed were not and could not be considered national or universal on the sole ground that there was not a single citizen or single party opposed to them. Nay, the fact is that in all such national demands or plebiscites those who voted against them could also count their strength in thousands.

A national demand must always mean the demand of overwhelming majority of citizens or parties forming the nation,—irrespective of the dissentient minorities.

THE NATIONAL DEMAND

When the Mahasabha succeeded in producing a definite demand, signed by such an overwhelming majority, it served to explode the British pretext and had a very salutary effect not only on that large section of Indians themselves but even on the Chinese, the Americans and the pro-British foreign press in general which had first acquitted the British for withholding freedom from India and believed

that the chaotic disunity in India itself was really responsible for the withdrawal of the Gripps Scheme. Many of them changed their opinion, saw through the game of Great Britain to let go her hold on India.

As the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, I forwarded this national demand by cable to the British Prime Minister the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Winston Churchill. I received an acknowledgment from him in which the Prime Minister wrote that he noted with appreciation the endeavours of the Hindu Mahasabha to promote unity among the several elements in Indian life, but observed that they had not so far resulted in any specific and constructive proposals enjoying the support of all the major parties.

Comments need not be made on this reply as the question is already exhaustively dealt with above. Only one point needs to be touched. The only party in India worth mentioning as a major party that did not support the demand was the Moslem League,—not Moslems! because we had large Moslem organizations signing the demand. If then, the failure of the League to see eye to eye with all other parties in the land is to disqualify a demand from being national, then it only amounts to invest a fraction, of a minority with a power to veto the will of the overwhelming majority of the nation. Of course, even the League must be knowing that the Prime Minister must have been talking with his tongue in his cheeks when he referred to the League with such an awful independence. If ever the League asked anything or supports anything which goes against the British interest, even the League must not be doubting that the Prime Minister will question its right to speak for the Moslems themselves.

The negotiations were also useful to prove the falsity of the dishonest criticism of the opponents of the Hindu Mahasabha including the Congressists that it being a communal organisation could have no national programme or policy or could take no national lead. It was made clear that the Hindu Mahasabha was more national in its programme and yet less liable to fall a victim to weak-kneed vagaries like the Congress or to perverse communalism like the League. In practical politics also the Mahasabha knows that we must advance through reasonable compromises. The very fact that only recently in Sind, the Sind Hindu Sabha on invitation had taken the responsibility of joining with the League itself in running a coalition Government prove this. The case of Bengal is well-known. Wild Leaguers whom even the Congress with all its submissiveness could not placate grew quite reasonably compromising and sociable as soon as they came in contact with the Hindu Mahasabha and the coalition Government, under the premiership of Mr. Fazlul Haq and the able lead of our esteemed Mahasabha leader Dr. Shyamprasad Mookherji. Moreover, further events also proved demonstratively that the Hindu Mahasabha endeavoured to capture the centres of political power only in the public interest and not for the loaves and fishes of the office. Witness the bold and eloquent statement issued by Dr. Mookherji when he threw away the portfolio the moment he saw that the Governor had made it impossible for him to serve the public and continue in the ministry with any degree of self-respect.

UTILITY OF FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

Even though we do not contribute in the least to the forlorn hope that Americans, Russians or any other foreign nation will risk its own interest and take up cudgels to free India on account of political justice or a high sense of humanity alone, still we cannot altogether dispense with the unity of foreign propaganda, for the very practical reasons to acquaint the independent nations with the political situation in our country and combat any propaganda set on foot by anti-Hindu parties to mislead their judgment or to secure their sympathies. The very self-interest of each of the nations in the world is so intertwined and got mixed up with the self-interest of others that each of them requires to know and let know the real political situation each other. Coalitions and counter-coalitions even though based on national self-interest of each nation could be advantageously formed if each nation knows the correct political situation in all other countries in the world. Ever since the war began England launched a world-wide propaganda that she was fighting for freedom and democracy all over the world, but the Hindu Mahasabha believed not a word of it and openly said so in its resolutions. England, therefore, had to prove to Americans and others that if she could not free India here and now, it was due to India's own fault. American interests on this and several other grounds required that if India is satisfied it will be an inexhaustible source of men and

materials for them to win the war. So they grew more anxious to study the Indian situation. Before the war broke out America had some hazy notion that there was a National Congress and the Moslem League. The former was a Hindu body in the main and the League represented the Moslems. Consequently they thought that the Congress and the League meant united opinion of the Hindus and later the Moslems. They heard now and then something about the Hindu Mahasabha, but they did not know how to squeeze it in between the two. They had not the slightest notion that the Mahasabha had come to occupy an outstanding position as an All-India body.

But since my cablegram to President Roosevelt which was featured prominently throughout the American press, and through it the world press, the attention of the American public and the press was drawn more pointedly to the Mahasabha, and a curiosity grew in foreign countries to know more closely its ideology, position and policy. Several press representatives and public men who came to study Indian Mahasabha leaders also. Some of them wrote back to their respective press acquainting their public with the ideology and the outstanding position of the Hindu Mahasabha as the representative all-India body of the Hindus, just as the Moslem League was the representative of Moslem interest. A number of cables sent from the Presidential office and other Mahasabha centres on several occasions got good publicity as the American press representatives assured me. Even American film-men got the Presidential office and the routine work photographed personally for a movement I am told that newspapers show them on the American screens. At the time of the negotiations also the foreign press-agents took keen interest and did considerable propaganda to make the voice of the Mahasabha heard outside India. The contact we have thus succeeded in establishing with President and several other leaders and with the public press overseas, has already grown intimate enough in making them realise that any pact, signed by the Congress alone, can not bind the Hindus, unless and until it is agreed to and sanctioned by the Hindu Mahasabha, as the foremost representative body of the Hindus, nor can any agreement between the Congress and the League alone could be taken as an Indian National agreement, if the Hindu Mahasabha is not a party to it. This fact will stand us in good stead at the end of the war when the powers sit together to reshape the map of the world, and if the political constitution of India does form an item on their agenda at all.

PROPOSED DELEGATION TO THE U. S. A.

It was imperative for reasons indicated above that we should send a delegation on behalf of the Hindu Mahasabha to America, England, China at any rate, defeat the British propaganda which was carried on a Governmental scale and also to acquaint the American public with the ideology and policy of the Hindu Mahasabha. That section at any rate which took interest in Indian affairs and knows something of the Congress and the League in these foreign countries must be kept well-informed of the Hindu-Mahasabha activities also. Consequently a delegation under the lead of Dr. Moonje and Babaro Kharade was to be sent to America. Another delegation was to go under the lead of Dr. Varadachari Mudali Rajagopalachari's party, who also wanted to go to England. But as Rajaji was not allowed or did not ask for any facilities, there was no particular point in pressing on for a passport to Dr. Mudali, as they were quits. Other outstanding leaders also from Bengal, Punjab and United Provinces were consulted in this connection and had not any facilities been denied to Baburao Kharade and others at the very outset the question was left not further pursued. The reasons advanced by the Government were various. But the most amusing part of the public criticisms in non-Mahasabhaite camp was that they condemned along with the Government the very idea of taking out delegations to foreign lands that would reduce the prestige of our public life and support the British plea that there were discussions in India. It is hard indeed to wash one's dirty linen on a public square. But the point is who did it first? Did not the British press propaganda went round the globe at the failure of the Cripps Scheme that there were, innumerable communal dissension in India with a thousand tongued voice? Then again do you think that the thousands of Americans and Chinese at present in India have left their eyes and ears in America? And the Germans, and the Japanese? The whole world knows that there are communal dissensions, but the whole world must also

know and does know that no nation in the world can be in some or the other phases of its history, without its own communal dissensions, in the War of Successions or Wars of Roses. The point is that just as inspite of the divisions England has bestowed the curse of slavery on India inspite of her will, so also England can and therefore ought to bestow a blessing of freedom inspite of her dissensions. Just as she is guarding slavery by bayonets she would guard the freedom too. Or she should openly say that she does not want to free India because of the British imperialistic designs and not owing to our dissensions. If the Hindu Mahasabhas were allowed to go to Americans our dissensions could not have been a news to the Americans, but would have acquainted them why these dissensions arose and what is the solution of the Hindu Mahasabha for them. The delegation would have enabled the foreign public to judge better between the black sheep and the grey and the wolf.

But nevertheless the Government had done well in inviting Rai Bahadur *Mehchand Khanna*, President of the N. W. Frontier Hindu Sabha to join the delegation to the Pacific Relations Committee. The Delegation had already reached its destination. Rai Bahadur *Khanna* is bound to have ringing publicity to his thesis 'Pakistan and the Hindu view'. To enable you to judge how rapidly though not sufficiently rapidly the Hindu Mahasabha has asserted its position in England and the other countries, I give below a couple of extracts from the brochure published by the Oxford University Press recently and written by R. Coupland who had on many occasions to observe the Indian affairs at close quarters when he was touring India as well as when attached to the mission of Sir Stafford Cripps for what they are worth.

(1) "Still more vociferous was the Mahasabha the militant Hindu organization, which has always maintained that all India is Hindustan and belongs to the Hindus. For sometime past its leaders have denounced as a vice that very non-communalism which Congress boasts as a virtue. Congress, they say, is an unfaithful servant of Hinduism, and it is one more proof of the existing communal tension that the Mahasabha, which not very long ago had little weight in Indian politics, is growing fast in membership and influence. Its policy is quite frankly communal. 'Our Moslem countrymen should realise', says its fiery President, Mr. Savarkar, 'that even in their own affairs they should accept the inevitable, etc. etc.'"

(2) "Militant Hinduism, true to form, was more out-spoken. 'The basic principle of the Hindu Mahasabha' said its Working Committee, 'is that India is one and indivisible', and it cannot be true to itself or to the best interests of Hindustan if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form."

Lord Devonshire, the Under-Secretary of State for India, referred to the Mahasabha, as, "The second great All-India Hindu Organization." If the Congresses were anxious to secure credentials from the Governors, there is no impropriety if we refer incidentally to some references just to know in what light others see our activities.

PRO-PAKISTANI HINDUS

Till a couple of years ago it were only the Moslems who were fighting for Pakistan and all our arguments we had to address to them, but since the Cripps Mission and the Congresses admission yielding to the Pakistani demand in its worst form, as I have shown earlier in my speech, a preposterous position has arisen. There has sprung up politically speaking a hybrid species of pro-Pakistani Hindus and they have been infecting the Hindu mind as rapidly as a contagious and loathsome disease would do. Some of these Congresses are good Hindus but they have been duped into believing that it is in the interest of the Hindus also to allow the Moslem provinces to secede and bring about a final and everlasting unity. Then there are very statesmanly Hindu personalities who recognise no affiliation to any party or body as it behoves statesmanship, but whose views and votes are nevertheless bound to be counted as Hindu ones. It is regrettable that many of those esteemed persons should have been ready to admit the principle of provincial secession and thus statesmanly enough betray not only the Hindu cause but what they worship like a fetish the Nationalism as well. How these pro-Pakistani Hindus are working to persuade the Hindus and even to persuade the Government to compel the Hindus to get persuaded, can best be illustrated by the unerring efforts of Mr. Rajagopalachari. This 'Acharya' has really been exerting himself with more sincerity and perverse fanaticism than any mad Muslim known to History.

Consequently, the real danger to the integrity of India rises now more eminently from the mentality of the Pakistani Hindus than from Pakistani Moslems. I deliberately choose some of these points to argue which (I know from personal knowledge to weigh heavily on the minds especially on that section of our Hindu brethren who still belong to the Congress persuasion - but who nevertheless have a Hindu heart).

(a) It must be noted first of all very carefully that there is fundamental difference between a provincial re-distribution and provincial self-determination to secede. The latter forms the essence of Pakistan whatever its other aspects or extents be. There is no fundamental objection from Hindu point of view to any re-distribution of provinces, whether on linguistic, military, financial or any other reasonable ground provided it does not weaken the national strength and does not involve any underlying anti-National and anti-Hindu designs. But the question of provincial secession from the Central State must be altogether ruled out in as much as it means nothing short of breaking up Hindusthan into pieces before a century passes away.

(b) Again the granting of the right to provinces to secede from the Central Government at their own sweet will and allow them to set up as separate states entirely independent of the Central Indian Government is far more dangerous than the demand for Pakistan meaning thereby freedom to cut off definite number of provinces because they contain Moslem majority. In the latter case of a definite principle of self-determination cannot but form a veritable sword of Damocles kept hanging on the head of the Central State. It will be practically an invitation and instigation to any province to secede and blow up at stroke the whole ground on which the Indian State has to stand. The majority of the Moslems is the only ground in Pakistani demand for secession, but in admitting the principle of provincial secession we shall have to face the demand on the part of any province at any time on any economical and any other conceivable ground to secede from the Central Government. Remember the political centralisation in India is still passing through a phase of formation. The Indian Central State and the political integrity and cohesion are still standing on a hazy rock. We cannot be cocksure that sometime or the other even some of these provinces where there is not a Moslem majority may be caught up by disintegrating forces and rise against the Central Government, and carried away by the provincial or even sub-provincial egoistic fever demand secession and form themselves into separate states. American, Russian and several other nations can serve as danger signals to us in this connection. In fact even those nations which today are strongly unitary had to pass through this phase and it was only a powerful centrifugal force which kept the centrifugal tendencies on the part of their components effectively suppressed till they got slowly eliminated altogether.

(c) Those who think it matters not much to allow the Moslems to form their independent federation on the North West Frontier Provinces in which there is already an overwhelming majority of the Moslems should take into consideration Can you ever find such a nation on the surface of the earth which would willingly hand over their strongest possible frontiers into the hand of those very people who seceded from them and had been cherishing hereditary desire to dominate over it? Then again, remember that on the heels of Pakistan there comes treating the demand for Pathanistan. Those Frontier Provinces if they get entirely free from the control of the Central Government are sure within measurable time to join hands with the tribes and form a contiguous Pathani state. For the sake of the very existence of 'Hindusthan' we can never willingly let go our hold on those mountain ranges which form our National frontiers and guards. And why should we do it all? To avoid rupture with our Moslem friends? But what guarantee have you to believe that this rupture instead of getting lessened by our handing over our frontiers to them as a free gift will not only get intensified? For is it not more likely that those who are now relatively weak and yet are talking of Civil war, once they get an independent footing as a state, sufficient time and liberty to organise themselves and entrenched on the powerful frontier-ranges, grow stronger precisely in the proportion your position grows weaker by the withdrawal of your frontier? Unity, when it lays out nation exposed to a more dangerous position, is worse than open hostility.

COUNTING WITHOUT THE HOST !

(e) Some of our learned Hindu leaders after most complicated calculations maintain that there is no harm in allowing the Moslems to secede and form Pakisthani independent states in the North-Western parts and even in Bengal, because they are bound to be so crippled financially and economically that they will soon themselves be compelled to repent for secession and go down on their knees. But this financial weakness need not lead to repentance alone, as our learned Hindu economists expect. So long as we continue to be so cowardly as to yield to any preposterous demand on the part of the Moslems to keep up the show of unity and so terribly afraid of Moslem discontent as to allow even the integrity of our Motherland to get broken up into pieces—is not more likely that this very financial and economical starvation of these would-be Moslem states road them on to encroach once more on our Hindu provinces and, instigated by the religious fanaticism which is so innumerable in the frontier tribes even now and urged on by the ideal of Pathanistan under the lead of the organised forces of the Ameer threaten to invade you if you do not hand over to them the remaining parts of the Punjab right up to Delhi to make them financially and economically self-supporting ? The example of the Tribes is already there. They carry out incursions every year into the Indian provinces and loot, kidnap, murder, hold to ransom only the Hindus in particular as a rule. Although they are goaded on by Moslem fanaticism in the main yet several Congressite Hindus were not found wanting in disgracefully condoning these nefarious activities of the tribal Pathans on the ground of "financial and even sexual starvation" from which those "Poor" souls (!) had to undergo inordinate sufferings. I am referring to facts however disgraceful they may be, and not to fictions. What guarantee is there that, given this cowardly and ever-yielding inferiority complex on the part of the Hindus and this mania for Hindu-Moslem unity, these financially starved Pakisthani Provinces will not invade the Hindu provinces on their borders with far greater strength than they can command now ? A troop of Hindus of such mentality would similarly condone their encroachments, sympathise with their demands and vote for handing over even Delhi to those invading Moslems before a shot is fired in order just to make a show before the world of a genuine Hindu-Muslim unity or alliance ! The "poor" Moslems in the Eastern Bengal are even now making their poverty a sufficient excuse and their fanaticism a merit to loot and harass the Hindus whenever they find an opportunity to do so. When once you allow them to get organised into a governmental strength as a separate Moslem Raj, do you not think that this very financial starvation which you admit will cripple their would-be state, would provide them with a compelling cause to invade or harass the Hindus in Western Bengal ? And unless you are cured of this unit-mania, would you not be face to face again with the same bogey—an alternative of handing over some rich slices of Bengal to save the Moslem state from perpetual starvation or be prepared to resist their perpetually growing demand ?

(f) But some of my Pakisthani Hindu friends whisper in my ears "We know all these things, but our yielding for the time being is the crattiest stroke of policy. When we once get rid of these troublesome Moslem provinces and are left free to organise unhindered by them the unalloyed part of Hindusthan, then we shall consolidate our Hindus and raise them into such a mighty military power so rapidly that the Pakisthani provinces of the Moslems would be simply brow-beaten into submission". The only question that should be put to them by themselves is, "Have you not counted without the host—the British ? Have you got any definite guarantee from the British that as soon as you yield to the Pakisthani demand, they would clear out and leave you to organise your Hindusthan as you choose ?

Secondly even if that is done, where is the magic wand that shall raise the Hindus into such a military power while the Congress mentality continues to dominate thousands of them ? We thank you for your inner intention of raising the Hindus into an independent and strong power and for feeling as a Hindu of the Hindus, but do you not think that the Moslems too would utilise that interval with a vengeance to strengthen their position and amalgamating themselves with their kith and kin across the frontier grow quicker into a powerful Pathanistan here or a Pakisthan there ? And you, they have not a single Congressite among them and on the other hand the Moslem minority in every province of your would-be-Hindusthan would be dominating even Congressite Hindus here as they are today creating the same troubles over again and demanding that you must come to terms

the brittle basis of the principle of provincial secession is bound to be like a house raised on a crater of a living volcano.

I appreciate the emphasis the Viceroy has laid at least on the geographical unity of India and the fervent appeal His Excellency has made, in his recent Calcutta speech, to maintain the integrity of our country on the ground of practical politics also. Reasonable safeguards to the minorities must be given and the League of Nations has already shown us the way in one of the world famous documents formulating what reasonable safeguards to minorities really mean. But the Viceroy perhaps inadvertently, use the term 'fully satisfactory' to the minorities' instead of qualifying the safeguards as reasonable. Fortunately our countrymen, the Parsi, Jewish, and Christian communities have extended their readiness to abide by the safeguards laid down as reasonable for the minorities which the Hindu Mahasabha also is ever willing to guarantee. The fact is that it is not a question of minorities, but of one minority, the Moslem-minority alone. To say that the safeguards must be fully satisfactory to the Moslem minority is to stultify the whole statement, because the only safeguard which can be satisfactory to the Moslem minority is, as definitely told by them, to lay an axe at the root of Indian integrity. Thus we are caught in a vicious circle. The self-destructive solution that, to save the integrity of India as a nation, let us kill it outright in order to satisfy the Moslem, is like that of some clans who to save their daughters from dishonour when they grew, used to kill them as soon as they were born.

(i) Consequently taking all these above reasons into consideration it will be crystal clear to the Hindus who have still kept an open mind on this question that even yielding the principle of provincial secession or Pakistan in certain provinces could never bring about Hindu-Moslem Unity, but such a move will throw Hindus alone into a hopeless predicament. There was no chance whatsoever for the cowardly hope, even though they feel that it is a crafty one, to be realised that this or that concession to the Moslem is bound to prove fatal and ushering in a permanent and amicable alliance between the two people. So long as it is you who yield, so long the Moslems would be fools to give up their aggression on Hindustan; and the Moslems are certainly no fools in so far as this ambition is concerned. Invasions against the Kafirahs are in their grain. They are fed on real or boosted up stories of their past conquest, and the only way to hold them in check is to make them realise that any such mad dreams would cost them much more than it would to their opponents. That is why Mr. Jinnah who speak in the accents of an Alexander the great, the conqueror of the world, when he addresses some local meetings of his admirers, brandishing a presented sword before or there, threatening the Hindus alone, has never displayed the courage of threatening an armed revolt against the English, who in fact are comfortably seated on the very Gadi of the Moguls and let no trace of the Moslem Empire throughout India, for he knows that the consequences would be immediately terrible.

(i) The only organised body that had the courage to tell the Moslems that the consequences of their efforts to destroy Indian integrity would be in the long run as terrible, is the Hindu Mahasabha alone. You are, Oh! Hindu Sabhais and Hindu Sanghatis, you form the last citadel in which the Hindu Hope and honour, if not for immediate success, and among the faithless crowd of Hindus themselves, you form the last faithful army which has rallied round to defend the Pan-Hindu Colours as our ancestors did under such trying circumstances at Chitor! If you at any rate—Oh! Hindu Sanghatis, do not betray yourself and the tradition of Chitor, then rest assured you will in the near future be able to rally out or by falling in the struggle as indomitable and uncompromising warriors enable your Race to rally out of the Chitor of Martyrdom to the Kaigad of Victory. Come out then to assert boldly and uncompromisingly on behalf of Hindudom that just as in America, Germany, China and in every other country not excluding Russia, so also in Hindustan the Hindus by the fact that they form an overwhelming majority are the Nation and Moslems but a community because like all other communities they are unchallengeably in a minority. Therefore they must remain satisfied with whatever reasonable safeguards other minorities in India get and accept the reasonable in the light of the general world formula framed by the League of Nations. We may adapt it to Indian circumstances by concessions more or less on minor questions but no minority in India shall be allowed to demand or break the very integrity of Hindustan from Indus to the Seas as a condition of their participation in the Central Government or Provincial ones. No

province whatsoever, by the fact that it is a province, shall be allowed to claim to be a nation can have a right of self-determination but a province or a Taluka can have no right to run contrary, by the strength of their own majority in the Law and the Will of the Central Government of Hindusthan. All we can in fairness promise is to grant a representation to all India citizens on the general principle of 'one man one vote' or if that is not found to the taste of the Moslems we may go a step further and base all representation strictly on population. We know for certain that those minorities like Parsis, Christians and others who have expressed unmistakably their loyalty to united, undivided and indivisible Indian Nation and the Indian State are, with reasonable safeguards, with the Hindus and willing to work shoulder to shoulder for Indian independence. It will be well for the Moslems even in their own interest to heart faithful allegiance to the Indian nation on the same conditions offered to other minorities. But if the Moslems, mistaking the pseudo-national yielding attitude of the Congress for the attitude of Hindum as such persist in their outrageous and treacherous demand for Pakistan or the principle of Provincial self-determination then it is high time for you, Hindu Sanghathanists, you must proclaim your formula from the very tops of the Himalayas, we don't want Hindu-Moslem unity at all on such conditions. "If you come, with you, if you don't without you, and if you oppose, inspire of you, we shall fight as best as we can, to secure the independence and defend the integrity of Hindusthan from the Indus to the Seas. Any movement on the part of any one to violate it would be treacherous and strongly suppressed just as any movement of Negrophiles would be strongly punished by the American nation. All laws are but generalisations primarily based on detailed observations. The detailed observation of the history of Hindus through centuries on centuries points incontrovertibly to the fact that the Hindu Nation is imbued inherently with such an amazing capacity of resurrection, of renaissance, of rejuvenation that, the moment which finds them completely overwhelmed by anti-Hindu forces is precisely the moment which ushers in the day of Deliverance--to quote the favourite style--of the birth of an Avatar! It was in the darkest hour of the Night that Shri Krishna was born. It is this indomitable spirit of the inherent virility that enabled our Nation being to prove almost immortal in relation to other races or nations, ancient or modern, and invested it with that strength which ultimately demolished and swept away all anti-Hindu forces, which raised their head from time to time against us. This is no mere rhodomontade I am indulging in. Leaving aside even the Pauranic period, and the Huns, Shikas and even taking into consideration the Moslems who came as conquerors, this is the gift of well-antennated Hindu history.

The Moslems came as conquerors, but stayed too long to be conquered by the Hindus and beaten to a chip in a thousand and one battle-field till at last the Hindu horse of Victory rode off unchallenged from Attock to Kameshwar, from Dwaraka to Jagannath.

WOULD MOSLEMS LEARN THE LESSON ?

To validate this historical fact, only look at these two following pictures :—
 Just take up the map of India about 1600 A. D. The Moslems ruled all over Hindusthan unchallengably. It was a veritable Pakistan realised not only in this province or that, but all over India :—Hindusthan as such was simply wiped out. Then open out the map of India about 1700 to 1798 A. D. and what do you see ? The Hindu forces are marching triumphantly throughout India. The very Mogul throne at Delhi is smashed to pieces literally with a hammer by Sardar Bhanu, the Generalissimo of the Marathas ! Our Hindu-Sikh brotherhood does ultimately deliver the Punjab from the Moslem yoke and rule supremely from the borders of Tibet to the banks of the Kabul river ; the Gurkha-Hindus rule in Nepal, while the Marathas from Delhi to Kameshwar have planted the triumphant Hindu flag from capital to capital, from temple to temple. The Pakistan actually realised by the Moslems was engulfed and out of it rose up once more Hindusthan, resurrected and triumphant. The conquering Moslem had to eat the humble pie in the long end and got so completely crushed and weakened to think of his fate as dreams that even to-day in his heart of hearts the bidders to think of his fate as soon as he sees the probability of the consolidated strength of the over-whelming Hindu majority in the land.

It would be good to the Moslems themselves if they once realise the import of this historical truth. The fate which overtook them even when they had succeeded in translating the whole of Hindusthan into an actual living and mighty Pakistan, ought to warn them of the miserable future they would have in store if they persisted in dreaming wildly of a Pakistan which is to-day but an airy nothing, a forlorn hope!

The Hindu Mahasabhas should remember that as is very probable they will be called upon to fight out any attempt on the part of the Moslems to thrust the Pakistan on us whether by resorting to the "revolt" whatever the Leagues may mean thereby; then the entire burden, responsibility and consequently the merit also will be yours in facing the struggle single-handed. The Congress-minded Hindus, the worshippers of pseudo-Nationality would not only be of no use to you but would actually try to combat you and try to put you into a false position by their willing surrender to the Moslem demands as Hindus. You should therefore try to mobilise your forces and reserve whatever strength you can command for the defence of the integrity of India which no one else but you alone may defend. You are the salt of Hindudom but if the salt loses its flavour, with what shall it be salted. Independence of Hindusthan has no meaning at the cost of its fundamental integrity as a state and a nation. It may be thrust on us even as the British rule is thrust on us; but just as that does not deprive us of the right of struggling for our freedom from England, even so, if we but do not betray our own conscience and sign willingly any or all schemes proposing percentages and plebiscites, which are growing in abundance like mushrooms either out of or pusillanimity, you will find yourself soon in a position to panic press on both the demands regarding independence and integrity and together get them realised through your own strength. So far as the most determining factor of all, namely the World War is concerned, neither the Axis nor the Allies have as yet secured any results so decisive as to invest them with an unquestionable superiority. Consequently the best policy for all nations situated as we Hindus are, is to continue to sit on the fence and watch the results, keeping ourselves all the while as well organised, as well informed and as tactfully ready to take as much advantage of the last results, when the war ends.

In view of this indecise aspect of the war and the necessity for the Hindu Sanghathanists to keep mobilised their forces for the resistance which they are very likely to be called upon to offer and continue the anti-Pakistan struggle single handedly and owing to our inability however regrettable but which must be recognised as an actuality to enter the world combat on our own account to win back our Independence the most far-sighted practicable programme which if carried on faithfully even handicapped though we are while the war continues without arriving at any decisions, is as follows:—

(a) To continue a hundred times more intensely the Hindu Militarization Movement and try to get recruited and enlisted as many Hindus as possible in the Army, Navy, the Air Forces, Ammunition Factories, War Technique etc. The now on my part to marshal out all the arguments I have been doing so often. When the war began, the percentage of the Moslems had so dangerously gone high in the army as 62 per cent. This was the result of the Gandhist policy denouncing the soldier as a sinner and the spinner as the greatest spiritual warrior, who alone was the real liberator of the land and was sure with the music of his spinning wheel to win over the hearts of all Hitler, Stalin, Churchill and T. J. But ever since the Hindu Mahasabha found that the war had made it incumbent on the Government to throw the doors of the Army, Navy and the Air Forces open to the Hindus, it whipped up military enthusiasm amongst the Hindus and conducted an organised campaign to send thousands and thousands of Hindus to all branches of the military forces of the land. The result as has recently been declared is that the percentage of the Moslems in the Army has gone from 62 to 32 percent. This must also be reduced to some 25 in just accordance with the population proportion of Hindus and Moslems. The Hindu Mahasabha branches all over India must start Militarisation Boards to send to the forces of the land the best and the bravest of the Hindus. If any province or a district wants to study an organisation board which has proved most competent in this respect it should do well to personally study the working and the results achieved by the Militarisation Mandal at Poona under the able lead of our esteemed Hindu Sabhat leader Sri.

L. B. Bhopalkar. Hundreds of promising Hindu youths have already secured King's Commissions, Viceroy's Commissions and are leading the forces with efficiency and merit and getting an up-to-date knowledge and practice of warfare in different battlefields. The same can be said of the Air Forces. Believe that nothing can stand the Hindus in better stead even after the war as this Hindu Militarisation will do. I assure every Hindu soldier and officer who is now serving in the Indian Army, Navy or the Air Forces etc., that they are doing as patriotic a service to their Nation as those who went to jail at Bhagalpur, if not more. The immediate defence of our hearths and homes does also make it incumbent to make a common cause with the British forces till they are in the field, if not more.

(b) Continue to capture all centres of Political Power from the Central Executive Council, Legislatures, Defence Committees and Councils, Municipalities, Ministers in the Civic part of the Government just as on the Military side. The men who come to occupy these centres of power must be either elected by the Hindu Mahasabha or supported by it as Independent Hindu Sanghastans. But in no case should a Hindu be trusted with any such centre of power, who by persuasion belongs to the Pseudo-Nationalist Congress School and glorifies more in betraying Hindu rights to the Moslems than in defending them against Moslem encroachment.

(c) Do not fritter away your energies or keep your Sanghastanist forces shakled down in any untimely and fruitless movement which pursuing high sounding slogans loses more than it gains in the long run. Remember, it is not the slogan but the strength that counts. Under the war fever only arms can speak and not slogans however high-sounding.

(d) But you must be ready to give a fight in defence of the civic rights of the Hindus when they are locally attacked or humiliations deliberately offered to the Hindu honour or any just grievance or to face any anti-Hindu riots, as we have already been doing year in and year out. Only those issues which are beyond our power to tackle and are to be fought out on an all-India scale against armed forces, overwhelmingly more powerful than those we can rally, disorganised and dismantled as we relatively are, should not be taken up just now. Time and strategy demand that we should leave them till we are in a better position.

(e) In the meanwhile, in order to mobilise our forces and keep them prepared for any emergency such as the Pakistan struggle, we should continue the constructive activities to make our Hindu Mahasabha organisation as strong as possible. The general and suicidal error, which makes us under-value constructive programme which we could easily carry out even during the war time, must be utilised all the more intensify, enlisting as many members, starting branches at many places down to the Talukas and villages and keeping them well organised and working in a duty which the Hindu Mahasabha must continue to do and can do even now with a hundredfold speed and activity.

Remember also that the removal of untouchability is a task as easy to be tackled as it is bound to strengthen Hindu consolidation. It will be nothing short of a victory won in the battlefield if we within five years' time, can sweep out untouchability from the face of our country by killing the very idea of not touching our co-religionist on ground of birth in a particular caste alone, and removing automatically the special disability, some economic and some social, from which those of our religious brothers are suffering most unjustly at this hour. It is only a change of mentality and nothing more than that can achieve this seemingly insuperable task. If every one of the Hindu Sanghastans simply says and begins to act on it that "I would not look upon anyone of my co-religionists as untouchable simply on account of birth in a particular caste" the question will be solved without a farthing's cost or the least measure of suffering and we shall have a veritable army of some three crores of our co-religionists fighting shoulder to shoulder with us under the Pan-Hindu flag on behalf of Hindudom.

So long as the war continues without reaching any decision, this is the most profitable and the most tactical programme which the Hindu Mahasabhas and the Hindu Sanghastans can work out before the war introduces any revolutionary factor concerning our own country so as to demand our first attention and compels us to adopt ourselves to it forthwith.

HOLD FAST!

All our present programmes, it need not be mentioned, are based on the assumption that Britain comes out at any rate so successful of this World War.

as to continue to be the Sovereign power in India. Nothing has happened so far as to undermine the probability of this assumption. But then, the forces of Japan are hanging on so persistently on our eastern borders undisturbed to any appreciable measure; and on the other hand the Axis Powers have been surrounded at any rate for the moment by a veritable hornet of irritated nations, that no one even among the most optimistic statesmen or commanders or dictators, are in a position to predict with any certain definiteness the results of the war. Till that time along with those nations who cannot but helplessly watch their destinies tied up with the fortunes of the powerful combatants on both sides, India too, disarmed as it is, must bide the time and tide.

The dice of Destiny are loaded already: All nations are thrown in the crucible! The very seas are at flames, and the skies are garrisoned with and showering thunderbolts day and night. No nation can continue under this World War the same. No nation after this World War can emerge just as it was. Many of those who were at the pinnacle of their power will be reduced to the dust. Many who were cramped down in the dust may all of a sudden find themselves in a position to rise and come to their own. The face of the earth is bound to get revolutionised in any case, and in that revolutionary upheaval which at present lies in the lap of the War-Gods, one thing only could be said certainly so far as India is concerned—that we cannot but be one of the foremost factors whose future is bound to get revolutionised though we cannot and may not point out definitely the aspects of it. One thing you may rest assured that all possible aspects are already viewed as carefully as human ingenuity can and neither the continuation or the termination of the war can find the Hindu Mahasabha unprepared to take full advantage of every revolutionary phase the war passes through, near or far off, so as to press on the Hindu cause. As has happened so many times in the Hindu History that it was precisely in the darkest hour that the Avatar destined to deliver us was born. It is not quite unlikely, nay, it is more likely than not, that the spirit of Renaissance of the Hindu Race may yet find an opportunity to assert itself and us if by a miracle, similar to those our Purans sing, Hindudom emerges triumphant over all the forces of evil which are attacking it to-day.

About possibilities and even about probabilities wise men should not assert any thing more definitely! All that they should do is to conserve the forces of their nation in the meanwhile, and wait for the probable time and tide, so that they may be not found wanting, if the probability does arise all of a sudden. Hindu Sabhas and Hindu Sanghats! Only see to it that on the eve of such a probable, miraculous development in the near future, do not play cowards to your conscience under the weight of the present, nor get yourselves stampeded by the pseudo-nationalistic forces into any unbecoming pacts; in short do not sell your birth-right for a mess of pottage. Hold fast to the programme chalked out by the Mahasabha, plain though it may seem, and get not yourselves trapped into any untimely outburst, which, instead of bringing you near to success may only serve to find you entirely disabled to catch the tide of fortune which in all probability is likely to reach your shores under the pressure of the war!

At all events, hold fast to the crux of the Hindu Sanghats' ideology, namely, "Hinduse all politics and Military Hindudom." It will serve you truly and well in any situation that the future may unfold.

Second Day—Cannopre—30th. December 1942

Proceedings & Resolutions

FELICITATIONS TO PT. MALAVIYA

The second day's session of the Hindu Mahasabha commenced at 4-30 p.m. On the arrival in company with other leaders, was greeted with prolonged shouts of Mahasabha slogans. On the rostrum was hung a garlanded photograph of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya whose eighty-second birthday was being celebrated all over the country on this day. After the "Bande Mataram" song and recitation of three poems in praise of the President, Mr. Savarkar moved the first resolution offering felicitations to Pandit Malaviya on his birthday. He paid eloquent tributes to the veteran leader whom he described as the founder, inspiration and guide of the Hindu Mahasabha organisation. He was gratified that Pandit Malaviya was still active, though he

had reached a ripe age and wished him long life and health. The resolution was carried amidst shouts of "Jadon Mohan Malaviya ji-ji!" This was followed by two resolutions of condolence moved from the chair on the demise of Sir M. N. Mukherji and Mr. Gyanchand Verma. The resolutions were passed all standing.

DR. S. MUKHERJEE CONGRATULATED

Rai Bahadur Harish Chandra (Delhi) next moved the following resolution:—
 "This session of the Hindu Mahasabha congratulates Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee on his resignation of the Rinance Ministry of the Bengal Government and puts on record its appreciation of the spirit of responsive co-operation which he has shown in continuing only as long as he could serve the public by the high-handed policy of the Governor and the bureaucracy."
 Mr. B. G. Khurade (Amraoti), seconding the resolution declared that Dr. Mukherjee had, by his action, vindicated the policy and the ideal of the Hindu Mahasabha. The resolution was carried unanimously amidst applause.
 Mr. Chandra Narain (Bareilly) next moved the resolution regarding the celebration of the twenty-fifth century of Vikrami Samvat. He was supported by Mr. Gopeshwar Babu Mehra (Bareilly) and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vaidyanankar (Delhi). The resolution was passed.

PLEA FOR HOLDING HINDU WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Mrs. Janaki Bai Joshi (Poona), moving the resolution recommending that a Hindu Women's Conference (Mahila Parishad) should be held simultaneously with the All India Hindu Mahasabha session, declared it was time that they realised the important role that women played in their homes and it was but proper that they should be encouraged to take interest in political matters. The course she had suggested would enable them to know and appreciate the principles for which the Hindu Mahasabha stood. She hoped that the Conference would accept the proposition without any dissent. Since 1935, she continued, women had been off and on taking part in the deliberations of the Mahasabha. It was only at the Bhagalpur session that they were advised to keep themselves aloof and she found that, at the present Calcutta session, women were not taking as much interest as they should.
 Mrs. Savitri Dularay Lal (Lucknow) supported the resolution, endorsing the views expressed by the mover, whereafter the resolution was unanimously carried.

SYMPATHY FOR FLOOD-SUFFERING PEOPLE

Mr. Ashutosh Lahiri (Bengal) moved a resolution expressing sympathy with the people of Midnapur and Twenty-four Parganas in Bengal and Orissa, who had suffered during the recent cyclone and the people of Sind owing to floods. He complained that prompt relief could not be arranged to the sufferers in time.
 Pandit Vishwanth Shastri (Orissa) supported Mr. Lahiri and detailed the havoc caused by the cyclone in the affected parts of Orissa. The resolution was passed.

ORGANISATION OF DEFENCE PARTIES

Mr. Ananda Priya (Baroda), moving the resolution recommending to the Hindu Mahasabha to organise defence parties for self-protection and internal security in co-operation with other organisations, emphasised the advisability of arranging such parties and said that, in case of emergency, they could render valuable assistance to the public. He warned the Mahasabha to lose no time in preparing itself to meet the difficult times that they all would have to face. These parties would help them in saving their life and property.
 Mr. Chandra Karan Sarua (Ajmer) seconding the resolution, pleaded that Government should grant necessary facilities for the formation of defence parties. The resolution was passed.

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Before adjourning the session till the next day, Mr. V. D. Savarkar, in a brief speech, said that the two main resolutions of the session would come up before the House to-morrow. The issues which concerned them most were the demand for Pakistan and the Mahasabha's programme in the immediate future. He knew that the public outside was naturally eager to know the Mahasabha's decisions on these momentous questions. Mr. Savarkar emphasised that, whatever their decisions, there was no question of going back and they had to decide with

a full sense of responsibility. Exhorting the Hindus to rally under the banner of the strength of the organisation. He claimed that the Mahasabha spoke for thirty-two crores of Hindus, and it behooved them to make their organisation powerful and effective. No other organisation could rightly claim to speak on their behalf, asserted Mr. Savarkar. The Hindus, he concluded, were a nation, while others were communities. (Loud cheers).

Third Day—Cawnpore—31st, December 1942

NON-AVAILABILITY OF FOODSTUFFS

The third day's session of the Hindu Mahasabha resumed its sittings at 4-30 p.m. this evening, Mr. V. D. Savarkar presiding. It passed the main resolution reiterating the Sabha's opposition to any constitutional scheme which undermined the integrity of the Indian nation and asking the British Government to modify their policy of possible vivisection of India as embodied in the Cripps proposals.

Messages, wishing success to the session, were received from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, H. E. Commanding-General Sir Baber Shamsherjung Bahadur of Nepal, H. E. Senior Commanding-General Tohan Shamsher Jung Bahadur Rana and Sir Manilal Thakkar.

Prof. Harish Chandra Ghose (Calcutta) moved a resolution on the non-availability of essential foodstuffs to poorer classes and recommending to the Government (1) to arrange for proper distribution of foodstuffs in the country, (2) to improve and consolidate transport facilities for distribution purposes and (3) not to make any purchases for export abroad. Prof. Ghose referred in particular to the conditions in Bengal and said that, with the stoppage of rice import from Burma, people were experiencing considerable hardships.

Mr. J. V. Krishnan (Cawnpore), seconding the resolution, pleaded for a change in the Government policy and urged that the viewpoint expressed by the mercantile community from time to time should be given the consideration it deserved. The resolution was passed.

RESOLUTION ON POLITICAL SITUATION

Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee was given a great ovation when he rose to move the main resolution of the session relating to "Akhand Hindusthan." The resolution runs as follows:

"The All-India Hindu Mahasabha endorses its demand formulated by its Working Committee at its meeting held in Delhi for the purpose of ending the present political deadlock and notes with satisfaction that the Sub-Committee appointed by the Mahasabha succeeded in securing the highest unanimity possible amongst all present political parties and communities. It records its definite opinion that the political situation has deteriorated owing mainly to the refusal of the British Government to take the initiative and transfer power to Indian hands. Complete unanimity on all points among all political parties has never been achieved in the history of any country in the world and insistence on such unity as a condition precedent to transferring power is only a pretext for not parting with political power.

"The impossible attitude taken by the Muslim League and its refusal to come to any settlement unless the principle of Pakistan is accepted—a principle to which the Hindu Mahasabha can never agree to both in the interest of Hindus and India as a whole—has been due mainly to the open encouragement which the League has received and is receiving at the hands of the British Government. Now that the Viceroy in his recent Calcutta speech has openly recognised that the political integrity and geographical integrity of India must be maintained, the British Government should now modify their policy of possible vivisection of India as embodied in the Cripps Proposals.

"The Hindu Mahasabha has been and is prepared to offer its hand of co-operation to all political parties, specially to minority parties, for securing reasonable adjustments and their rights and interests within one United Hindustan. The Hindu Mahasabha re-emphasises that it is fundamentally opposed to any constitutional scheme which undermines the integrity of the Indian nation and the Indian State, which must ever remain one and indivisible, gives sovereign powers to provinces and does not provide for a strong Central Government. The principle of self-determination is to be applied to a nation as a whole and not to its component parts."

BRITAIN RESPONSIBLE FOR DEADLOCK.

Moving the above resolution, Dr. Mookerjee said that the responsibility for the present political deadlock in the country rested with the British Government. The British Government had failed to meet India's political demand under various pretexts such as disunity among the various communities, want of common front etc. The speaker asked if such want of unity ever stood in the way of the British Government when it had made up its mind to thrust something on India. He instanced the case of the communal award and the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935. "We do not want any foreign aggression, nor do we want any foreign rule. We want India to be ruled by Indians and on behalf of Indians." he declared. Proceeding, Dr. Mookerjee said that practically all parties had demanded immediate independence. The Hindu Mahasabha, representing the Hindus, did not ask for any privilege which it was not prepared to concede to other communities. It was wrong to bring religion in the field of politics and Dr. Mookerjee held the British Government responsible for bringing religion into politics.

UNITED NATIONAL DEMAND

Referring to the efforts made by the Hindu Mahasabha to formulate a united national demand, Dr. Mookerjee confessed that the Sabha's efforts did not meet with complete success in so far as the Muslim League was concerned, because of the stumbling block of the League's demand for Pakistan, but substantial agreement among various other parties in India in regard to the political demand has been reached. Dr. Mookerjee declared that such parties as were willing to shoulder responsibility should be entrusted with power. But this could come about only if the British Government decided to transfer real power. The speaker regretted that the response from the British Government so far had been nil. Dr. Mookerjee declared it was absurd to say that the British Government was simply pining to transfer power to Indian hands. The Hindu Mahasabha could not be a party to any settlement that sacrificed the integrity of India. If the principle of Pakistan was accepted Indian freedom would go into the background for ever and for good. They wanted communal harmony and peace which could be achieved if both Hindus and Muslims combined and placed the interest of their country before their communities.

Dr. Mookerjee severely criticised the Cripps Proposals and appealed to the Hindus to organise themselves under the banner of the Hindu Mahasabha, and if there were undisciplines in the organisation, he asked the audience to purge them out of it and to take charge of affairs in their hands. Seth Jugal Kishore Birla (Delhi), seconding the resolution, declared that, while they were prepared to agree to reasonable adjustments, it was impossible for them to accept the Muslim demand for Pakistan and sacrifice the interests of Hindus.

Sardar Vard Singh (Amritsar) assured Mr. Savarkar on behalf of the Hindu youths all over the country that, if occasion arose, they would make all sacrifices for this cause.

Mr. B. G. Khaparde (Amrohi), speaking in support of the resolution, criticised the Congress for accepting the principle of communal representation, which, he said, struck at the very root of nationalism. Pakistan was an impracticable proposition and Hindus were opposed to it.

Mr. Karamchand Bhalla (Lahore) and Mr. Chandra Gupta Vedalanekar (Delhi) further supported the resolution which was then passed unanimously.

Charter of Rights

Dr. M. B. Udagankar (Bombay) moved the next resolution which ran as follows :

"This session of the Hindu Mahasabha is of the opinion that in order to remove the misconception prevailing amongst a certain section of the people regarding the privileges, responsibilities, status and rights of the citizens in the state as visualised and conceived by the Hindu Mahasabha, it is desirable to state the position of the Mahasabha in this respect in a manner allowing of no confusion. Therefore, appoints a committee consisting of the following persons to draft a charter of rights and responsibilities of the citizens of India in general and the minorities and such other sections of the people as the workers and peasants in particular, and submit it to the All-India Hindu Mahasabha."

Committee within three months for necessary action: Dr. B. S. Moonje, Dr. S. P. Mukerjee, Dr. Naidu, Dr. Gauri Shankar Prasad, Mr. G. V. Ketkar (Convenor), Mr. R. M. Kate (Nagpur) seconded the resolution whereafter it was carried.

Collective Fines on Hindus

Mr. Gauri Shankar Prasad (Bhagalpur) moved the resolution condemning the action of the Central Government and of the Provincial Governments in imposing collective fines on the Hindus alone and demanding of the Central Government the immediate reversal of a policy under which one community was alone made to suffer for the acts of some people with whom the general mass of Hindus had no connection. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Bal Shastri (C. P.) and supported by Mr. Madhusudan Majumdar (Gujarat) after which it was passed.

The Mahasabha also passed a resolution requesting the Jaipur Durbar to allow Hindi to be used as court language in the State.

Direct Action

Dr. B. S. Moonje moved the most controversial resolution of the session which, during the course of discussion in the Subjects Committee, was referred to a special sub-committee. The resolution states:

"In view of the fact that Great Britain is not prepared to part with power as has been clearly proved by their rejection of the national demand formulated by the Sabha and in view of the fact that Pakistani Muslims are actually threatening civil war and particularly in view of the fact that the principle of Pakistan is being encouraged by the British Government as evidenced in the Cripps scheme, this session of the Hindu Mahasabha has come definitely to the conclusion that an active movement must be resorted to compel Great Britain to recognise India as an independent nation in the world, as well as to defend the integrity of India against the Pakistani Muslims.

"To devise ways and means for mobilising the resources of the Hindus to cope with external aggression and internal disorder and to prepare the Hindu Working Committee to formulate a plan before April 30, 1943, with a view to force to fight out this struggle efficiently, this session authorises the Working Committee to mobilise the independent status of India. The Mahasabha under no circumstances would agree to the Pakistan scheme violating Mother India.

Raja Maheshwar Dayal Seth said that the resolution was not a new one. It was first brought before the Working Committee meeting at Delhi. It was then decided that if the British Government did not accept the national demands as put forth by the Hindu Mahasabha, the latter would launch a "direct action" programme to mobilise Hindu opinion to force the hands of the Government to concede those demands. The British Government had refused to yield in the matter and the time had come when they should take the next step and resort to direct action to bring pressure on the bureaucracy to declare India free and withdraw the Cripps proposals indirectly granting Muslims Pakistan. He advised Hindus to rally under the Mahasabha banner under the leadership of Mr. Savarkar and follow the programme recommended by him.

The resolution was carried unanimously amidst applause. The session then came to a close at 8 p.m. with a "Bande Matram" song.

Working Committee—Bombay—16th. to 20th. August 1942

The All India Muslim League

After the annual session of the All India Muslim League had been held at Allahabad from the 3rd. to 6th. April 1942, a meeting of the Working Committee of the League was held at Bombay from the 16th. to 20th. August 1942 when it adopted a long resolution on the present political situation, indicating the League's attitude to the questions of the formation of a National Government and to the Congress movement. The following is the full text of the resolution:

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, having given their deep and anxious consideration to the present political development in the country, deplore the decision arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee on August 8, 1942, to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to mass civil disobedience movement in pursuance of their objective of establishing Congress Hindu domination in India, which has resulted in lawlessness and considerable destruction of life and property.

"It is the considered opinion of the Working Committee that this movement is directed not only to coerce the British Government into handing over power to a Hindu Oligarchy and thus disabling themselves from carrying out their moral obligations and pledges given to the Mussalmans and other sections of the peoples of India from time to time, but also to force the Mussalmans to submit and surrender to the Congress terms and dictation.

"Ever since the beginning of the war and even prior to that, the sole objective of the Congress policy has been either to cajole or to coerce the British Government into surrendering power to the Congress—a Hindu body with a microscopic following of other communities in utter suppression of one hundred millions of Mussalmans, besides millions of other peoples of this vast sub-continent of India. While claiming the right of self-determination for "India", which is a mere Congress euphemism for Hindu majority, it has persistently opposed the right of self-determination for the Muslim nation to decide and determine their own destiny.

"On May 1, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee, by their resolution, emphatically repudiated the Muslim League demand for the right of self-determination for Muslims and thus closed the door for the settlement of the communal problem, which is a condition precedent to the attainment of the Freedom and Independence of India. The Congress had also recognised this as an indispensable condition and had therefore, made it a prominent plank in the Congress programme for over twenty years, but by their recent decisions have suddenly thrown it overboard and in its stead substituted the fantastic theory that the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem can only follow the withdrawal of British power from India.

"The negotiations of Sir Stafford Cripps with the Congress broke down not on the issue of Independence, but because of the refusal of the British Government to hand over the Muslims and the minorities to the tender mercies of the Congress. Any acquiescence in this on the part of the British would have been strenuously resisted by the minorities, and particularly by the Muslim nation, with memories of tyranny in the Congress governed Provinces still fresh and vivid in their minds. "Banked in their effort to cajole Sir Stafford Cripps to agree to the transfer of power to the Congress caucus, they decided upon a slogan—"Quit India", accompanied with the threat of mass civil disobedience. This slogan is a mere camouflage, and what is really aimed at is the supreme control of the Government of the country by the Congress.

"The Mussalmans are not a whit less insistent on freedom for the country and the achievement of Independence of the people of India, which is the creed of the All-India Muslim League. They are, however, firmly convinced that the present Congress movement is not directed for securing the independence of all the constituent elements in the life of the country, but for the establishment of Hindu Raj and to deal a death blow to the Muslim goal of Pakistan.

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League note with dissatisfaction the attitude and policy of the British Government towards the national aspirations of one hundred millions of Muslims of India.

"While the Congress aims at ignoring and suppressing the Muslim demand,

the Working Committee regret that the British Government have been unresponsive to the Muslim League's offer of co-operation. The appeasement of the Congress has been the central pivot of the Government policy, with barren and sterile results and has now culminated in the open defiance of law and order. "Since the commencement of hostilities the Muslim League has been ready and willing, either singly or in co-operation with other parties, to shoulder the responsibility for running the administration and mobilising the resources of the country for the war efforts for the defence of India, if a real share in the power and authority of the Government at the Centre and in the Provinces was conceded within the frame-work of the present Constitution, and in pursuance of this policy, the Muslim League accepted the underlying principles of the August offer of 1940 of the British Government.

"But the Government in implementing the offer, nullified the essential principles of it and so made it impossible for the Muslim League to co-operate with the Government on honourable terms. In spite of the fact that the British Government had spurned the offer of co-operation of the Muslim League still under the imminent shadow of the Japanese menace, the Muslim League once again reiterated their offer by their resolution of December 27, 1941 in the following words: "In view of the fact that the entry of Japan in the war on the side of the Axis Powers has brought the danger much closer to India and has forced into greater prominence the question of the defence of India, the Working Committee has expressed its willingness to share the responsibility of the defence of the country, is evident from the stand taken by the President of the All-India Muslim League as far back as November 1939...

"The Working Committee once more declare that they are ready and willing as before to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, singly or in co-operation with other parties on the basis that a real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government at the Centre and the Provinces within the frame-work of the present Constitution, but without prejudice to the major political issues involved in the framing of the future Constitution". But the British Government completely ignored the offer of the Muslim League.

"While the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps virtually conceded the Congress demands on the right of secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and forming of a Constituent Assembly with a preponderant Hindu majority for the framing of the post-war Constitution, they merely recognised the possibility of establishing Pakistan, supposed to be implicit in the non-accession scheme. "The Working Committee are definitely of the opinion that if the Muslim masses are to be roused to intensify the war effort with all the sacrifices that are involved in it, it is only possible, provided they are assured that it would lead to the realisation of the inspiring goal of Pakistan. The Muslim League, therefore, calls upon the British Government to come forward without any further delay with an unequivocal declaration guaranteeing the right of self-determination and to pledge themselves that they would abide by the verdict of the plebiscite of Mussalmans and give effect to the Pakistan scheme in consonance with the basic principles laid down by the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League passed in March 1940.

"Having regard to the oft-repeated declaration of the United Nations to secure and guarantee the freedom and independence of the smaller nations of the world the Working Committee invite the immediate attention of the United Nations States in the zones which are their homelands and where they are in a majority. "The Working Committee are fully convinced that Pakistan is the only solution of India's constitutional problem and it is in complete consonance with justice and fairplay to the two great nations—Muslims and Hindus—inhabiting this vast sub-continent; whereas if the Congress demand is accepted it would bring the hundred millions of Mussalmans under the yoke of Hindu Raj which must inevitably result either in anarchy and chaos or complete strangulation and annihilation of Muslim India and all that Islam stands for.

"This Muslim League, as it has been repeatedly made clear, stands not only for Pakistan and the freedom of Muslims, but also for the freedom and independence of Hindustan and the Hindus.

"The Muslim League has been and is ready and willing to consider any proposals and negotiate with any party on a footing of equality for the setting up of a Provisional Government of India, in order to mobilise the resources of the

country for the purpose of the defence of India and the successful prosecution of the war, provided the demands of Muslim India, as indicated above, are conceded unequivocally.

"In these circumstances, the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League, after anxious and careful consideration, call upon the Muslims to abstain from any participation in the movement initiated by the Congress and to continue to pursue their normal peaceful life.

"The Working Committee hope that no attempt shall be made from any quarter to intimidate, coerce, molest or interfere in any manner with the normal life of the Muslims; otherwise the Muslims would be compelled and justified to offer resistance and adopt all such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their life, honour and property.

MR. JINNAH ON THE RESOLUTION

The resolution, which was released to the press on the 20th, August was forwarded to H. E. the Viceroy, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, the British Prime Minister and to the heads of the United Nations, said Mr. J. A. Jinnah, President of the League, interviewed in the evening.

Several questions were put to Mr. Jinnah on the resolution. Mr. Jinnah emphasised that it was a unanimous decision. He declined to say anything when asked if there was more unsaid in the resolution than what was explicitly stated. Reiterating that the Muslims were not wholeheartedly in the war effort, Mr. Jinnah said: "Officially, the Muslim League has not undertaken the responsibility of the burden of war effort, because the Government have declined to give us a real share and authority in the governance of the country on honourable terms."

Mr. Jinnah declined to elucidate what exactly the Committee meant when it stated that it was prepared to negotiate with "any party." He, however, agreed that "any party" meant any recognised party "which is able to deliver the goods."

The Muslim League President emphasised that the position of the League remained the same as before. The resolution demanded an immediate declaration accepting the principle of Pakistan as a pre-requisite to the League joining any provisional National Government.

Question: Does this resolution mean that you want Pakistan ahead of the independence of the rest of India?

Mr. Jinnah:—I want the British Government to make without delay the declaration demanded in the resolution, whether anybody wants it or not. On the declaration being made, we are ready and willing to consider any proposal from any party for the purpose of setting up a provisional Government for the mobilising of war effort, for the defence of India and for the prosecution of the war. There is no limit to the powers that may be transferred to this Provisional Government. It will, of course, be a matter for negotiations. We cannot walk into the parlour of a Provisional Government, where we neither have an equal footing, nor is there any settlement of our demand for Pakistan. Once a Provisional Government is formed without the express declaration that we ask for and the pledge from the British Government, we might be presented in the end with a repetition of the Cripps proposals.

To another question, Mr. Jinnah said that the Committee would consider the position again if there was no response at all from the British Government.

Working Committee—New Delhi—8th, November 1942

Resolution on Sind Affairs

The next meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee was held at New Delhi on the 8th, November 1942 when it appointed a Committee of five to take such action as it may think proper with regard to the Muslim League affairs in Sind. The following is the resolution:

"The Working Committee regret that the Sind Muslim League Party in the Legislative Assembly and the Executive of the Sind Provincial Muslim League failed to carry out the instructions of the President regarding the formation of the Ministry in Sind, according to the power conferred upon him by the resolution of the Working Committee passed on October 22, 1939, but in view of the further developments that have taken place since October 19, the whole matter is entrusted to a Committee, consisting of Nawab Ismail Khan, Chairman, Mr. Hossain Imam, Sir Nazimuddin, Chowdhury Khaliquzzaman and Kazi Mohammad, to take such action in the matter as it may think proper."

Collective Fines

A second resolution passed to-day said: "The attention of the Working Committee has been drawn to a number of cases, where collective fines have been imposed or have been realised from the Mussalman who, on the admission of the Government themselves, have kept themselves aloof as a community from the civil disobedience movement that has been started by the Congress. This action of some of the Provincial Governments is not in consonance with the policy of the Government as the Muslim League understands it. The various Provincial Leagues are hereby asked to collect such cases and make representation to the Provincial Governments concerned for redressing the wrong. If, however, they fail in their efforts to have justice done, they are instructed to report the matter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for proper action."

THE POLITICAL SITUATION

Besides passing the two resolutions on Sind and on collective fines, the Muslim League Working Committee, during its six-hour sitting to-day, is understood to have reviewed the political situation, including the forthcoming meeting between Mr. Rajagopalachari and Mr. Jinnah. The general view was believed to be that negotiations for a settlement with the Congress could only be entered into with the accredited spokesmen of that body: that Mr. Rajagopalachari's role could only be recognised as that of a mediator between the two bodies and that the League and its President may, if necessary, use their good offices to help Mr. Rajagopalachari to establish any contact he may desire with the imprisoned Congress leaders. In the course of to-day's discussion it was disclosed that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, Punjab Premier, in a statement at a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League yesterday, disclaimed authorship of or association with the framing of the scheme attributed to him envisaging a partition of the Punjab by the application of self-determination to minorities in that Province. On the whole, the trend of opinion in the Working Committee appeared to be that since its Bombay meeting, nothing of importance had developed requiring a further statement of the League position. The Bombay resolution was accordingly expected to be placed before the Muslim League Council for ratification when it met on the next day.

Council Meeting—New Delhi—9th. November 1942

Mr. Jinnah's Address

Mr. M. A. Jinnah, in his opening address to the Council of the All-India Muslim League held at New Delhi on the 9th. November 1942, restated the League's position regarding Pakistan and its attitude towards proposals for a Provisional Central Government. Mr. Jinnah referred at the outset to attempts to misinterpret the League's attitude and to characterise the League as "allies of British imperialism obstructing the path of freedom in India." "These efforts are disgraceful," he declared. Reaffirming the Muslim right to self-determination in zones where they were in a majority, Mr. Jinnah declared that India had never been a nation governed by one single power, even by the sword. Even to-day one-third of India was not under British rule. The present administrative oneness was entirely the making of the British (Cheers). "This Government," he went on, "which has been in this sub-continent for 150 or 160 years is not a government with the sanction of the people behind it. It is a government imposed upon the Mogul system. The sanction behind it is British machine-guns and bayonets, not the sanction of the people (cheers). Now, there has been aroused a great political consciousness among the people and we want our freedom and independence, we want to be masters of our own affairs in our own land and we would like to say good-bye and farewell to the British administration over this sub-continent (renewed cheers). Our proposal for Pakistan pre-supposes the freedom and independence of India (more cheers). It is obvious, according to our proposals, we agree to give three quarters of Indian territory, larger than any single county except perhaps China or Russia, with a population of 250 millions, to the Hindus. We say: 'Have your independence and freedom and self-rule in the Hindu zones. Let us have self-rule in our land.' But it seems Hindu leadership thinks: 'Three-fourths we have got in our pocket. What do we lose? Let us, if we can, diddle them out of the one-fourth. That is

the spirit, that is the manoeuvre under the garb of the various proposals that we have seen hitherto. A National Government, responsible to the Legislature is a fine phrase, but it comes to this that Mussalman, as a minority, must submit and surrender to Hindu Raj. That is a position that Mussalman will never accept." (Cheers).

Mr. Jinnah went on to refer to the perils of the present times and said: "Naturally any sensible Indian would be only too glad to do all he can to mobilise all our resources in order to resist any aggressor. Our American friends can go back to America, our British friends can go back to England. Where shall I go? Therefore, I am more vitally concerned in the protection and the safeguarding of this country than any body else. (Hear, hear). It is for this reason that we have said we want the British Government and other parties in this country to agree to the right of the Mussalman to self-determination and to abide by the plebiscite verdict of Mussalman. If that verdict is in favour of a partition of India, of carving out independent Moslem zones, then all parties should agree to abide by it and give effect to it. Once we are assured of this by a solemn and honourable agreement we have repeatedly said that, in the formation of the Provisional Government, we, not as a minority but on an equal footing, shall not only place no difficulty in the way but we shall do our best to see that all necessary power is transferred to that Provisional Government. "So far the only reply that comes from every quarter—I mean from Hindu leadership—is kite-flying, and the appeal to this foreign nation or that foreign nation. What is the use of appealing to any foreign nation? Is that foreign nation going to run the Government in this country? The Government of this country is going to be run principally by the two major parties Hindus and Mussalman. That does not mean that the interests of the minorities are to be neglected. They also will have to be considered in any scheme of things that may be agreed upon. "That is the position, I find that there is some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus, and I hope they will realise that it is more in their interest than anybody else's that we should meet and place our cards on the table as friends and see that justice is done to both (hear, hear). Let us hope that this spirit will soon display itself. In the meantime, we can go no further." Referring to the present movement, Mr. Jinnah asserted that it was inimical to Muslim interests because it had been launched to force the Government's hands to surrender to the Congress and concede their demands, which meant a death-blow to Muslim interests. "I hope that Hindu public opinion will realise that and revise the policy."

"The British attitude," he went on, "is also understandable, curious. Because one party had adopted this course, which is meaningless and impossible, the British Government are marking time and are following the Asquithian policy of 'wait and see.' It is a great blunder. You cannot wait and see. The cards are running out. Our frontiers are not safe. Our battlefields are not out of danger and this policy of wait and see is the greatest mistake that the British Government can make. I should have said, 'Get on and mobilise. If you cannot mobilise 100 per cent, mobilise 90 per cent if not 80 per cent, but mobilise. The sooner they consider, reconsider and revise their policy the better. I think they ought, without any further delay, to concede the Muslim demand, which is just to the Hindus and fair to us. Concede that demand. I think the British Government if they did that, will establish their bonafides that they intend to give the people of India freedom. On behalf of the Muslims, Mr. Jinnah gave an assurance that they would do everything on a footing of equality to get power transferred to India. He recognised some change coming over the thoughtful sections of Hindus who seemed willing to do justice to both the communities and expressed the hope that the spirit would very soon display itself. Referring to the British attitude as being curious and un-understandable, Mr. Jinnah warned them that they were committing the greatest blunder of their lives by merely marking time when their frontiers were not safe. "Establish your bona fides before the world," he appealed, "and give freedom to India as soon as possible." Passing on to other items on the agenda, Mr. Jinnah referred to the question of collecting fines and said these were being realised from Mussalman notwithstanding the Government's admission that Mussalman had kept completely aloof from the movement. "I take this opportunity of congratulating Mussalman on

satisfied that sea journey to Arabia could not take the responsibility of endangering the lives and property of the intending Muslim pilgrims.

Mr. Jinnah, intervening, suggested that the House should appoint a committee to contact the authorities in order to satisfy themselves whether the Government's action was justified. The House agreed to this suggestion.

POLICE REGARDEZ STATES

The Council adopted the amended resolution of Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan, which, *inter alia*, condemned the aggressive behaviour of the Kashmir National Conference Party and the attitude of the Kashmir Durbar which, in the opinion of the Council, was aimed at crushing and undermining the attempts of India Muslims to organise themselves. The resolution urged the Government of India to warn the Kashmir Durbar and demand of it to punish the offenders, including officials and appoint an impartial committee to enquire into Muslim grievances and make suitable recommendations for redress.

During discussion, Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan and Main Bashir Ahmed narrated the hardships of Kashmir Muslims and said that the situation had so developed that they in British India could not ignore it. The Nawabzada did not believe in the non-intervention policy in the internal affairs of the Indian States. Both he and Main Bashir Ahmed claimed that Kashmir would be a pillar in Pakistan. They wanted to organise the Muslims of Kashmir effectively. This led to intervention by Maulana Zafar Ali, who deprecated intervention into the affairs of the Indian States. He feared that such intervention might provoke the Hindus to create agitation in the Muslim States of Hyderabad and Bhopal.

Mr. Jinnah reiterated the League's policy that the Indian States were outside their scheme of Pakistan. "How can we prevent people dreaming, if they chose to dream," he said. As for the intervention in the internal affairs of the States, Mr. Jinnah said that when they found gross mal-administration and tyranny, they would have to come to the rescue of their brethren in faith, irrespective of the fact that they were in Kashmir or in China. In Kashmir the Muslims, he said, were not allowed freedom of speech and freedom of association. They must see that their rights were safeguarded and their grievances redressed.

The resolution was adopted. The Council also adopted a resolution on Palestine. It called upon the British Government to honour their pledges and do justice to the Arabs of Palestine by granting them independence. The resolution was moved by Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim and supported by Mr. Aziz Lalji. The session then adjourned *sine die*.

A. I. Muslim Students' Federation Annual Session—Jullunder—14th. & 15th. November 1942

The open session of the All India Muslim Students' Conference commenced on the 14th. November 1942 at "Gulzar Jinnah" specially built three miles north of the city of Jullunder. Mr. M. A. Jinnah presided. After presentation of a civic address by the Jullunder Municipal Committee and an address by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Jinnah addressed the gathering in Hindustani.

The civic address mentioned Jullunder as a reputed city of peace and good-will and expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah would so guide the deliberations of the Conference as to bring the major Indian communities closer and nearer to each other and thus lay the foundation of universal harmony and lasting friendship. Replying to the civic address, Mr. Jinnah declared: "Let me assure you that nobody desires more than I do a settlement but it takes two to make their contribution to peace and settlement."

In his second speech, delivered in Hindustani after the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr. Jinnah reviewed the League's position from the inauguration of provincial autonomy to the breakdown of the Cripps negotiations and said that some of his Hindu critics had now changed their views

regarding the Pakistan issue. He prayed that this might lead to the establishment of separate sovereign States for the two major communities of India. Mr. Jinnah emphasised that he was no longer afraid of the British or the Hindus but of his Muslim brethren who pulled their weight in opposite directions. Advice to Muslim youth to see what they could do to revolutionise Musal- mans of the Punjab without taking part in the present political movement in the country was given by Mr. Jinnah, performing the opening ceremony of the Islamia College, Jullundur, in the afternoon. Mr. Jinnah was prescuted with addresses on behalf of the Anjuman-i-Khadimian-i-Islam, the managing Committee of the College and the College Union. In a joint reply, Mr. Jinnah stressed the importance of the right type of education for Muslim youth.

Second Day—Jullundur—15th, November 1942

Mr. Jinnah Restates League's Terms

The Muslim League's offer to mobilise the Musalmans to keep the enemy out of India's doors and form a provisional Government to which real power should be transferred provided the British Government made a declaration, and the other parties agreed to it, on the right of Muslims to self-determination and guaranteed and pledged themselves to give effect to the verdict of Muslim plebiscite regarding the Pakistan scheme was repeated by Mr. Jinnah, addressing the second day's session of the Conference to-day.

Mr. Jinnah, thanking the Federation for asking him to preside over their deliberations, dwelt on the task before the Muslim students. He endorsed the aims and objects of the Federation, but warned them that while they were students they should prepare themselves for and not take an active part in the political struggle that was now going on in the country. They should organise the Muslim students of India into a compact body to safeguard their interests, undertake a constructive programme for the social, economic and educational uplift of the Muslim community and popularise Islamic culture and studies and encourage better understanding and goodwill among the various nationalities of India.

Mr. Jinnah then proceeded to analyse the political situation in the country and said: "At present there is a deadlock. In May, 1942, Mr. Rajagopalachari favoured the idea of Pakistan (prolonged cheers). He is a great Hindu leader and a capable man and has been one of the foremost leaders of the Congress. Not only was his proposal—which is different from ours—summarily rejected by an overwhelming vote of the A. I. C. C. at Allahabad, but another proposal which laid down that the Congress would have nothing to do with the question of Pakistan or the partition of India—Akhand Hindustan—was carried again by an overwhelming majority. Thereby they banged the door because they were not prepared even to discuss the question of the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

CRITICISM OF CONGRESS

Mr. Jinnah asserted that there was not the slightest doubt that the Muslim League represented Muslim India, but it was completely ignored and treated with the utmost contempt. Mr. Jinnah went on: "Thereafter Mr. Gandhi hit upon an extraordinary formula, which was that the British must withdraw. I shall be very glad if they do it tomorrow. We shall settle our affairs all right. Mr. Gandhi now says that there is no question of a Hindu-Muslim settlement until the British quit India. It had been almost a creed and faith which Mr. Gandhi repeatedly announced that there can be no freedom and independence of India without a Hindu-Muslim settlement. This was preached day in and day out and was one of the four pillars and conditions precedent to the attainment of the freedom of our India. But this was thrown overboard overnight. An ultimatum was given to the British Government to quit India. Now why was this done suddenly, at a time when Mr. Gandhi himself was partly negotiating, partly humouring and partly coercing? At one time he actually shed tears and even said, 'Of what use is India's freedom if Westminster Abbey and Parliament were bombed?' After these methods had been exhausted, Mr. Gandhi was so angered as to tell the British to quit India. Why? The reason is obvious. He does not mean what he says and does not say what he means. Any intelligent man can see that when he decided to launch mass civil disobedience, his one purpose was to coerce and embarrass the British Government, who are already in great distress due to war to surrender and make concessions to his demands which means destruction for the Muslim. That is the position which the Congress has taken up. They decided to launch mass civil disobedience. The ultimatum was

contained in the decision itself but no time was fixed when the order would be given to fire or march. Before, however, an order could be given the British Government put them all in jail. Now I ask every Mussalman and the fair-minded Hindus to say what they expect the Muslim League to do now. That is where I will stop."

BRITISH ATTITUDE

Mr. Jinnah then examined the position of the British, who had said that they were going to fight the Congress to the finish. He had told the world that the Congress was only one party and did not represent all Hindus, far from representing the majority of the people of this country. Mr. Jinnah asked that if the Congress had taken up a meaningless and impossible position, what about the rest of India? He quoted figures given by British statesmen about Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Depressed Classes and those Hindus who were not with the Congress and asked what was the British Government's answer to the Muslims. "Of course, I am glad to say," Mr. Jinnah went on, "and I congratulate the Muslims that they in a body from one end of India to the other have kept completely aloof from the mass civil disobedience. The tragedy of it is that it is a civil internecine war in this country and nothing else. I am also glad that the Congress leaders who are behind this movement have also tried their very best, as far as my information goes, to see that they should not interfere with the Muslims, and they know that if they did it will recoil on them. So far so good, but the British Government have taken up a position which is not understandable. They ask what they can do. How can they form any provisional Government ignoring the Congress? It is very understandable if the British Government are really sincere and want out hand of co-operation and friendship, which has been offered more than once: if they cannot get hundred percent support let them start with hundred million Muslims."

LEAGUE'S TERMS FOR FORMING PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

Mr. Jinnah then explained the Bombay resolution which was construed by the Council on November 9. "We have made our position clear," he said. "We want the British Government to make a declaration and want the other parties to agree to the right of Muslims to self-determination and guarantee and pledge themselves to give effect to the verdict of a Muslim plebiscite and carry out the Pakistan scheme, the basic lines of which were laid down in the Lahore Resolution in 1940. If that is done, we are more ready than anybody else, because we want to defend our hearths and homes, to mobilise to keep the enemy out of India's doors. We are ready to form a Provisional Government—on the basis of that guarantee and pledge—to which real power should be transferred during the war. Here is a clear constructive proposal founded on fundamental principles. What is the answer?"

Mr. Jinnah then replied to the address presented by the Punjab Baluch Federation, Ludhiana, and said: "I shall never forget the interests of your community wherever I am. Those of you who will be living in our Pakistan shall be treated on a footing of equality of manhood not only according to our modern conception of civilised government but because of our religious instruction which enjoins that every non-Muslim minority under a Muslim Government shall be treated justly and fairly."

APPEAL TO SIKHS

As regards the Sikhs, Mr. Jinnah said: "Since I am on the Punjab soil I should like to say that the question between the Hindus and the Muslims is an all-India question and the question between the Sikhs and the Muslims is that of Pakistan; and for all practical purposes, it is a question between the Sikhs and the Muslims in the Punjab. If our Sikh friends wish—and we wish—that there should be an understanding and settlement between them and us, then I tell them let us not talk at each other but let us talk to each other. We have no designs on our Sikh friends. I only appeal to them to free themselves from external influences and meet us, and I am confident that we shall come to a settlement which shall reasonably satisfy our Sikh friends."

Mr. Jinnah stated that he had met Sikhs and talked to them in an informal manner. Some of them had now extended to him a most cordial invitation and he wished to thank them.

SELF-DETERMINATION AND SUB-NATIONAL GROUPS

Referring to the discussions which had been proceeding in the Punjab on the

basis of a formula for a communal settlement Mr. Jinnah said, "Now the latest trick—I call it nothing but a trick to puzzle and mislead the ignorant masses purposely, and those playing the game understand it—is, why should the right of self-determination be confined to Muslims only and why not extend it to other communities? Having said that all have the right of self-determination, they say the Punjab must be divided into so many bits: likewise, the North-West Frontier Province and Sind. Thus there will be hundreds of Pakistans. Who is the author of this new formula that every community has the right of self-determination all over India? Either it is colossal ignorance or mischief and trick. Let me give him the reply that the Mussalmans claim the right of self-determination because they are a national group on a given territory which is their homeland, and in the zones where they are in a majority. Have you known anywhere in history scattered sub-national groups being given a State? Where are you going to get a State for them? In that case you have got fourteen per cent Muslims in the United Provinces. Why not have a State for them? Muslims in the United Provinces are not a national group; they are scattered. Therefore in constitutional languages they are characterised as a sub-national group who cannot expect anything more than what is due from any civilised Government to a minority. I hope I have made the position clear. The Muslims are not a sub-national group. It is their birth-right to claim and exercise the right of self-determination."

Resolutions

The Conference then adopted a resolution moved by Mr. Hamid Nizami, President of the Punjab Muslim Students' Federation, calling upon Britain to make a declaration guaranteeing the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination and to form a Provisional Government, with real power transferred to it, with the co-operation and support of the Muslim League and such other parties as may be ready and willing to assume the responsibility and authority of the Government for the specific period of the duration of the war in order to mobilise all the resources of India to resist any aggressor.

The session endorsed the Bombay resolution of the Working Committee of the League.

In his concluding remarks, Mr. Jinnah congratulated the organisers of the Conference on its success.

The Punjab Muslim League Conference Annual Session—Lyallpur—17th. November 1942

Sir Nazimuddin's Appeal

"The Pakistan scheme is not only in the interests of India as a whole, but actually the non-Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces will be far better off than under one Central Government for the whole of India", observed Sir K. Nazimuddin, in the course of his presidential address to the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, which commenced at Lyallpur on the 17th. November 1942. He added: "I am convinced that if the non-Muslims will examine this question dispassionately, free from the effects of the propaganda that has been carried on against it, they will see the truth of my assertion. Let us take the case of the Sikhs in the Punjab. Before this year they never had a Sikh representative in the Government of India. They had no voice or influence in the Working Committee of the All-India Congress, and yet in the Punjab during the last twenty years they have not only had their representative in the Cabinet but a very effective voice in shaping the policy of the whole of India the Sikhs cannot be ignored. The above applies with greater force to the Hindus of Sind and the North-Western Frontier Province."

Pleading for the immediate acceptance of the principle of Pakistan during war time, Sir Nazimuddin said, if there could be complete transference of power to Indians immediately during the war, there was no reason why the question of Pakistan should not be decided now instead of leaving it for decision till after the

war. The Congress wanted Britain to deliver the goods immediately but would not itself deliver the goods which Muslims demanded from the Congress. In the case of the Muslim demand it was to wait the issue of the war and not even the commitment of agreement to the principle of Pakistan was made. That was a strength. If the Hindus could not come to a decision on this question at a time when the gaining of independence for India was at stake, then what chance was there of their ever accepting this principle once power had been transferred from the British to the Hindus?

In conclusion, Sir Nazimuddin spoke on the question of reorganisation of the League and said that the League should become not merely the political but also the social, educational and economic platform of the Muslims—in fact the one and only Jammah in every village, town and city.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S SPEECH

The Punjab Government have recommended to the Government of India to lift the ban on the Khaksar organisation as *Allama Masaragui* has declared that Khaksars would abide by the conditions laid down by the Punjab Government. This was announced by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan at the open session of the Conference. The Premier said that as soon as Allama Masaragui's declaration was received by the Government of India the ban might be expected to be removed. The Premier also stated that he regarded Mr. Jinnah as the leader of the Muslims of India and his occasional differences with him were really intended to safeguard properly the interests of the Muslims.

Mr. Jinnah's Speech

Earlier Mr. Jinnah, replying to the civic address of the Municipal Committee, clarified the reference in his *Jullundur* speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities. He stated that he did not refer to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied. As a matter of fact, he had referred to the mischievous idea, which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan, who had exhausted all arguments.

Both Sir Sikandar's and Mr. Jinnah's speeches, it was pointed out, were delivered in a spirit of compromise which appeared to have been arrived at between the Punjab Premier and the President of the All-India Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah also received addresses from the Christian Association and the Punjab A. D. Dharam Association. He assured both the Associations that their interests would be properly safeguarded under a Muslim Government.

Mr. Jinnah Explains Attitude

The general reference made by Mr. Jinnah in his *Jullundur* speech to the formula for granting self-determination to all communities was further clarified by him while inaugurating the Conference. The session commenced at 10.20 p. m. with one of the biggest Muslim gatherings in the history of Lyallpur. Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, Premier of the Punjab, *Mian Abdul Haye*, Education Minister, the *Nawab of Mandot* and other Punjab League leaders were present on the day.

Mr. Jinnah was presented with a civic address by the municipality, which described him as an "apostle of the doctrine of self-determination for every community" and hoped that he would help in ending the present stalemate and leading his countrymen on the path of progress and prosperity. Mr. Jinnah also received addresses from the Christian Association, the Punjab A. D. Dharam Association and the Lyallpur Muslim Students' Federation.

Replying to the addresses, Mr. Jinnah said that the doctrine of self-determination required very careful study and those who were responsible for "this mischief" (demanding self-determination for all communities) knew perfectly well that they were misleading the people deliberately. He declared unequivocally that when he referred to this formula at *Jullundur* he was not referring to the formula recently floated in the Punjab which he had not yet studied; he was referring to "mischievous ideas," which was the last effort of the opponents of Pakistan, who had exhausted all arguments. He added that if that doctrine was preached the whole idea of constitutional history and doctrine of self-determination would be reduced to absurdity. This doctrine presupposed that they were a national group—not a sub-national group—living in a defined territory where they were in a majority and could set up an independent State.

Mr. Jinnah assured the Christian and A. D. Dharam Associations that the

right of their respective communities would be fully safeguarded by any Muslim Government because it was an injunction from the highest authority, namely, the Quran that a minority must be treated justly and fairly.

Mr. Jinnah congratulated the members of the A. D. Dharam Association on the awakening in their community. He added that if they studied the proceedings of the Round Table Conference they would find that he had fought more for them than for Muslims because theirs was the worst lot in the world.

Mr. Jinnah, inaugurating the conference, referred to the growing strength of the League in the Punjab and said to-day he could see under the League flag all Muslims from the humblest kisan to a nawab. The masses, he added, were the foundation of any nation or country and there could be no nobler mission than that of raising their standard of life and giving them light and joy.

PUNJAB PREMIER'S PLEA FOR COMMUNAL SETTLEMENT

Before the Conference adjourned Sir Sikanadar Hyat Khan made a speech extending a hearty welcome to Mr. Jinnah and Sir Nazimuddin. It was their good fortune that the destinies of Muslim India were being guided by such a selfless leader as Mr. Jinnah. He referred to his occasional differences with Mr. Jinnah over matters of detail and declared that after his doubts and misgivings were removed he always abided by the decision of the majority and whenever there was the slightest possibility of a clash between his personal interests and those of the "Muslim nation", the former were overridden by the latter. The Premier explained the circumstances in which he decided to throw his weight with Mr. Jinnah to give a befitting reply to the Congress leaders, who alleged that Mr. Jinnah did not enjoy the support of the Muslim majority provinces. He along with Muslim members of the Punjab Assembly, literally descended like paratroops at the Lucknow session to strengthen the hands of Mr. Jinnah. The Premier went on to explain that he fully subscribed to the Lahore resolution of the League which provided for territorial readjustments and his new formula was not in conflict with the Lahore Resolution. He assured the minorities that their interest were being fully safeguarded and urged for a communal settlement to expedite attainment of India's freedom.

Both Sir Sikanadar and Jinnah's speeches, it was pointed out, were delivered in a spirit of compromise which appeared to have been arrived at between the Punjab Premier and the President of the All-India Muslim League.

Second Day—Lyallpur—18th. November 1942

BOMBAY RESOLUTION OF LEAGUE ENDORSED

A resolution endorsing the Bombay resolution of the Muslim League and expressing full confidence in the leadership of Mr. A. Jinnah was unanimously carried at the second day's session of the Conference on the 18th. November. The resolution also unequivocally condemned all alternative schemes which were designed to detract the attention of the Muslims from their goal of Pakistan.

At the outset, the Conference adopted a resolution of condolence on the death of *Mawlana Abdul Qadir Kasuri*, former President of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, who took a deciding part in the Khilafat movement.

The Conference accepted another resolution urging due representation for Muslims in public services in the Punjab.

Mr. Jinnah's Reply to Citizens' Address

"I assure you that whatever views I hold, I have no other desire except the happiness of the communities in India and I believe that—if not at present, a little later—when you calmly, coolly and dispassionately examine the proposal I advocate, you will realise that it is the happiest solution of the problem of this great sub-continent", declared Mr. A. Jinnah, replying to an address presented to him by the citizens of Lyallpur district belonging to all communities.

The address, which was read by *Sardar Bahadur Dilbagh Singh*, a local Sikh leader, expressed the hope that Mr. Jinnah's statesmanship would help in bringing about a settlement honourable to all communities.

Mr. Jinnah reminded the listeners that in history whenever a new idea was put forward it met with strenuous opposition: for instance, the first man who came out in the street with an umbrella was ridiculed but now the umbrella was a common thing. He invited all the communities to come under his umbrella and wished them happiness.

The All India Akali Conference

Third Session—Lyallpur—26th. & 27th. September 1942

Presidential Address

The Third Session of the All India Akali Conference was held at village Udowall in the Lyallpur Colony on the 26th. and 27th. September 1942 under the presidentship of Master Tara Singh.

The Conference was attended by about one lakh of people from various parts of the country and a mile-long procession of the President-elect was taken out. Shitromani Akali Dal, the strongest and the most militant representative organisation of the Sikhs which took birth in the Sikh Gurdwara Reform Movement, has been doing the yeoman's service amongst the Sikhs. It is the organisation which took the Congress to the villages in the Punjab. Also it is the Shitromani Akali Dal which rendered the Sikhs the most efficiently and closely organised Community. It works mostly in the villages. Since 1940 it has been holding its annual open session in the rural side. The 1st All India Akali Conference was held at Attari, the birth place of Sardar Sham Singh, the famous Sikh General of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, which is situated on the Grand Trunk Road between Lahore and Amritsar; the 2nd at Rurka Kalan in the Jullundur Doab, and the 3rd at the village Udowall in the Lyallpur Colony under the Presidentship of the veteran Akali leader Master Tara Singh. The following is the full text of his address:—

When I say we are in dangers I mean to say that both our country and our religion are in danger. Both are apt to fall prey to external and internal dangers. External danger to our country is Japanese invasion and internal danger is unrest in the country. As regards our religion external danger is the invasion of our religion by the atheists and the internal danger is growing faithlessness in and apathy towards all that is sacred.

I shall say that we are a purely religious community. Other communities are based upon various common interests; but the Sikh community is based upon Sikh religion only. With some other communities, religion may occupy secondary position, but with us it is our very breath. Take away religion from us and we cease to exist. In fact we live as a community simply for the sake of the protection of our religion. We are a people who attach more value to soul than to body, more value to religious duties than to bread, more value to life hereafter than to this transitory life. This is the essence of our religion and this is being attacked by not very deep thinking people with whom bread and this earthly life are the only two real things. *Such men live to eat but we eat to live.* This is the fundamental difference in the outlook of our life—those who openly declare that bread is more valuable than service of God can have no place amongst us. These rebels of God, these satans, these brutes must never be tolerated amongst us. We have religious differences with the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and others; but we are all one in our belief in God. God, the root of religion is common to us. So notwithstanding our differences we are fundamentally one. But how can we be one with those who are opposed to God.

I do not solely blame some our misguided youngmen for losing faith in God. There must certainly be some of them, zealous youngmen who grew impatient over the hypocrisy of some of the so-called religious persons who use religion for their worldly ends. Such zealous impatient youngmen must be properly handled and won back, but the condemned atheists must have no place amongst us. Atheists from outside and hypocrites from inside are attacking our religion. In fact, these hypocrites work as fifth-columnists against religion and we must beware of them.

A word about those who work in the interest of Russia. They can certainly not be trusted. They are against the English, when Russia is against them and they are with the English when Russia is with them. How can man with this mentality be trusted by India.

PRESENT POLITICS

I wish to speak my mind plainly at this most critical moment. The British Government is wrong in adopting its present attitude. The Congress is right in demanding complete independence. It is wrong to fully trust the British Indian

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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inequality of inviting a new invader when the former one becomes old. I am not propagating the Britishers to the Japanese for, having read and heard one-sided propaganda, I do not wish to draw conclusions. Let us take them as equally bad. Why should we then risk our lives and the honour of our women merely for change and a change which is most likely to lengthen the days of our slavery?

Now, the third alternative for us is Communal Raj. The Hindus may prefer Hindu Raj, the Muslims Muslim Raj, the Sikhs Sikh Raj and so on. In this we are pitched against one another. No Community can have it unless interference from outside is some how shut out.

This is very difficult as long as the present day means of communications exist. So effort for Communal Raj may again result in a foreign rule.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE THEN ?

If we once make up our mind that we shall win complete independence from the English with the help of the world opinion and not with the help of the Germans or the Japanese, our path becomes clearer. To win independence under present conditions with the help of any foreign power is a policy of jumping from frying pan into fire.

I am not non-violent. But I cannot advise you to destroy yourself by nonsensical violence. The violence which is being committed in the country is not bringing independence nearer; though it may be bringing Japan nearer. I know there are some men full of anger who have ceased to see the good of their country. Such an insane attitude must be got rid of in the interest of the Indian Nation.

I have met various sorts of people during these days and had discussions with them over the matter. I can tell you that I did not meet a single one who did not agree with me. But they who did not like to give up their enmity against the Britishers, preferred fire to the frying pan. There is no use of reasoning with such men who have lost their heads. But I ask you sane people to behave in a sane manner and not to lose your head over the folly of the Britishers. The Britishers are fools not to create peace, satisfaction and good-will in the country at this most critical juncture when it is in their power to do so. But the folly of the Britishers is no excuse for us to behave foolishly.

I wish to be quite frank, at this most critical moment, when life and death of nations are hanging in the balance. Both the English and the Indians will lose if the present state of things is allowed to continue. The only party which will gain is Japan. When I talk in this strain to some friends, they question "why do the English not see sense"? My reply is "For some similar reasons why we do not see sense". Do you mean to say that the English should run the risk of losing the war simply to free us? They are certainly not so sacrificing or so foolish. So if we are to make peace with the Britishers, we shall have to agree that the Britishers will have the power of prosecuting war. We may call, if we like, an arrangement in which the military power is in the British hands, to be complete independence. But that will be a cow without milk.

Independence in real sense we cannot have just now. We can possibly have it after the war. Now we can have mainly promises, pledges and guarantees with full control over the whole civil administration. We must not put too much stress upon words. If we can agree now it is all right but that is out of question. We can then agree that the English should declare us free now and leave the country to us just after the war without any consideration of the conditions prevalent then. We may then quarrel amongst ourselves, establish Swaraj, or some communal Raj or fall prey to some other foreign aggression etc. I shall sign such an agreement.

All these exigencies are possible. So the best practical thing is that we must get all the power from the British now, except the powers necessary for prosecuting war. We must get satisfactory promises and pledges from the British Government. After doing so, we must whole-heartedly throw ourselves in the war. Our future will much depend upon the power which we develop during the war. Nations are born in war and there is every chance of Indian nation being born in this war. Indian nationhood cannot develop without war.

BRITISH STATESMEN'S SPEECHES

I am sorry the recent speeches of some of the British Statesmen, including the British Prime Minister, have not been happy ones. The effort of Mr. Churchill to prove the non-representative character of the I. N. Congress was particularly unworthy. It is not very wrong if one terms the reasoning in it as merely

is order to execute the decree. If you wish to establish Pakistan with the help of the Britishers and ask the Britishers to go away only after Pakistan has consolidated its position, you are trusting the Britishers too much and your fellow countrymen too little. Such a mentality will never bring independence for you. I am extremely opposed to Pakistan for various reasons—the chief being that it is only a harbinger of permanent slavery and strife.

Nobody is aware of the exact definition of Pakistan, I am opposing it for another reason also for I believe that the object of Pakistan is to create domination of Muslims over Sikhs. If it is not so, what is it then?

I am here recording my bitter opposition to Pakistan. This does not mean that I am not prepared to postpone the opposition of Pakistan till after war. I am prepared to do so in the interest of the safety of our common country; and I appeal to all to agree to postpone the solution of this problem, which will in any case stand postponed till after the war. *Why should we go on quarrelling simply for the sake of quarrelling.*

APPEAL TO THE INDIANS

Brethren, I appeal to you in the name of India and in the name of humanity to desist from committing violence which under the present circumstances is not simply tantamount to committing suicide, but is suicidal. Your intentions may be patriotic and noble, but wrong actions with good intentions are not less harmful. It is wrong to say that the result of sacrifice is always good. Wisdom must control every action of ours, even our sacrifice.

I can give you no guidance in the sense that I cannot chalk out a particular plan of action. I can only say that the times are hard and the situation is complicated. God alone be our guide in such times. I ask you to pray to God, and cleanse your mind of evil by recitation of Gurbani and meditation upon God's name. That is the only sure right path. This is no new thing which I am asking you to follow. Guru said, "His name is the remedy of all evils". I am a firm believer in God and I believe He guides His people rightly at critical times. We must cleanse our minds of all selfishness and greed. Holy people must be our guide. Organise yourselves on religious basis to serve the oppressed and the weak if need be. You can succeed in this only if with the help of holy recitation you cleanse your minds of selfishness and other mean feelings. It is the character alone which tells and character can be built by faith in character and holy things. I know there are good selfless people who do not believe in God. But you will find that their goodness is inherited and not developed in this birth. *How can you rise when your aim is broad.* It may be out of place to discuss here the existence of the all powerful God. But I do assert here that those who cannot see the living God are certainly void of deep thinking. They believe in transitory things, for they cannot dive down deep to find out the realities of the world around us.

APPEAL TO THE BRITISH PEOPLE

We have century long relations. You have been our masters, but now we wish to be masters of ourselves. The world forces have created the present change in our mentality and these very forces will change our relations very soon. Let us then part as friends. What is happening in India brings no more credit to your wisdom than to ours. Your interests and our interests have become common to a certain extent in this war. You don't want Japan to come here and we don't want. But your mistakes are as much inviting Japan as ours. Remember that we are more interested in the protection of India than you. If India is lost you still have a home, but we have no place to run to. We want independence and you agree to it. You can do a good deal to create communal unity. Excuse me for being frank. All this duality is the outcome of the so-called communal award and the mentality bred by it. I don't blame every Englishman, but we have grave suspicions that some of the English statesmen deliberately brought about this state of things. For God's sake change your mentality now. Your favoritism for a particular community is apt to create sympathy for the enemies in other communities. Be brave and be just. There is yet time to avert disaster. Don't delay then. Do what you can to free us as soon as possible. Without running any risk of a set back in the war, act at once. You will, then, not only win our confidence in the present struggle, but will retain it even after we are independent. I appeal to you in the interest of our common good, in the interest of humanity, in the interest of the liberty of the world, and in the name of the Almighty to rise to the occasion. Insane actions of a few misguided people must not be

PROCEEDINGS & RESOLUTIONS

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Resolutions

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(a) That the Government of Patiala State must hold that the Prime Minister in a Sikh family, who is a Sikh himself, should be an absolute majority of the Sikh States must and that the post of the Prime Minister in the State Cabinet should be given to a competent Sikh.

(b) That the Government of Patiala State must hold that the other sister of the Maharaja will forthwith be given the post of the Prime Minister in the State Cabinet and that there must be an absolute majority of the Sikh States must and that the post of the Prime Minister in the State Cabinet should be given to a competent Sikh.

(c) It is further necessary to fix the percentage of Sikh States to enact Gurudwaras attached thereto with a minimum of 60% in Patiala State.

(d) The Conference urges upon the rulers of Sikh States and of the Gurudwaras and of the property schools and that the interests of the Sikh public, representative institutions such as Legislative Assembly and local bodies may be set up in States where Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (e) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (f) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (g) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (h) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (i) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (j) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (k) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (l) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (m) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (n) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (o) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (p) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (q) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (r) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (s) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (t) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (u) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (v) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (w) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (x) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (y) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that (z) That Political Sikhs may be given statutory majority, it is essential that

The Conference is of opinion that the present political situation of India's aspirations towards the Government of India is such that it is imperative for the rulers of the States. This Conference demands that it must be recognized by the Government that a political prisoners may be given statutory majority. Legislative Assembly and local bodies may be imperative for the rulers of the States. This Conference demands that it must be recognized by the Government that a political prisoners may be given statutory majority. Legislative Assembly and local bodies may be imperative for the rulers of the States.

PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION

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The Conference understands that this restriction is a direct interference with the religious liberty of the Sikhs and urges upon the Government of India and the Bombay Government to remove this restriction. If the restriction is not removed, further urges the Conference, the Government will itself be responsible for its grave consequences.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

That the treatment at present meted out to the political prisoners is vindictive and is bound to create bitterness in the country. The Politicals are allowed six annas per time per die, and are not permitted to supplement their food at their expense; interviews in some cases are not permitted and the right of correspondence is restricted; they are not supplied with newspapers and most of them are being detained under Executive Orders without a judicial trial. In the opinion of this Conference rules with regard to the treatment of the political prisoners must be revised forthwith, so as to provide for their treatment as better class prisoners and that the dependants of the political prisoners confined in jails or otherwise interned must be allowed maintenance by the Government and the Sikh prisoners must be provided with oil, soap etc., as required. The Governments of Indian States are also asked to act accordingly to this resolution.

The All India Nationalist League

Second Session—Poona—31st. July & 1st. August 1942

Presidential Address

"In my opinion, the visit of Sir Stafford Cripps was a calamity for India and the Allied nations. It was the biggest diplomatic failure of Britain and it was also a major military disaster," declared Mr. Jammadas Mehta, presiding over the second session of the All-India Nationalist League held at Poona on the 31st. July 1942. Mr. Mehta also criticised the Congress policy. Mr. Mehta explained the aims of the All-India Nationalist League and traced the course of India's struggle for freedom and observed, "When after 60 years of nationalist agitation this country could be so wantonly insulted by the British Cabinet, as to be offered a scheme of freedom of the kind embodied in the Cripps Scheme, the only conclusion to which I come is that over 22 years since the death of *Tilak* have been a period of failure, and we must begin again to rebuild the national ideal on the sound lines which the founders and fathers of the Indian National Congress laid down when they started that organisation."

Cripps Mission

Referring to the Cripps mission, Mr. Mehta said: "The stern lessons of history have been completely forgotten by the authors of the Cripps scheme. The reconciliation of the Boer and the British in South Africa came through the South African Union and not by separate zones for the British and the Boer. Canada is a great country to-day because the British and the French combined to make it so. Ireland is to-day hostile to the British, because Northern Ireland was separated from the Southern. It is impossible to realise why the British Government so suddenly surrendered the idea of Indian unity to the forces of disruption. It amounted to a readiness on the part of Britain to scuttle out of India if she could not hold it herself. Briefly, I will say that the Cripps scheme was nothing but a reorientation of the declaration of August, 1940, and respectability was given to it by bringing in a false show of self-determination. "When the full implications of the Cripps scheme were known there was a sudden and instantaneous feeling of revulsion in all nationalist circles. British imperialism now stands unmasked in all its horrible nakedness and the good people of Britain, immersed in the preoccupation of the war, are not even aware of the tragedy. We are told that the rejection of the Cripps proposals by India was unwelcome and that the one good result of Sir Stafford's visit was that the Allied nations, like China, Russia and America, were at least convinced of the sincerity of Britain. If that is so, China, Russia and America are deplorably ignorant, and they must not be fed on the propaganda of that kind if the Allied nations are not

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
 OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF STAFF
 WASHINGTON, D. C. 20315

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY
OFFICE OF THE ADJUTANT GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20315

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WARDHA DECISION

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

appear to believe that the salvation of the country lies in further pursuing a line of action which has led to such disastrous consequences. If the Japanese are to be successfully resisted in the interest of the security of this country then it is as much a duty of Mr. Rajagopalachari to do so. No special bargaining should be necessary to induce Mr. Jinnah to do his obvious duty. If Mr. Jinnah agrees to resist the Japanese only, if we first agree to disrupt the country, then Mr. Jinnah's assistance is not worth having. Mr. Rajagopalachari would have us agree to disrupt the country in order that we may have our freedom. If we ask whose freedom? He cannot answer. Because under Pakistan the country will have gone before the so-called freedom has come. Let Mr. Rajagopalachari and others of his way of thinking realise once for all that Indian nationalists are in no mood to listen to such fantastic and transparent contradictions."

Referring to Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Mehta observed: "He was an one time a true nationalist but the divide and rule policy of the ruling race, together with the blank cheque policy of the Mahatma, resulted in a new Jinnah who has thereafter developed into a rankest communist. But his policy has nothing of reason, justice and sense on its side. In essence and reality, Mr. Jinnah is a mere pawn in the imperialist game and his only value in the view of the Government is his hostility to the Hindus."

Concluding, Mr. Jammadas Mehta said, "I invite you to become soldiers in the fight for the country's freedom, the freedom of the masses—the democratic freedom of the masses. Remember, that independence is not the same thing as freedom. Country after country during the present war has found its independence not worth a day's purchase when attacked by a powerful neighbour. The ideal of the future, not merely for India, but for the world as a whole, should be independence with collective security in a world federation of States where the freedom of one is secured by the freedom of all."

RESOLUTIONS

The following is the text of the resolutions passed by the Conference:—

(1) OBITUARY

This Conference records its sense of profound grief at the demise of the Hon. Mr. Raghavendra Rao and the Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, members of the Hon. the Governor-General's expanded Executive Council.

In their death, India has certainly lost able administrators, far-sighted statesmen and staunch and independent Nationalists. In the present political situation of India, their advice would have been of great benefit to India for the consolidation of Nationalist forces and for bringing about unity among various political parties in India.

(2) CRIPPS PROPOSALS

This Conference ratifies and supports the comprehensive memorandum submitted to Sir Stafford Cripps by the President of the All India Nationalist League in April last on behalf of the League. The Conference particularly emphasises the following principles laid down in the Memorandum:

(1) In framing the future constitution of India the fact of national unity should be the only basis; that unity is a reality to start with and not an aspiration to be achieved hereafter.

(2) The only body rightfully entitled to frame a constitution for India is the electoral college based on universal adult franchise involving no communal distinction.

(3) The control of national defence, foreign affairs and finance are real symbols of freedom. The probable result of the Cripps proposals as pointed out in the Memorandum in the end has come true, viz., that "India's soul will be in anguish and in spite of its will to resist invaders, it cannot help brooding over the menace of a vivisectioned India and feeling the war effort as of subsidiary importance in her thought and action."

(3) ATLANTIC CHARTER AND INDIA

This Conference of the All India Nationalist League declares that the omission of India, from the Atlantic Charter has created a reasonable suspicion that India may be, at the end of the war, subjected to an unfavourable and discriminative treatment in the matter of receiving the benefit of the Charter which may be pleaded as restricted to nations subjected to Axis conquest or occupations only. This Conference, therefore, appeals to the authors of that Charter, and the United

(7) EVACUEES
This Conference warns the Government that the resentment felt by the public at the invidious racial discrimination between the evacuees from Burma and other places to this country, has been further accentuated by the almost exclusive preference given to European and Anglo-Burmese evacuees by creating new posts and jobs for them, resulting in heavy burden on the Indian exchequer. This policy should be stopped forthwith and the Indian evacuees should receive their adequate share in the Government employment.

(8) DEFENCE AND KEY INDUSTRIES
(a) The All India Nationalist League Conference is aware that some existing industries have developed and some new industries have been started as a result of war demand for third products; but the League deeply regrets that little initiative or planned action has been taken by the Government of India to start important defence or key industries.

(b) The All India Nationalist League therefore, strongly holds that in view of the extreme dependence of this country on imports of vital supplies, establishment and expansion of defence industries such as the manufacture of aircraft, automobiles, ships, heavy munition and tanks as also key industries such as manufacture of locomotives, machinery and machine tools and heavy chemicals, should be actually encouraged and helped in every possible way.

(9) PAKISTAN
(1) This Conference of the All India Nationalist League strongly and emphatically condemns all proposals that are being made by the Muslim League, British Imperialists and others to divide India into Pakistan and other "States" as this vivisection is destructive of India's Nationhood and is bound effectively to kill all efforts on the part of the Indian Nationalists to achieve independence now or in future. All true Nationalists throughout the country whatever may be the political party or group proclaim Hindustan to be one and indivisible as their first article of faith and therefore, this Conference feels certain that they will fight this menace of Pakistan and similar other proposals of partitioning India, and be ready to make all sacrifices to preserve the integrity and solidarity of their Motherland.

(2) This Conference resolves that the so-called Communal Award incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935 be abolished, as it has hampered the healthy growth of Nationalism and has led to the Pakistan Movement and threatens to keep up permanently the fatal communal virus in the body politic of India and postpones indefinitely the achievement of freedom by India.

(10) CIVIL PROTECTION
This Conference of the All India Nationalist League records its considered opinion that along with cities, villages must be strongly and effectively organised, equipped and armed for civil defence for resisting foreign aggression and preserving internal security.

(11) INDIAN ASSETS IN ENGLAND
This Conference views with deep concern the location of 70% of the assets of the Reserve Bank of India outside India in spite of the fact that India has little or no sterling debt now left to be paid. Past experience of the handling of Indian assets in England has been unhappy and in view of the act that balance of payments have since the war been increasingly in India's favour the Conference strongly urges that Indian assets in England be repatriated to this country as early as possible.

(12) INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
This Conference declares its deep and abiding sympathy for the working classes in this country—both industrial and agricultural—and assures them that every effort will be made by the League to improve their standards and other-wise to ameliorate their conditions in all possible ways. In particular, this Conference will endeavour to assure to the agricultural classes economic prices for their produce and reduction of rents and land revenue, fixity of tenure, the liquidation of their indebtedness and to help them to increase the production of

PROCEEDINGS & RESOLUTIONS

- (1) Minimum wages. (2) Reasonable working hours. (3) Sanitary Housing. (4) Unemployment wages. (5) Accident and sickness insurance. (6) Maternity and other benefits to women workers. (7) Protection to children. (8) Right to form Trade Unions. (9) Right to strike.

The Government should give timely assurance to the people of India that even in the case of any war emergency care will be taken that:

(i) With regard to permanent, or temporary, or other kinds, full compensation shall be paid forthwith, such of landed property to be fixed after taking consideration of the value of land and crops, inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the holder of the land by having to move to another place and the difficulty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land, where a disposed land-holder could settle;

(ii) Whenever possible, arrangement shall be made to provide other land to agriculturalists, where there, agricultural land is acquired, in the case of termination, compensation shall be paid for each crop lost, and the full value of crops plus 15 per cent of it shall be paid for agricultural land, when occupation by the Government is impossible, compensation shall be made to restore the land to its previous condition for agricultural purposes;

(iii) Houses, where acquired, shall be fully paid for. Where the bulk of agricultural land of an agriculturist is acquired, and only his house is left over, fair rent shall be paid and the owner compensated for inconvenience and discomfort caused. A house shall be acquired after paying full compensation, should the owner and full compensation shall be made for the owner's residence and discomf

(iv) In all cases, compensation shall also be paid for transport of his belongings. Until such his maintenance charges shall be paid, occupation in his new surroundings, responsible officer.

(v) In case no agreement is reached between the authorities and the evacuees regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision, there shall be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or in payment of adequate compensation.

(vi) In all cases, there shall be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or in payment of adequate compensation.

(vii) The Conference is aware that some Provincial Governments have taken steps on the lines suggested in this resolution, and urges that these proposals should be carried into effect wherever the necessity might arise.

(14) CONGRESS POLICY

Though the Imperialist policy of the British Government is provocative of Mass Civil Disobedience and direct action, this Conference is of opinion that the Working Committee is most inopportune in view of the imminent danger of foreign invasion which is contemplated in the recent resolution of the Congress may lead to internal disorder which is bound to affect the war efforts, and will create a situation favourable to the Indian National Congress and asks people not to take part in it.

The League, therefore, hereby dissociates itself from the movement of Direct Action contemplated by the Indian National Congress and asks people not to take part in it.

Nevertheless the Conference does not abjure the Government from the responsibility of creating the present wide-spread feeling of frustration by their refusal to satisfy the National demand.

(15) MINISTRATIONS

This Conference is emphatically of opinion that as the question of the defence of India against immediate or possible aggression by Fascist Powers is of paramount importance in the present critical times of war and at all times of

condition as a free and independent country, and as the exigency of the present war threatening the borders of India offers a great opportunity for Indians to be trained in the art of Modern Warfare in all its branches, all able-bodied and patriotic Indians should avail themselves of the opportunity to join the Army, Navy and Air force in large numbers in a spirit of selfless and devoted service to the country and so lay the foundation of the future National Army of Free India.

This Conference also calls upon the Government to follow a policy of more frank and genuine readiness and admit capable Indians to posts of higher and strategic commands in all branches of the Defence Forces. For, the Conference believes that only by so doing can Government besit Indian people to rise to the occasion and help in rescuing Democracy in danger.

In this connection, this Conference commends the work and activities of the Maharashtra Militarisation Board in Poona, and recommends the establishment of such boards all over India.

Executive Committee—New Delhi—20th. September 1942

Resolutions

The executive committee of the All-India Nationalist League, adopted a resolution viewing with concern the growing deterioration in the internal situation of the country and deploring the mass direct action "sanctioned" by the A. I. C. C. as most inopportune and calculated to create chaos and to assist the invader.

The Committee condemns without reservation the numerous acts of sabotage, attack on life and property, indulged in by mobs in the various parts of the country and considers them as an inevitable result of the Congress sanction of mass action. The Committee also considers that Government were justified in adopting the necessary measures for the restoration of law and order and the protection of life and property.

At the same time the Committee is painfully aware that there have been complaints of unnecessary and excessive force used by the Military and the Police authorities. The Committee calls upon Government to take steps for the purpose of setting up judicial tribunals in various provinces for investigation in to the complaints.

INDIANISATION WANTED

The Committee is, however, of opinion that for the restoration of normal conditions in this country, more constructive and positive steps are necessary and urges full Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council as the first essential step in that direction leaving the operational control of the country's armed forces in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief and restoration of provincial autonomy in the provinces.

UNSTATESMANLIKE

By another resolution, the Committee deplores the recent utterance in Parliament of Mr. Winston Churchill about India and his reference to the Indian National Congress as most inopportune and unstatesmanlike and adds: "The Premier's reference to the Cripps proposals as holding the field, in their full integrity and scope will be considered as the latest unequivocal refusal on the part of Britain to part with political power to India. The Premier must be aware that the Cripps proposals are based on the principle of the partition of India which this country will not countenance and which every nationalist will fight to the bitter end."

By another resolution the Committee regrets the refusal of the Viceroy to grant permission to Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee to see Mahatma Gandhi for carrying on his efforts for a national settlement and earnestly requests him to reconsider and revise his decision.

UNHELPFUL ATTITUDE

The Committee regrets the unhelpful attitude of the Muslim League in demanding the acceptance of the principle of Pakistan without offering similar opportunity of self-determination of non-Muslim minorities in the so-called Pakistan province.

The Committee however hopes that the Indian members of the Governor-General's Executive Council will be able to persuade the Viceroy to call at an early date an All-Parties Conference with a view to exploring all possibilities of an immediate settlement of the deadlock.

no such movement will be started as it will be prejudicial to the best interests of the country in respect of defence and other matters."

"The Council is deeply pained to learn that in the evacuation of refugees from Malaya and Burma to India and their treatment here, Indians were discriminated against on racial grounds. The Council strongly protests against such discrimination and demands that all traces of discrimination in the rules relating to the reception, accommodation, allowances, etc., of the refugees should be eliminated as early as possible.

PRICE CONTROL

"The Council views with grave concern the continued rise in prices of essential commodities and is of opinion that the price control policy so far followed has proved largely ineffective. It urges the Government to adopt a more vigorous and co-ordinated policy in order to control prices effectively and to persuade the Indian States to co-operate with it in full measure."

Council Meeting—New Delhi—26th, September 1942

Establish National Government

The Council of the National Liberal Federation of India, in a resolution passed at New Delhi on the 26th, September 1942 condemns the disturbances that have taken place in the country, particularly when the enemy is knocking at the doors of India.

It feels, however, that while organised lawlessness and destructions of the means of communication must be suppressed, strong action on the part of the authorities by itself will not succeed in solving the difficult problem facing the Government and the country and in creating a proper atmosphere for full co-operation between the people and the Government in the prosecution of the war.

"Such an atmosphere" the Council states, "can be created only when the Government recognise their own responsibility for the unprecedented situation that exists in the country and win the confidence of the people by taking whole-hearted steps to make them feel that this war is a people's war in which the freedom of India and of the oppressed peoples in other countries is at stake.

"For this purpose, it is necessary that Britain should cease to treat India as a dependency and should establish a National Government in the country, which will control all portfolios without prejudice to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and subject to the strategy laid down by the War Cabinet.

"The National Government should be treated as a Cabinet, whose decisions shall be normally accepted by the Governor-General. For the purpose of facilitating the formation of a truly National Government, the British Government should, on their part, declare their willingness to transfer power to it on the lines stated above. In order that negotiations may be begun between the principal political parties for the formation of such a Government, it is necessary that the mass movement started by the Congress should be called off and the leaders released.

"The Council is of the opinion that statements such as that made by the Prime Minister are not only not helpful but are positively irritating to the country and complicate an already complicated situation."

The Communist Party of India

An appeal to the Government to give up its present repressive policy, to release *Mahatma Gandhi* and the Congress Leaders, to lift the ban on the Congress organisations and *Gandhi* especially the Provisional National Congress Committee of Bombay in the third week of September 1942. The manifesto of the Communist Party of India, made in the purpose of establishment of a 2,000-word manifesto issued by the defence and the freedom of the country to unite and provisional National Government should be fully empowered and determined that the Communist Party of India which has been meeting in national crisis, appeals to the workers and progressive peoples of Britain to bring pressure upon the British Government to concede the just national demand of the Indian people, the clearing the way "for our common victory in this war of liberation."

The present policy of the British Government and Government to the cause of people in the back. The British and American Governments in this war of

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national leadership took one more step in the direction of its own opportunistic policy. It advanced from non-co-operation and neutrality to a plan of active opposition to measures of national defence in the name of launching a struggle for the national demand. The path along which the present national upsurge is directed is one of national suicide, not of national salvation and freedom."

PARTY TO LAUNCH A UNITY CAMPAIGN

Emphasising the need for unity in the country, particularly unity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the manifesto says that the way out of the national crisis lies neither in the direction of continuing repression to crush the Congress "as imperialists, loyalists and Royists suggest nor in the direction of intensifying the offensive against the apparatus of national defence and production as Forward Blockists, Congress Socialists and Congressmen propose." "The only way out, says the manifesto, is the achievement of the broadest possible national unity based on Congress-League unity. The Communist party has, therefore, decided to concentrate on a three-fold plan of firstly, organising a country-wide campaign for national unity, secondly campaign of persistent political explanations among *Kisans*, students and workers showing how the present struggle leads to destruction and anarchy and thirdly, continuous and widespread propaganda among Hindu and Muslim masses for Congress-League unity.

"The main slogan of the unity campaign is 'Release *Mahatma Gandhi* and national leaders, stop repression, check destruction, sabotage and anarchy, lift the ban on the Congress, negotiate for an all-round settlement and set up a provisional National Government for India's defence.'"

The A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference

Second Session—Bombay—5th. October 1942

The second session of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was held at Bombay on the 5th. October 1942 under the presidency of Mr. K. Srinivasan who reviewed at length the work done by the conference particularly during the year just ending. About a hundred editors from the various provinces attended the conference.

MR. HORNIMAN'S WELCOME ADDRESS

Mr. B. G. Horniman, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcoming the delegates to the conference, said that while he was opposed to pre-securing of news, were, however, some provinces where it had not been functioning properly. It looked as though the Government allowed such arrangements to function only as long as they were convenient to them. Mr. Horniman emphasised that it should be the duty of the Press in the whole country to take proper action against the abrogation of the agreement whenever and wherever it occurred.

Mr. Horniman said that a newspaper too had a measure of power of retaliation and sanctions. Suppression of news was a game that could be played by two parties. "We are capable of effecting a complete black-out of all Government news and propaganda," he said.

Referring to Sir Richard Tottenham's speech in the Council of State, Mr. Horniman said that the attitude of the Government, as expounded by the Home Secretary, was an "absolute and scandalous abrogation of the responsibilities of the Government. The understanding that was arrived at between this conference and the Government had practically been thrown overboard, and it was not being respected by the Government themselves. We know also, it has been flagrantly violated and defied in various provinces."

Mr. Horniman agreed that newspapers recognised the necessity of censorship in regard to such news as was of value to the enemy. But the restrictions which the Government had now imposed were such as those in existence in Nazi Germany. He emphasised that newspapers should not compromise in regard to the restrictions which the Government sought to impose, and they should resist them.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS ASSERTED
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those frank and free exchanges of views between the Home Member and ourselves, the question was dropped.

GOVERNMENT APPREHENSIONS

"This brings me on to the consideration of the present situation. It is common knowledge that the Government of India have always considered that by far the larger section of the Press in India functions as a permanent opposition to them, a vowedly hostile to and always critical of the British administration. In all their campaigns aimed at controlling the popular movement, the Government have always taken power to put restrictions on the Press as one of the first necessities, in order effectively to disarm Indian national organisations by depriving them of the only weapon which Nationalism can freely summon to its aid in times of stress and strain. So, it was not unexpected that when the Congress Working Committee passed its resolution visualising the starting of the Civil Disobedience Movement, the Home Department should begin to think furiously about its own moves to counter the Congress plans. Of course, the first reactions from Government were communicated to us about the middle of July last when Mr. Kirchner had informal conversations with the members of the Standing Committee on this question when we had gathered in Bombay to consider other matters. Mr. Devadas Gandhi was also one of those who were individually consulted and every one of the members, including Mr. Francis Low and Mr. Arthur Moore, came to the conclusion that the formula devised at the first conference in Delhi held good; and according to that every editor who belonged to our Editors' Conference has to apply the only test that has been there provided, namely, whether any item of factual news came under the category of impeding the war effort.

"Accordingly, we intimated to Mr. Kirchner that the present agreement between the Government of India and the A. I. N. E. C., whereby the news-papers agreed to do nothing to hinder the prosecution of the war, would continue. Newspapers which break the agreement would do so on their own responsibility and at their own peril. If a Civil Disobedience movement starts, newspapers should be allowed as on the previous occasions, to publish factual news, e.g., arrests, etc., but no statement supporting the movement.

"Mr. Kirchner seemed to be satisfied personally, though he could not say anything on behalf of the Government at the time. Later, I had a letter from Sir Richard Tottenham after Mr. Kirchner had reported to him. As opinion both within and without India seemed to be practically unanimous on the matter of the threat of civil disobedience, Sir Richard suggested that we might consider passing a formal pronouncement of disapproval which, coming with the weight of the whole Press in India behind it, would, in his opinion, be more effective in averting that threat of civil disobedience and saving the country from an ordeal which no one really seemed to want. I replied that Mr. Kirchner was given a fairly clear idea of the view held by all of us, that there was no need to devise any new formula beyond the Delhi Agreement and that, should need arise, an urgent meeting of the Standing Committee may be summoned as soon as things took definite shape.

STANDING COMMITTEE NOT CONSULTED

"I had also told Mr. Kirchner in Bombay that if the Government felt at any time necessary to consult us, I and a few others of the Standing Committee were prepared to go to Delhi and clear up any difficulty that the Government might have. Mr. Kirchner undertook to communicate this to Sir Richard and write to me if my presence was required in Delhi. Though I had a letter after my return to Madras, it did not disclose the slightest hint of the restrictions which had been framed and were about to issue. But Sir Richard in his letter to me, dated the 27th July, did tell me that if a mass movement was launched, the Government would have no option but to resist it and take action against those sections of the Press which actively supported it. This however, did not lead me to understand that he was going to issue general press instructions in the form of pre-censorship as I was content that if any such restrictive orders were in contemplation, I should be consulted beforehand. The Government's failure to consult me in issuing their Press Note of August 8, and the subsequent notifications constitutes a gross breach of the Delhi Agreement. It is contrary to the spirit of the goodwill and understanding that Sir Richard says have characterised the Government's dealings with the Standing Committee so far.

"I have already referred to the comparative freedom allowed to the Indian Press in regard to comments on the political problems that have come up for discussion during the past two years. Sir Richard in his speech in the Council of

State has taken great credit for it. But any feeling of satisfaction that he may derive in this respect must be tempered by the fact that political censorship of a rigid type has been imposed, and is working havoc both among the Press Association in Delhi. I need only refer you to the representation that the Press Association has made to the Viceroy, the text of which has already been published. I can view it only as a desperate attempt to draw a red herring and divide our ranks.

"Representations made thus far that pre-censorship, by whatever name it is called, is fundamentally based on an attitude of distrust and that is not the way to secure the co-operation of the press and ensure the results Government seek, have failed to have any effect.

"Under the conditions brought into force and duties and obligations are not rendered. It is not for me to carry out its measures. It is not for me to render advice or to give orders."

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"Under the conditions brought into force, a section of the press felt that it could not carry out its duties and obligations to question or render such service as still lies in their power to render. Freedom of the Press has necessarily to work under the limitations arising from factors and forces that are imposed on it. I have no doubt in my mind that the public do not desire to be starved of news. They want papers to publish and discover ways and means for themselves to serve as best they can. 'LEAVE IT TO THE EDITORS' is no question of our taking in the way to do it. The Indian Press should be contented with to do it."

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Proceedings & Resolutions

After the Presidential Address the main resolution demanding the removal of Press restrictions, was unanimously passed. It was seconded by Mr. Francis Lowe of The Statesman, Calcutta. Mr. Francis Lowe of The Statesman, Calcutta. Mr. Stephens of The Bombay Chronicle and Mr. S. A. Stephens of The Times of India, Mr.

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The following is the text of the resolution as finally approved by the Standing Committee :

"The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference takes strong exception to the clear violation of the agreement known as the new restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government's failure to utilise the machinery of press censorship since August 8 last. The Government has a duty to bring the new restrictions into operation at once and where there is in consequence a lack of uniformity as regards supporting the Delhi Agreement and legitimate press advising and censorship. The Conference advises and reports to the Government of India, at between several instances of press freedom and publicity to statements and reports to the Government of India, at between officials be regarded as perverse. Compulsory press advising and censorship not only the publication but even the character of factual news. The Conference advises and reports to the Government of India, at between the Delhi Agreement and to the procedure and machinery evolved in the course of last two years.

"The Conference views with dismay the suppression of RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESS and the fact that newspapers as a result of the new restrictions imposed on the Press increases unrest throughout India and it is the duty of the Government to take steps to correct it."

THE A. I. NEWSPAPER EDITORS' CONFERENCE. [BOMBAY—

FOREIGN MESSAGES & CENSORSHIP

The Conference then passed three resolutions given notice of by members. The first resolution emphatically protested against the "system of censorship on incoming and outgoing messages being worked in such a manner as to render the presentation of a balanced picture of the situation in India extremely difficult. In the opinion of the Conference, censorship should be limited strictly to news and statements of military value to the enemy."

DELAY IN PRESS MESSAGES

The second resolution protested against the inordinate delay in the transmission of press messages and urged the Government of India to take immediate steps to remove congestions on the telegraph lines with a view to expediting transmission and delivery of press messages. The resolution also urged the Government to abolish the surcharges of three and six annas that are now levied on all ordinary and express press telegrams respectively. The third resolution protested against the arrests and detention, under the Defence of India Rules, of editors and press correspondents, while discharging their duties.

PRESIDENT'S APPEAL

Winding up the proceedings of the Conference, Mr. K. Srinivasan, President, made a fervent appeal to Government and political parties in the country to come to a satisfactory settlement. Referring to the deliberation of the Conference Mr. Srinivasan said that the conference had arrived at unanimous decisions in a harmonious manner. He assured the House that, as in the past, he would, in future, continue to do his best to deserve the confidence reposed in him. Mr. Srinivasan concluded by assuring the conference that in all matters of major decisions he would try his best to get the maximum amount of unanimity and agreement.

Mr. Ramnath Coenka, Editor of the *Indian Express*, and Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, Editor of the *Vande Mataram* in moving and seconding a vote of thanks to the President, assured the President and the Standing Committee, on their own behalf, of those members who were critical of the achievements and work of the Standing Committee and the President in the Subjects Committee meeting yesterday, that they and those whom they represented would extend to the President their full and whole-hearted support and co-operation. They added that whatever action the President took on behalf of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference would have the fullest support of the Press of India as a whole.

Several members who had similarly criticised the Standing Committee and the President the previous day cordially associated themselves with the remarks made by the mover and the seconder. Mr. J. N. Sahni thanked the Members of the Reception Committee and the President and members of the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber for their hospitality.

The Conference also expressed its grateful appreciation and thanks to the President and Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber for placing their hall at the disposal of the Conference. The Conference was attended by 94 delegates, among whom were a number of editors of suspended newspapers.

After the conclusion of the plenary session, the newly elected Standing Committee met and elected Mr. J. N. Sahni and Mr. K. Srinivasan of Bombay as Joint Secretaries and Mr. B. Shiva Rao as Treasurer.

The United Provinces Press Conference

First Session—Lucknow—31st. July 1942

Presidential Address

A tribute to the work done by the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference which began its session at Lucknow on the 31st. July 1942. The following is the text of Mr. A. Brelvi, Editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, which was held in New Delhi in November, 1940. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, under the able guidance of my friend, Mr. K. Srinivasan, met the crisis with great courage and no small success. For the first time in India the Government sought to interfere with the exercise of its functions. It compelled the working of which has, on the whole, been not unsatisfactory and has enabled the Press, in some parts of the country, to be explained to all who had anything to do with the newspapers. The All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference met at New Delhi at the commencement of great happenings in the country. This Conference of the Press of this Province, let us trust that the Press will survive unscathed all attempts that are being made and that may be made me to preside over this Conference. I do not know why you have selected me for this honour. But I have obeyed your call because it has given me the opportunity of coming into contact with journalists from all parts of the United Provinces.

It is necessary that every journalist in India should make himself acquainted with the work of the Newspaper Editors' Conference; for on the success of the Conference depends, to a very large extent, the prosperity and efficacy of the Press in India. The Conference was summoned at short notice and held in New Delhi on November 10, 1940, to consider the grave situation arising from the restrictions on the Press imposed by the Government of India. How Draconian were the Government with the object of suppressing all news about the campaign of individual Satyagraha started by the Indian National Congress, under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The following is the text of the Order.

"In exercise of the powers conferred by clause (b) of sub-rule (1) of Rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, the Central Government is pleased to prohibit any matter or publishing by any printer, publisher or editor in British India of meetings or the making of speeches for the purpose, directly or indirectly, of communicating by the Central Government or a Provincial Government to the Press for publication."

As Mr. Srinivasan, President of the Conference, said, the Order, if conformed to, would have reduced the position of an editor to that of an inanimate automaton and the conditions imposed by an editor to that of an inanimate intention of the Press to impede Government's war efforts, it could not and would not submit to them. He made it plain that, while it was far from the intention of the Press to impede Government's war efforts, it could not and would not submit to them. He made it plain that, while it was far from the intention of the Press to impede Government's war efforts, it could not and would not submit to them.

not be a party to the suppression of all normal political activity in the name of the war. He emphasised that the sole concern of the editors, who, whatever their differences in the political spheres, were united in their determination to preserve the liberties of the Press, was to conduct a newspaper free to express opinions frankly which was only possible through factual representation of events in the widest sense. The united front presented by the Press compelled the Government to retrieve the blunder they had committed. They withdrew the obnoxious order. They also agreed to be advised by Committees of the Press at Delhi and at provincial Headquarters on any matters affecting the Press and in regard to any action Government might take against newspapers. The Conference welcomed the change in the attitude of the Government and pointed out that, even from their own point of view, the results they sought were best achieved by a policy of trust and co-operation instead of minority directions.

Soon after the Conference, Provincial Advisory Committees were formed in Bombay, Madras, Bengal and Assam, Behar, the Central Provinces, Sind and the United Provinces. These Committees as well as the Central Advisory Committee at New Delhi began to function. But not in all provinces did they function effectively or satisfactorily nor could it be said that the Government of India and all the Provincial Governments whole-heartedly responded to the appeal of the Editors' Conference to follow the policy of trust and co-operation in their relation with the Press. Some of the Provincial Governments, especially the Government of the United Provinces, frankly regarded the machinery of consultation as a nuisance to themselves and, while paying lip sympathy to the object which it was intended to serve, deliberately tried to undermine its utility. Therefore, at its second meeting held in New Delhi, in February 1941, the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference, while noting with satisfaction the working of the Advisory Committee in some of the Provinces appealed to other Provincial Governments and to the Central Government to see that the consultative machinery was fully utilised both in the Provinces and at the Centre and that the convention set up in Madras and Bombay that ordinarily no action would be taken against any press or newspaper without prior consultation with the Advisory Committee was extended to all Provinces. The appeal has to this day not received the satisfactory response the Standing Committee had expected.

The agreement arrived at between the Government of India and the Editors' Conference in accordance with which the consultative machinery was instituted has been described as a Gentlemen's Agreement. The Government of Bombay have from the beginning, except for a solitary aberration when they took unwarranted and drastic action against the *Bombay Sentinel*, acted in the true spirit of such an agreement. Similar good comes from Madras, the Central Provinces and Sind. Complaints have come from other Provinces but in the Punjab and the United Provinces the agreement has not been given a fair trial at all. In fact, the attitude of the Government of the United Provinces towards the Press has been most reactionary and unsatisfactory. Though they are party to the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Government of India have not carried out their part of the bargain by securing an improvement in the attitude of recalcitrant Provincial Governments. Nor has the conduct of the Government of India themselves in this matter always been unexceptionable. On several occasions their attitude was such as would have wrecked the Agreement but for the firm and united front presented by the Standing Committee of the Conference.

U. P. GOVERNMENT'S POLICY CRITICISED

In this Province, there is a Provincial Advisory Committee, but it is regarded with ill-concealed hostility by the Government as will be apparent to any who knows anything of the relations between that Government and the Press during the last two years. The Gentlemen's Agreement has more often been violated by the Government than respected. The Provincial Committee's recommendations have on many occasions been simply ignored and frequently action has been taken against newspapers and presses without previous consultation with the Committee. Scant respect has been paid by the Government to the frequent appeals from the Standing Committee of the Editors' Conference to give a fair trial to the Gentlemen's Agreement. The Editors' Conference had asked the U. P. Government to withdraw the drastic orders in force against the *Samik* of Agra so that the machinery of consultation could have a fair start. The response to his suggestion was the demand of a security of Rs. 6,000 from the *National Herald*. The Standing Com-

Mr. K. Srinivasan, President of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, issued the following statement on the 16th, September 1942 :—

The Government and the Press

All its representations having failed to move the U. P. Government, the Goodwill Mission composed of Messrs. Krishna Rao and Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, as the local Press Advisory Committee and the members of the Mission left this Province with a view to establish the relations between the two on a proper basis. Even this handsome gesture evoked little response and the local Press Advisory Committee regretted that the suggestion of Press Advisory Commission was one of passive hostility. Thus, the Security orders had not been accepted by withdrawal of the *National Herald* and it requested the President to take such further action, as he considered necessary. The Government did not accept the names of additional members recommended by the Provincial Government as well as without even consulting the Provincial Committee. The Standing Committee worse by suppressing the Government of India last again appealed to the Provincial Government as well as the Government of India to give a fair chance to the Provincial Government.

"NATIONAL HERALD" Case
The U. P. Government urged the Government to have its next meeting at Delhi in May last again appealed to the Provincial Government as well as the Government of India to give a fair chance to the Provincial Government.

[illegible]

1. Provincial Government and are arranging for a Press Note to be issued regarding the arrangements reached in Delhi. The text of the correspondence which I am releasing with this statement gives the whole picture of the Delhi discussions.

STANDING COMMITTEE'S NOTE TO GOVT.

An emergency session of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference was summoned to meet in New Delhi on September 24, 1942, to consider the attitude of the Press in regard to the restrictions imposed on the Press by the Government of India on August 8. The following is the text of the Note, which was sent to the Home Department of the Government of India on the 25th August.

1. The Standing Committee take strong exception to the series of restrictions imposed on the Press by the Central, Provincial and local authorities, during the last two weeks. Government's failure to utilise the machinery of previous consultation before bringing the New restrictions into operation is, in the opinion of the Committee, a clear violation of the Delhi Agreement.

2. The number and nature of restrictions seem to vary from Province to Province, and there is in consequence lack of uniformity as regards procedure. It is not possible within the limits of this note to give a complete list of such restrictions. To mention only a few of these, the Standing Committee regard the registration of correspondents as designed to bring them completely under the control of local officials and close to Editors all avenues of receiving impartial reports of events directly from their correspondents. Compulsory press advising on the number of messages relating to the disturbances, can on headlines and on the space to be devoted to news of these disturbances, have, in the view of the Standing Committee, but one meaning; namely, that Government seek, in the most comprehensive manner possible, to control at every stage not only the publication but even the character of factual news.

3. The Press can at no time abdicate its function of being the guardian of the public interests and of the rights of the citizen. At the present juncture when the legislatures are under suspension in a majority of the provinces, an extra responsibility is thrown on the Press.

"A DANGEROUS TENDENCY"

4. The Standing Committee request Government, if they are serious in their desire to maintain the Delhi Agreement, to withdraw all these restrictions. To the terms of that Agreement and to the procedure and machinery evolved in the course of the last two years, the Committee reaffirm their adherence. But in the restrictions recently brought into force the Committee see not only its virtual scuttling, but a dangerous tendency on the part of Government to deny publicity to statement and reports supporting the Indian demand for freedom and legitimate political activities. There are several instances of press advising and of censorship, which under no circumstance, can be deemed just and fair. The new restrictions seem designed not so much to prevent information reaching the enemy as to prevent the public in India, Britain and the Allied countries from receiving a correct and objective account of the internal situation in this country.

5. The Standing Committee view with dismay the suspension of publication of a large number of newspapers owing to the stringency of the new restrictions and the manner of their operation. The fact that newspapers find it impossible to perform their duties to the public increases unrest throughout the country, multiplies the force of rumour many times, and is a direct aid to enemy propaganda which can point to the disappearance of newspapers as proof of an oppressive regime.

6. The Standing Committee are of the opinion that the measures recently adopted by the Executive are such as to cause widespread bitterness and resentment, and therefore, bound to prove detrimental both to the efficient prosecution of the war and to the principles of democratic freedom for which the Allied Nations stand. It would, in the opinion of the Committee, conduce to a removal of that bitterness and resentment if these restrictive orders were withdrawn and the prosecutions and penal action taken against newspapers cancelled. Thereafter the situation should be reviewed in consultation with the Committee to see whether any modifications are necessary in existing practice and procedure.

DISCUSSIONS WITH THE HOME MEMBER

After considering the Note, the Government invited a deputation from the Standing Committee to meet the Hon'ble the Home Member and discuss the points

Text of the Correspondence

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Governments what is the machinery for providing relief? Agreement by provincial
On the next day, the 28th August, Sir R. TOTTENHAM's Letter sent the following
letter confirming the discussions that had taken place between Sir Reginald Jackson
and the delegation on the previous day :
Dear Mr. Srinivasan,
At the meeting yesterday between the Home Members of the A. I. N. E. C. the reasons presented to excise control members of the A. I. N. E. C. over the distribution of press-
12. In cases of non-observance of the Delhi Committee without delay.
In recent restrictive orders were brought into force.
Prosecutions and penal actions taken against newspapers
of censorship has the effect of suppress-

Dear Mr. Srinivasan,
At the meeting yesterday between the Home Member and yourself and other members of the A. I. N. E. C. the reasons which made it necessary for Government to exercise control over the publication of Indian news accepted in principle by those present. So long as that fully explained and I believe secured, in principle by explaining it and Government are fully prepared to revise their orders in such a way as to render them as little irksome as possible to the press. I point out that the editors chiefly criticised was that provision to make of any material supplied to them either by those to decide what use to make of it, or from other sources. It, however, emphasized that it was for them to decide entirely to the editors themselves they felt that it would be better for Government to achieve their object by arranging for all the material to be submitted for scrutiny by a specially responsible representatives of the press could mean could for scrutiny by a devolved whereby responsible representatives of the press could themselves be associated with that scrutiny.

2. The Government of India would for their part, welcome an arrangement of this kind, provided that there were reasonable prospects of its being worked successfully. They would be prepared to cancel their own general order as soon as other orders on the lines suggested had been issued to take their place and in that case they would hope that the need for certain orders passed by Provincial Governments might also cease to exist. At the same time it is on Provincial Governments that the responsibility lies for dealing with the disturbances, and it is therefore for them to decide to what extent the scheme can be adopted in the light of local conditions and circumstances. The Government of India are prepared to accept the new arrangements, to put them into force with as little delay as possible.

3. So far as the expression of views is concerned (and in that term the Government of India have always included not only editorial comment, but also the manner in which news is displayed) it was recognized that no statutory restrictions had been imposed by the Government of India. On the other hand, it was represented that, however reasonable it might be to let editors know the general limits beyond which it would not be in their interests to go, there was no sufficient reason to depart from the practice hitherto established by which action against offending newspaper is not normally taken without previous consultation with the Press Advisory Committee. Subject to the reservation that the normal practice must necessarily bear a somewhat different meaning in the present exceptional circumstances, it was explained that the Government of India had no desire to depart from the spirit of the Delhi Agreement, so long as there was even a section of the responsible press which was prepared to observe its side of the agreement, and they would welcome continued consultation with Advisory Committees wherever such a course is possible and likely to lead to useful results. This point has also been put to Provincial Governments in the communication referred to above.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) R. Tottenham.

EDITORS' COMMITTEE PRESIDENT'S REPLY

Sir Richard Tottenham's letter, dated the 28th August, was considered at a meeting of the Standing Committee on the 28th and 29th. While noting the replies to certain points, it was felt that further clarification was needed in respect of many other points and accordingly the following letter was sent by the President on behalf of the Standing Committee on the 29th August to Sir Richard Tottenham :

Dear Sir Richard,

Your letter of yesterday's date expressing the views of Government on some of the points raised by the deputation which met the Home Member on 27th August were placed before a full meeting of the Standing Committee of the A. I. N. E. C. I summarise below the views of the Committee as reflected in the discussion :

(1) In para 1 of your letter, there is a reference to "all the material to be submitted for scrutiny by a specified authority." The deputation attached special importance to the definition of classes or categories of factual news concerning the Press Advisory Committee. The Committee has assumed that the above reference is governed by this understanding. You will recollect that at one stage the Home Member agreed to the Chief Press Adviser and the Central Press Advisory Committee meeting at an early date to draw up such a list of categories of news, standard all-India list. In each province, the Special Press Adviser and the Provincial Press Advisory Committee will work on it as a basis, adding further categories if necessary (after taking into account the situation in the province) or relaxing the working of the rule if the situation has shown improvement. Conditions are almost certain to vary from time to time and may not be the same in different parts of the same province. While the provincial list will be applicable throughout the province, the same elasticity should be observed in practice having regard to local conditions. The Committee expects that in the morass, District Magistrates will scrupulously adhere to the principle of previous consultation with local editors in all matters in the spirit of the Delhi Agreement.

TEXT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

(2) In the last sentence of para 1 of your letter, the suggestion made is that "responsible representatives of the press could advise the Committee of the press-addressees of news (to be drawn up) as to minimise the damage to the categories of news which must be press-addressed to the public and adhere to the categories of news (to be drawn up) as to minimise the damage to the public."

(4) The Committee regards para 2 of your letter as a request for the Provincial Press Advisers to leave as principle enunciated by the Committee a large margin as possible to the discretion of editors in regard to the Special Press Advisers. The Committee suggests that Government should in the manner of material coming up for the consideration of the Provincial Press Advisers.

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(a) the withdrawal of all orders promulgated so far without consultation with the Press Advisory Committee including that of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, dated 17th August; also, acceptance of the principle of such previous consultation imposed by a Provincial Government in a report to the Standing Committee in respect of any new proposal;

(b) a report to the Provincial Government whenever any new restriction is imposed by a Provincial Government in a province where the Press Advisory Committee is not functioning;

(c) a communication to Provincial Governments that orders of the Government of India are distinct from instructions of the Press Advisory Committee; and

(d) withdrawal of prosecution of newspaper editors.

(7) Finally, the Committee wishes me to express its appreciation for the note forwarded to you on 20th August, from the recent orders and penal action taken against the Government of the Editors and

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) K. Srinivasan

SIR R. TOTTENHAM'S REPLY TO MR. PRESIDENT

On the 2nd September, Sir Richard Tottenham replied to the President's letter dated the 29th August in the following terms:

DEAR MR. SRINIVASAN,

Will you please refer to your reply dated August 29th as Chairman of the Standing Committee of the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference to my letter of August 28th?

So far as paragraphs (1) to (3) of that reply are concerned, I can assure you that our intention is to endeavour to get Provincial Governments to agree, wherever a member of a panel of editors who will be consulted regarding the advisability of work to be handled in a limited time. There is no question of excluding certain categories of news from scrutiny, but the general classes of news affected will be broadly defined in the order itself. If any latitude is to be given, it will have to be in the manner in which that news is dealt with by the specified authority and the editor who sits with him. Our intention is to draw up a fairly comprehensive directive to the scrutinising authorities under our direct control in Delhi or other Chief Commissioners' Provinces: to discuss that directive with the Central Press Advisory Committee; and finally to send copies of it to all Provincial Governments in the hope that they will accept the general principles stated therein. It will then, remain, perhaps, for Provincial Governments to consult their Provincial Press Advisory Committees regarding any adjustments that may be necessary to suit local conditions.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS' ORDERS

2. As regards paragraph (4) of your reply, the Hon'ble the Home Member made the position quite clear, I think, at the meeting. If and when the new orders are issued, a certain number of the existing order will automatically become superfluous and will, therefore, presumably be cancelled (just as we have already cancelled our general order so far as it applied to Delhi on the issue of a new order by the Chief Commissioner). There will remain, perhaps, a certain number of other restrictive orders passed by Provincial Governments, for example those relating to headlines, which do not fall within the definition of 'factual news.' It must be for Provincial Governments themselves to decide whether such orders are still necessary, but we have suggested to them that they should endeavour to start the new system, if they agree to it, with as clean sheet as possible.

3. As regards paragraph (5) of your letter, I can only repeat what I told you personally when I saw you just before leaving Delhi. I have never agreed that the most serious weakness of the advisory system has been the obvious unwillingness of certain Provincial Governments to give it a fair trial. I believe that all Provincial Governments have endeavoured to give it a fair trial, but that in certain cases the Provincial Press Advisory Committees have themselves been dominated by individual editors who have been determined to see things only from one point of view. The discussions in your recent meeting at Delhi showed, I think, that there was a certain section of the Press (I am glad to take only a very small section) which is determined to take the extreme point of view in the present situation and with whom, therefore, it has become impossible to do business on a consultative basis. I put it to you that the relations between Provincial Governments and their Advisory Committees would be immensely facilitated if any members of their Committees who belong to that very small section of the Press could be replaced by others who would be reasonable. I do not think it is fair to expect Provincial Governments to work a system of "give-and-take" with persons of the kind to which I have referred.

4. As regards paragraph (6) of your letter, I think it was agreed that the various points in the memorandum which was discussed at the meeting with the Home Member would not require a separate answer in the light of the new agreement reached. I need, I think, refer only to points (b), (c) and (d) in paragraph (6). As regards (b), since the Standing Committee is not in permanent session, I see little point in reporting to it the restrictions imposed by Provincial Governments in Provinces where Advisory Committees are not functioning, but the point will be considered further. As regards (c) guidance notes from the Chief Press Adviser have always been phrased in such a way as to indicate that

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they are not mandatory. We shall see that this practice is continued. There is, of course, no question in this matter. As regards (d), the Home Secretary gave, and could give, no assurance that prosecutions instituted under the recent orders would be withdrawn. I can assure you that the Government of India's policy regarding the control of newspapers from the Press Conference held by Sir C. J. Ramaswami Aiyar on August 11th. Finally, I can only say that it is as much in the interest of this country, as well as Britain and Allied countries, should receive a correct and objective account of the internal situation in India.

As the President felt that there was considerable delay in implementing the Delhi Agreement by Provincial Governments, he sent the following telegram to Sir Richard Tottenham on the 9th. September.

"Delay in bringing into force new order in regard to scrutiny of news is causing widespread misapprehension. Please consider immediate issue of Press Note, indicating details of consultation. Papers, requires drastic modification, and procedure in Delhi should be made to conform to understanding reached between Government and Standing Committee. Would you agree to release for publication relevant papers and correspondence?"

Sir R. Tottenham's Reply

In his reply telegram dated the 13th. September, received by the President on the night of the 15th. Sir Richard Tottenham stated that the Central Government had reminded the Provincial Governments and were arranging for a Press Note to be issued regarding the arrangements reached in Delhi.

British India and Indian States

Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes

Bombay—3rd. July 1942

Jam Sahab Surveys War Effort

The determination of the Indian Princes to face and to fight the difficulties ahead, with all their resources, for their King-Emperor, for the defence of their Mother-land and for the world cause at stake, was reiterated by His Highness the Jam Sahab, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in a statement he made at Bombay on the 3rd. July 1942 at the meeting of the Standing Committee of the Chamber.

The Standing Committee of Princes continued its deliberations in the afternoon also, and was attended by His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

Among the items discussed by the Standing Committee included certain important questions affecting the Rulers arising out of the Cripps Mission with particular reference to the position of the States in the future constitution of India. It was decided to refer most of these questions, in the first instance, for examination to the Committee of Ministers, whose recommendations would be considered by the Standing Committee.

Questions concerning internal reforms in the States at the discretion of the individual Rulers of Governments concerned and the definition of "Civil List" and the Privy Purses of Rulers were also taken up for consideration.

A communique issued after the conclusion of the day's meeting said: "Unanimous conclusions were reached which will be circulated to the States.

CHANCELLOR'S STATEMENT

H. H. the Chancellor, referring to the war effort of the States, said: "It is gratifying to note that the Indian States, big and small, have continued their war effort, in accordance with their best traditions. Simultaneously, everything possible is being done in respect of internal security and civil defence in the States. The figures for the war contributions and investments of the States upto the end of April 1942-43 is as follows:

"The non-recurring contributions offered by Indian States amounted approximately to Rs. 3,10,30,000 and the recurring donations (annual figure) promised stood at about Rs. 36,63,000.

"For the same period, the investments from Indian States were as follows: Rs. three per cent defence loans Rs. 2,57,99,000; interest free bonds, Rs. 66,97,600; defence saving certificates, Rs. 34,85,000; defence savings bank Rs. 1,00,000.

"In regard to these figures, certain enquiries were made by me from the Political Department and I understand that these do not take into calculation contributions and investments made through the agency of banks, or by banks themselves, which are situated in British India. It will be noted that some of these banks have considerable business also with the States; and various States and their subjects have made substantial contributions to defence loans, etc., through the agency banks in British India. Separate accounts of these contributions have not been kept, otherwise the war contributions of the States would be greatly augmented. Figures of the sale of defence savings certificates at the British Indian post offices in Indian States, are included in the total published for the nearest British Indian Post Office in the Postal Circle. As such, the contributions under this head shown as exclusively from the States appear comparatively low. The recurring contributions are not included in the total of non-recurring contributions from the States. If all these items are duly taken into account, the war contributions and investments should work up to about double of the figure noted above.

Moreover, it will be appreciated that these cash contributions are in addition to the substantial assistance given by the States in war equipment. A large quantity of war material has been turned out by factories in Indian States. In many cases the productive capacity of these factories has been immensely increased, factories intended to meet ordinary civilian needs have been diverted to the production of war materials, wherever possible, and many new factories have been set up to meet the special requirements of war. Coal, various metals,

to the recent speech by Lord Halifax in which he stated that "the independence of the Princes is enshrined in solemn treaties with the King-Emperor and as such are only alterable by negotiations. To scorch these or any other treaties unilaterally, would be to scrap one of the principles for which we went to war with Germany." "Suffice it then to say," the Maharaja observed, "that in the demand for the maintenance of treaty rights, we have the highest authority for our assumption that this demand should be met." After explaining in some detail the political, financial, defence and internal safeguards demanded by the Indian States, His Highness admitted that their range was obviously a matter for considerable argument just as he pointed out the range of safeguards for British interests in India were a matter of very considerable argument at the time of the 1935 Act.

BASIC DEMANDS OF PRINCES

The basic demands which the Princes made before the Act of 1935 were met in theory under the Act. He would not go too deeply into the technicalities of the Act and the points on which criticism might be lodged from the States' point of view. But he wished to point out that theory and practice were very far apart and that experience of the inevitable course of events in regard to the Congress agitation in the States in 1939 had led the Princes to reject Federation shortly before the outbreak of the war. The history of that agitation quite clearly proved that where the authority of the Governor-General and the Crown Representative was vested in one and the same person, the maintenance of theoretical safeguards must inevitably give way in the face of practical issues of all-India politics when it was a question of retaining ministries in order to see the Act continue to work. He would say that the States themselves were not satisfied with their position financially under the 1935 Act.

Speaking of the war, the Jam Sahab of Navanagar reminded his audience that at its outbreak, the Princes offered the services of themselves and their resources unconditionally to the King-Emperor. "The loyalty with which they had offered their services to the King-Emperor in the Great War of 1914-1918 was repeated—perhaps even in a greater degree. At the end of September 1942 non-recurring contributions from the States amounted approximately to Rs. 326,67,000 and recurring donations promised stood at about Rs. 37,30,000. "I need not refer you to the squadrons of aircraft bearing the name of many Indian States some of which I have had privilege of visiting since my arrival in this country." Other gifts in kind have been numerous and always useful. Not less remarkable was the development of the States' forces and their employment overseas and also in British India where they had relieved other units for active service by taking over duties on the North-west Frontier, by providing guards for internment camps and performing other duties. The Princes had never wavered from their resolution to place themselves and their resources unreservedly at the service of the King-Emperor.

THE CRIPPS' MISSION

Speaking of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, His Highness said the Princes, like everyone else in India realised that this was a momentous occasion on which the best was demanded of every patriotic Indian. The attitude of the States was made completely clear in the resolution passed at the session of the Chamber of Princes in March 1942 as follows: (a) "That this Chamber welcomes the announcement made in the House of Commons on March 11, 1942 by the Prime Minister of the forthcoming visit to India of the Lord Privy Seal and the Leader of the Commons and expresses the hope that it may help to unite India to intensify further her war effort and strengthen the measures for the defence of her motherland, (b) That this chamber has repeatedly made it clear that any scheme to be acceptable to the States must effectively protect their rights arising from treaties, engagements and sanads or otherwise and ensure the future existence, sovereignty and autonomy of the States thereunder guaranteed and leave them complete freedom duly to discharge their obligations to the Crown and to their subjects: It therefore notes with particular satisfaction the reference in the announcement of the Prime Minister to the fulfilment of treaty obligations to Indian States. (c) "That this Chamber authorises its representatives to carry on discussions and negotiations for the constitutional advance of India with due regard to the successful prosecution of the war, and the interests of the States and subject to the final confirmation by the Chamber and without prejudice to the right of individual States to be consulted in respect of any proposals affecting their treaty or other inherent rights."

"I shall be quite frank and say that the whole visit was disappointing from the point of view of the Princes," he continued. "A fundamentally important point is the manner in which the Draft Declaration by H. M. Government deals with the Crown's treaty obligations to the States. The only reference to them is as follows: 'Whether or not an Indian State seeks to adhere to the constitution it will be necessary to negotiate revision of treaty arrangements so far as distributing this statement was to the Princes who have only a few recent memory of the progress of events in 1939. Apart from anything else, we, Princes, feel that our spontaneous and unconditional war effort deserves better than a dismissal from the Draft Declaration of express guarantee of the Crown's obligation to us.' assured in the declaration of August 1940. Moreover this omission has given it a handle to our opponents, such as *Pandit Nehru* and others, to declare publicly that these treaties must be scrapped and in fact Pandit Nehru has recently gone to the extent of declaring that those who talk of treaties with Indian States are 'lunatics, knaves or fools'.

The declaration makes special mention quite rightly of the protection of racial and religious minorities. Surely the States are entitled to claim even more than the minorities that solemn undertakings with them must be respected. The reference to these solemn engagements which I have quoted has merely created the impression in our minds that it is proposed to have compulsory revision of treaty after elucidation I admit we were told that this provision was intended to apply to economic matters of common concern to British India and the States, but this has not been clearly stated in the Declaration itself.

CRITICISM OF STATES

The Lord Privy Seal is known also to have voiced the commonly made criticism that representative institutions have not been adequately developed in the majority of Indian States. I am conscious that there is widespread criticism of the Princes, not only in India, but outside, on the grounds that we are reactionary, that representative institutions do not exist in adequate number or with any vitality in the States, that, in short, unless we put our own house in order we cannot legitimately press demands for our continuous existence alongside the more progressive and vital constitutional forms in British India. As I said in my address at the recent celebration to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the birth of Akbar the Great, I shall be the first to admit that there have been and perhaps still are States in which rulers have not exercised their powers with proper appreciation of the rights of their subjects, and that in consequence the administration has not been as effective and possibly as just as it should be.

"But, taken by and large, and I believe that this is the real test, the subjects of States are probably more happy than their countrymen in other parts of India. The rulers have, on the whole, maintained a good record of justice, impartiality, interest in the welfare of their subjects and I believe that in the Princes Order to-day there is still a firm intention to improve on the past. In order to show that we, Princes, are not concerned with mere words, I have, as Chancellor, appointed a committee to examine the full implications of the *Cripps* proposals and to report on the points of internal administration and constitutional practice in which the Princes Order as a whole may be said to fall behind practice in British India." His Highness concluded: "Our basic demands are clear but we have shown that we are prepared to move with the times. What of the future? The war is changing things very fast and it is impossible to prophesy what the next development on the Indian political stage will be, what new realignment of political parties or personalities there may be, (and you will appreciate that in India this is a very vital factor in any discussions regarding constitutional advance), or what the general picture will look like when the constitution-making body finally gets to work. There are so many factors, both inside and outside India, to be reckoned with, but of one thing you can be sure—that the Princes will continue to maintain the same consistent, loyal and dignified attitude as in the past, conscious of the rights of all British India to progress but equally well determined to maintain our own rights. We have at heart that same ideal as other patriotic Indians of an united India but we equally well hold that we, as Princes, have an historical and individual contribution to make to it just as much as the other great elements in the political picture. We demand consideration. We are prepared to give it."

The Associated Chambers of Commerce

Annual Session—Calcutta—17th. December 1942

Mr. Haddow's Presidential Address

"It is the wish of the British Community in India to continue to be of service to the country and to assist in its progress both in regard to Agriculture and Industry," observed Mr. R. Haddow, presiding at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held at the Royal Exchange, Calcutta on the 17th. December, 1942.

Thirty one delegates representing various chambers of commerce, which included the Burma Chamber of Commerce, were present. Among those present were Mr. Santosh Kumar Basu and Mr. P. N. Banerjee, Ministers, the Maharajahdharaj of Burdwan, Mr. G. L. Mehta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and Mr. J. R. Blair, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

"All they ask is," Mr. Haddow added, "that they receive the same treatment in India as Indians receive in Britain. I would remind our Indian friends that these demands are no greater than their own in respect of Ceylon, East and South Africa and Burma when it was a flourishing unit of the British Empire as it will certainly again be." These observations were made by the speaker while criticising India and that Indians do not wish us to remain in this country."

Referring to the extension of the Viceroy's term of office, Mr. Haddow remarked that they had been fortunate in having Lord Linlithgow for so many years at the helm, steering a steady course and avoiding all political currents that might have caused a weaker navigator to deviate. He expressed their appreciation of the excellent example he had given the country as a whole by sacrificing his personal convenience to the major issue of winning the war.

Referring to the recent political disturbances in the country, Mr. Haddow said that it was a matter of great satisfaction to him to read and listen to the view of the various political parties in the Central Legislature during the recent debates on this uprising. All deplored the action of the Congress in playing on the feelings of their illiterate supporters to oppose the United Nations. It may be alleged that the major portion of the damage was caused by goondas, but they were definitely organised by the Congress Party supported by funds provided by certain Indian business magnates.

DEFENCE OF BRITISH RULE

"Like most other Britons in this country, I would like to be able to carry on our trade and commerce in the confident expectation that we would be given a fair deal and allowed to conduct our business without any fear of discrimination or expropriation, and thereby be freed from the necessity to enter the political arena; but such, however, is not possible, particularly when we are told, in no unmistakable terms by certain sections of the Indian community, that we must leave India and that Indians do not wish us to remain in this country. I wonder often whether these people ever consider what the British community has done for India. For centuries before the British took over the reins of the Government of India, the country's political history had been a long succession of conquests as wave after wave of new invaders swept over it. Some of these invaders and in fact others who were as late newcomers to India as the British are to-day amongst the foremost in the fight for India's Independence. The British are unique in two respects; in the mildness and humanity of their rule and in their not becoming absorbed by the climatic and geographical peculiarities of India. I know the term "mildness" may call forth criticism from certain quarters, but if these same critics were to compare the treatment accorded to the leaders of the Congress Party who have done their utmost to stir up rebellion and to hamper the successful prosecution of the war effort by Britain and her Allies, with the fate which would have overtaken these men for similar disloyalty in Germany, Japan or even Russia, they would realise how fortunate they have been in the mildness of their treatment in India.

"Another point that is liable to be overlooked is that there is not the slightest evidence that the British people ever planned the systematic conquest of India

[or any part of it. There is, in fact, overwhelming evidence that they were reluctant to extend their Indian commitments and responsibilities. The British assumed responsibility for the governing of India purely because they wished to trade and to secure the conditions of respect for agreed treaty and law and abscence from violence without which trade was impossible.]

Regarding the war, Mr. Haddow said that instead of British and her allies having to fight uphill battles against enemies admittedly better trained and more appropriately equipped, the disparity had completely disappeared. "We have not only made up the leeway," he remarked, "but it would appear, by industry and determination, have achieved superiority which, it is hoped, will result in no early victory and consequent termination of the present bloodshed."

CONTROL OF FOOD PRICES

Mr. Haddow referred to one or two of their principal problems—most of them arising out of the war—which confronted Commerce and Industry in this country just now. According to him, perhaps the most important, certainly the most baffling of these problems, had been that of maintaining adequate supplies of staple food-stuffs particularly to the industrial areas, and the closely related question of price control. "My own view is," he pointed out, "that however admirable the general policy of the Government in these matters, its administration has suffered in the past from two main difficulties—firstly lack of central co-ordination or over-provisionalisation and secondly inadequate enforcement of price control." The welcomed the setting up of a separate Central Government Department to deal with food production and price control as a step long regarded as necessary, but pleaded for a realistic approach to the dual problem of distribution on the one hand and price control on the other; for closer collaboration between the provincial administrations; and, where possible, for the simplification of the licensing and permit systems which had become so integral a part of the control hitherto exercised. He appealed to all concerned with the production, distribution and merchandising of essential foodstuffs to co-operate loyally in maintaining supplies at reasonable price levels.

Mr. Haddow recorded satisfaction with the satisfactory and prompt way in which the Commerce Department of the Government of India had been able, during the past year to meet their numerous requests for necessary amendments in the war risks, factories and goods insurance schemes.

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS

The following is the text of the Viceroy's speech:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen. As you have reminded me, this is the seventh occasion on which I have had the honour of addressing the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India. It is an occasion to which I have out my Viceroyalty. I have always looked forward as an opportunity which I deeply value of talking to you, gentlemen, on the great problems of the day. This is the last time that honour will fall to me, for though as your President has so kindly said the King has been pleased to ask me to retain my present office for a further period, by the time that the Associated Chambers next hold their annual meeting I shall no longer be in India. I welcome all the more your kindness to-day in inviting me to be present and thus giving me the opportunity to take fare-well of the Associated Chambers, and to thank them for all the invaluable help and co-operation that they and those for whom they stand in this country have given me through seven long and anxious years.

Before I proceed to the business of my speech, I would like to associate myself most warmly with what you said about His Excellency the Governor, Sir John Herbert, whom we are so glad to see here to-day, and about Lady Mary. He has had an anxious and difficult time as the Governor of this great Presidency at a time when Bengal, and eastern India as a whole, have been in the front line. We owe him a great debt for his energy, his interest, and his constant anxiety to see that everything possible is done to safeguard his charge, and to protect a vital bastion of India's defence. And we all of us know how constant and how invaluable has been the help lent him by Lady Mary Herbert in all good causes in Bengal.

EXCESS PROFITS TAX

In your speech, Sir, you have touched on a number of matters of great interest and importance. You took occasion, if I may deal with that matter in the first place, to sound a note of warning against the withdrawal of all incentive

the world's opinion is in full sympathy with India's aspiration for freedom. This sympathy, which is so valuable and so difficult to obtain, cannot be appraised in terms of money or material and should therefore by all means be retained.

"The present struggle is one between freedom and slavery, between light and darkness, between good and evil, between resistance and aggression. Should the anti-aggression front lose the war, the civilization of the world suffer a setback for at least 100 years and there would be no end to human sufferings.

"So far as Asia is concerned, the cruelties committed by Japanese militarists are beyond description. The sufferings and oppression which have been the fate of Formosans and Koreans since their subjugation by Japan should serve as a warning. As regards the barbarities committed by the Japanese army since our war of resistance, the fall of Nanking in December, 1937, is a case in point. Over 2,00,000 civilians were massacred within one week. For the last five years the civilian population in free China have been subjected, almost daily, to bombings from the air and bombardment by heavy artillery. In every place invaded by the Japanese troops, men, women and children were either assaulted or killed. Young men and educated people received their special attention with the result that men of intelligence and ideas have been tortured. Nor is this all. Institutions of culture, objects of historical interest and value, and even articles necessary for livelihood, such as cooking utensils, ploughs, tools and domestic animals have been either forcibly taken away or destroyed. In places under Japanese military occupation rape, rapine, incendiarism and murder are of frequent occurrence. Moreover, they have with official connivance everywhere opened opium dens, gambling houses and houses of ill-fame in order to sap the vitality of the people and destroy their spirit. Such is the disgraceful conduct of the Japanese, the like of which is not to be found in countries invaded by the other aggressor nations. What I have just said is but an inadequate description of the true state of affairs as reported by Chinese and foreign eye-witnesses.

"In these horrible times of savagery and brute force the people of India, should, for the sake of civilization and human freedom, give their united support to the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter and in the joint declaration of 26 nations and ally themselves with the anti-aggression front. I hope they will wholeheartedly join the Allies, namely, China, Great Britain, America and the Soviet Union, and participate shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for the survival of a free world until complete victory is achieved and the duties incumbent upon them in these troubled times have been fully discharged.

"Lastly, I sincerely hope, and I confidently believe, that our ally, Great Britain, without waiting for any demands on the part of the people of India, will as speedily as possible give them real political power so that they may be in a position further to develop their spiritual and material strength and thus realize that their participation in the war is not merely an aid to the anti-aggression nations for securing victory, but also a turning-point in their struggle for India's freedom. From an objective point of view, I am of the opinion that this would be the wisest policy which will redound to the credit of the British Empire."

And thus India bade adieu to the great Chinese leader and his noble consort at the conclusion of a visit which may well turn out to be a land-mark in history.

China's Day

An announcement made by H. E. the Viceroy said :—

"In all too short a time we shall be bidding God-speed to his Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang on their journey back to their own country. They leave behind in our hearts in India a picture of a brave and wise leader and a gracious lady; they take with them the assurance that India is heart and soul with China in a common struggle. I believe the people of India would welcome an opportunity of commemorating this visit, and I propose, on a day to be called China's Day, to throw my War Purposes Fund open to subscriptions for China's War Charities, and to supplement the money so received by an appropriate contribution from the sums already subscribed to my Fund by the Princes and people of

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India. This money I will hand to Madame Chiang to be distributed as she may think fit. I have fixed March the 2nd as China's Day and invite everyone to combine to make it a success."

The date was later altered to March 7.

Messages Exchanged

The following are the messages exchanged between His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and His Excellency the Viceroy:

From His Excellency Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek dated February 21:

"On the eve of our departure for China, I wish to express our hearty appreciation of the hospitality that you and Lady Linlithgow have shown to Madame Chiang and myself during our visit to India. Although our stay has been short, yet I am glad that satisfactory decision has been reached on a plan for our concerted action against aggression and for the parts both nations are to play.

"In leaving India I am taking away with me a firm conviction that our two countries will spare nothing in striving for further consolidation of their joint war efforts and for the early destruction of the force of lawlessness."

His Excellency the Viceroy replied:

"I deeply appreciate Your Excellency's message, and assure you that Lady Linlithgow and I will long retain the happiest recollections of your visit and that of Madame Chiang.

"I fully share your satisfaction that substantial results have been achieved in concerting our joint action against aggression and in the close co-ordination of Military plans.

"Here in India we will take to heart and follow the good advice which Your Excellency has given us out of the plenitude of China's bitter experiences. We will unite to resist the ruthless and brutal aggressor. We will stand shoulder to shoulder with the brave Chinese army and people whose strength is in Your Excellencies' wise and constant leadership. Come what may, we will be with you until the Japanese power is utterly broken.

"I trust Your Excellency and Madame Chiang are well and rested after the fatigues of so crowded and strenuous a visit."

The Tanaka Memorandum

In this connection it will be interesting to read the Tanaka Memorandum, a summary of which we give in the following pages:—

General Tanaka, whose name is associated with the infamous Tanaka and clandestine murder, became the Prime Minister of Japan in 1927. Under him the first step was taken to install the war-mongers Tada and Doihara in important posts in the Government. As Vice-Chief of the General Staff and Minister of War during the fruitless Siberian expedition, Tanaka embezzled several millions of secret service funds. Yet he became Premier and concurrently Foreign Minister in 1927 largely through the good offices of the equally unscrupulous Viscount Miura, the murderer of the Queen of Korea.

The most important event of his Premiership was the assassination in 1928 of Chang Tso Liu, the nationalist warlord of Manchuria. It was plotted and carried out at his instance by Colonel Doihara who with General Tada was responsible for the undeclared war in Manchuria in 1930. The assassination eventually led to Tanaka's resignation, and immediately after this he found himself and his colleagues so much involved in administration irregularities that fearing prosecution and replacement as head of the Seiyukai Party, he mysteriously committed *hari kiri* in September 1929. The following are extracts from the Memorandum prepared by General Tanaka in 1927 when he was Prime Minister of Japan. The document has been sometimes described as "Japan's Mein Kampf":—

"The three eastern provinces are politically the imperfect spot in the Far East. For the sake of self-protection, as well as the protection of the others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of "Blood and Iron." But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us and China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future, if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China, the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Seas countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence.

"The way to gain actual rights in Manchuria and Mongolia is to use this region as a base and under the pretence of trade and commerce penetrate the rest of China. Armed by the rights already secured we shall seize the resources all over the country. Having China's entire resources at our disposal we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. But to get control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step if the Yomato race wish to distinguish themselves on continental Asia. Final success belongs to the country having raw materials; the full growth of national strength belong to the country having extensive territory. If we pursue a positive policy to enlarge our rights in Manchuria and China, all these prerequisites of a powerful nation will constitute no problem. Furthermore, our surplus population of 700,000 each year will also be taken care of. If we want to inaugurate a new policy and secure the permanent prosperity of our empire, a positive policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia is the only way.

Technique Of Penetration

"While the sovereign rights are not clearly defined and while the Chinese and the Soviet Governments are engaging their attention elsewhere, it is our opportunity quietly to build our influence. Once we have purchased most of the land there, there will be no room for dispute as to whether Mongolia belongs to the Japanese or the Mongolians. Aided by our military powers, we shall realize our positive policy. In order to carry out this plan, we should appropriate Yen 1,000,000 from the "secret funds" of the Army Department's budget so that four hundred retired officers disguised as teachers and Chinese citizens may be sent into Outer and Inner Mongolia to mix with the people, to gain the confidence of the Mongolian princes, to acquire from them rights of pasturage and mining and to lay the foundation of our national interests for the next hundred years.

"Since the annexation of Korea, we have had very little trouble. But President Wilson's declaration of the self-determination of races after the European War has been like a divine revelation to the suppressed peoples.

"The Koreans are no exception. The spirit of unrest has permeated the whole country. Both because of the freedom they enjoy in Manchuria due to an incompetent police system and because of the richness of the country, there are now in the three Eastern Provinces no less than 1,000,000 Koreans.

"The unlooked for development is fortunate for our country indeed. From a military and economic standpoint, it has greatly strengthened our influence. From another standpoint it gives new hope for the administration of the Koreans. They will both be the vanguard for the colonization of virgin fields and furnish a link of contact with the Chinese people. On the one hand, we could utilize the naturalised Koreans to purchase land for rice cultivation, on the other, we could extend to them financial aid through the Co-operative Society, the South Manchuria Railway, etc., so that they may serve as the spearhead of our economic penetration.

"This will give relief to our problem of food supply, as well as open a new field of opportunity for any eventuality. They are different from those naturalized Japanese in California and South America. They are naturalized as Chinese only for temporary convenience. When their numbers reach two million and a half or more, they can be instigated to military activities whenever there is the necessity, and under the pretence of suppressing

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the Koreans we could bear them aid. As not all the Koreans are naturalized Chinese, the world will not be able to tell whether it is the Chinese Koreans or the Japanese Koreans who create the trouble. We can always sell the dog's meat with a sheep's head as a sign-board.

Transportation is Mother Of Defence

Transportation is the mother of national defence, the assurance of victory and the citadel of economic development. It is a pity that our railroads are mostly in South Manchuria, which cannot reach the sources of wealth in the northern parts. Moreover, there are too many Chinese inhabitants in South Manchuria to be whole-some for our military and economic plans. If we wish to develop the natural resources and strengthen our national defence, we must build railroads, we shall be able to send more people (Japanese) into Northern Manchuria.

From this vantage ground we can manipulate political and economic developments in South Manchuria, as well strengthen our national defence in the interests of the peace and order of the Far East. Furthermore, the South Manchurian Railway was built mainly for economic purposes. It lacks encircling lines necessary for military mobilization and transportation.

From now on we must take military purpose as our object and build circuit lines to circle the heart of Manchuria and Mongolia in order that we may hamper China's military, political and economic developments there on the one hand, and prevent the penetration of Russian influence on the other. This is the key to our continental policy.

"Trouble Is Our Chance"

Fortunately for us, the financial conditions in Fengtien Province are in great disorder, which the authorities cannot improve unless we come to their succour. This is our chance. We should take positive steps until we have reached our goal in railroad development. Moreover if we manipulate the situation, the Fengtien bank-notes will depreciate to an inconceivable degree. In that event, the bankruptcy of Fengtien will be a matter of time. The development of Manchuria and Mongolia will be out of the question for them.

Japan And Russia

The Russian plans are designed to strengthen the Chinese Eastern Railway and thereby to extend its imperialistic schemes. For this reason the railways projected mostly run east and west.

For although the power of Soviet Russia is declining, her ambition in Manchuria and Mongolia has not diminished for a minute. Every step she takes is intended to obstruct our progress and to injure the South Manchuria Railway.

We must do our utmost to guard against her influence, we should use the Fengtien Government as a wedge to check her southern advance.

By pretending to check the southern advance of Soviet Russia as a first step, we could gradually force our way into North Manchuria and exploit the natural resources there. We shall then be able to prevent the spread of Chinese influence on the south and arrest the advance of Soviet Russia on the north.

In our struggle against the political and economic influence of Soviet Russia, we should drive China before us and direct the events from behind.

Meanwhile, we should still befriend Russia in order to hamper the growth of Chinese influence. It was largely with this purpose in view that Baron Goto of Kata's cabinet invited Joffe to our country and advocated the resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia.

Proposed New Railways

Tungliao-Jehol Railway: This line is 447 miles long and will cost Yen 50,000,000. When it is completed it will be of great value to our development of Inner Mongolia. As a matter of fact, this is the most important of all the railways in the whole undertaking.

According to the careful surveys of the War Department there are in Inner Mongolia large tracts of land suitable for rice cultivation. After proper development there will be room for at least 20 millions of our people. Besides, there is the possibility of turning out 2,000,000 head of cattle which may be transported by railways for food supply and for purpose of exporting to Europe and America. Wool is also a special product. While the sheep in Japan yield only two catties of wool per head per year, the sheep in Mongolia can yield six catties.

The South Manchuria Railway has made many experiments all of which confirm this fact.

Besides, the wool is many times better than that of Australia. Its low cost and high quality combined with its substance in quantity make Mongolia a potential source of great wealth. When this industry is enhanced by the facilities of railway department, the total production will increase at least ten-fold.

England Must Not Know

We have withheld this knowledge from the rest of the world, lest England and America compete with us for it. Therefore, we must first of all control the transportation and then develop wool industry. By the time the other countries know about it, it would be already too late to do anything.

With this railroad in our hands, we can develop the wool industry not only for our own use, but also for exporting to Europe and America. Furthermore, we can realize our desire of joining hand with Mongolia. This railway is a matter of life and death to our policy in Mongolia. Without it Japan can have no part in Mongolia's development.

Russia Again

Suolun-Tanan Railway: This line is 136 miles long and will cost Yen 10,000,000. Looking into the future of Japan, a war with Russia over the plains of north Manchuria is inevitable.

From a military standpoint, this line will not only enable us to threaten Russia's rear but also to curtail its reinforcement for North Manchuria.

"The Chinese Nuisance"

But the danger of this line is that it might provide facilities for Chinese migration into a new region and spoil our own policy.

Look at our experience with the South Manchuria Railway. Hasn't that served the interest of China? The redeeming feature, however, is the fact that the land and mines along this railway are in the possession of Mongolian princes.

If we can gain possession of them first, we need have no worries about Chinese migration. Moreover we can make the princes pass laws discriminating against Chinese immigrants. When life there is made miserable for the Chinese, they will naturally leave for places afar. There are other methods to bar the Chinese.

Only if we try hard enough, no Chinese footprints will be found on Mongolian territory.

Schedule Of Conquest

Now they can go on the trunk line directly from Chingchinkang via the Siberian Railway. When we are in control of this great system of transportation, we need make no secret of our designs on Manchuria and Mongolia according to the third step of Meiji's plans. The Yamato Race is then embarked on the journey of world conquest. According to the last will of Meiji our first step was to conquer Formosa and the second step to annex Korea. Having completed both of these, the third step is yet to be taken and that is the conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia and China. When this is done, the rest of Asia including the South Sea Islands will be at our feet. That these injunctions have not been carried out even now, is a crime of your bumble servants.

U. S. an Obstacle

For the sake of self-preservation, and as a warning to China and the rest of the world, we must fight America sometime. The American Asiatic Squadron stationed in the Philippines is but within a stone's throw from Tsushima and Sanchima. If they send submarines to these quarters, our supply of foodstuffs and raw materials from Manchuria and Mongolia will be cut off entirely. But if the Kirin Hueining Railway is completed, we shall have a large circuit line through all Manchuria and Korea and a small circuit line through North Manchuria. We shall have access in all directions gaining freedom for the transportation of soldiers and supplies alike. When our supplies are transported through this line to our ports at Tsuruga and

Niigaya enemy submarines will have no way of getting into the Japanese and Korean straits. We are then entirely free from interference.

"Belgium Of Far East"

This is what is meant by making the Japanese sea the centre of our national defence. Having secured the free transportation of food and raw materials, we shall have nothing to fear either from the American navy because of its size, or the Chinese or Russian Army because of their number. Incidentally, we shall be in a position to suppress the Koreans. Let me reiterate the fact that if we want to carry out the New Continental Policy, we must build this line. Manchuria and Mongolia are the undeveloped countries in the East. Over this territory we shall have to go to war with Soviet Russia sooner or later. The battle ground will be Kirin.

Manchuria and Mongolia are the Belgium of the Far East. In the Great War, Belgium was the battlefield. In our wars with Russia and the United States, we must make Manchuria and Mongolia suffer the ravages. As it is evident that we have to violate the neutrality of these territories, we cannot help building the Kirin-Hueining and Changhin-Talai Railways in order that we may be militarily prepared. In time of war we can easily increase our forces and in time of peace we can migrate thousands upon thousands people into this region and work on the rice fields. This line offers the key to economic development as well as to military conquests.

Killing Chinese Industry

1. No amount of China's agitation can matter in the least to our industrial developments.

2. Furthermore, we ought to assist our people in oil business by extending to them financial credit, so that the oil industry of the Chinese will be forced out of the market.

3. However, the Chinese are adepts in learning our tricks and beating us at our own game. We have yet found no way by which we can compete successfully with them in oil-making and railroad transportation.

4. Another thing we should be careful about is teaching the Chinese our industrial methods. In the past we have established factories in Manchuria and Mongolia and carried on industries near the source of raw materials. This gave to the Chinese the opportunity of learning our secrets and establishing competitive factories of their own.

Hereafter we should ship the raw materials back home and do the manufacturing there, and then ship the finished products for sale in China and other countries.

In this way we shall gain in three ways: (1) provide work for our unemployed at home, (2) prevent the influx of the Chinese into Manchuria and Mongolia, and (3) make it impossible for the Chinese to imitate our new Industrial methods.

5. Because of the handicaps of the monetary system, people in Central and South China always buy beans and bean cakes from their one people. We have no chance against them. In consequence, we cannot conquer the whole of China.

6. With the silver standard in existence, the Chinese Government can increase their notes to counteract our gold notes. Consequently, our banks will fail to carry out the mission of extending our country's influence.

7. We can acquire rights in real property and natural resources and defeat the credit of the Chinese silver notes. The Chinese will be unable to compete with us; and the currency of the whole of Manchuria and Mongolia will be in our control.

The Railroad To Political Power

The South Manchuria Railway Company functions in Manchuria as the Governor General of Korea did there before the annexation.

In order to build up our new Continental Empire, we must change the organization of the Company so as to break away from the present difficulties. The functions of this Company are varied and important. Every change of cabinet involves a change of the administration of the South Manchurian Railway, and conversely every activity of the South Manchurian Railway also has important consequences on the Cabinet. This is because the South Manchuria Railway is semi-governmental with final authority resting with the Cabinet.

For this reason, the Powers invariably look upon this railway as a purely political organ rather than a business enterprise. Whenever a new move is made for the development of Manchuria and Mongolia, the Powers would invoke the Nine-Power Treaty to thwart the plan of the South Manchuria Railway. This has greatly damaged the interests of our Empire.

Blinding The World

On account of these reasons, the South Manchuria Railway should be radically re-organised. All appurtenant enterprises which are profit-making should be made independent companies under the wings of the South Manchuria Railway, so that we may take determined steps in the conquest of Manchuria and Mongolia.

On the other hand, Chinese, Europeans and Americans should be invited to invest money in the South Manchuria Railway on the condition that we have a controlling share of its stocks. In that event the control of the Company is in our hands, and our mission from the empire can be discharged more vigorously. In short, by inviting international participation in the South Manchuria Railway, we can blind the eyes of the world. Having achieved that, we can push our advance in Manchuria and Mongolia at our will, free ourselves from the restraint of the Nine-Power Treaty and strengthen our activities in that country with foreign capital.

When we can have sufficient iron and steel for our own Industries, we shall have acquired the secret of becoming the leading nation in the world. Thus strengthened, we can conquer both the East and the West. In order to attain this goal, the iron works must be separated from the South Manchuria Railway. Such unified control will keep China from preventing us from becoming self-sufficient in iron and steel.

Wanted More Petroleum

Another important commodity which we lack is petroleum. It is also essential to the existence of a nation. Fortunately, there lie in the Fushun Coal Mine 5,200,000,000 tons of shale oil, from every hundred catties of which six catties of crude oil may be extracted.

By means of American machinery, every hundred catties will yield nine catties of refined oil good for motor cars and battleships.

At present Japan imports from foreign countries 700,000 tons of mineral oils every year valued at Yen 69,00,000. Those figures are on the increase. As there are 50 billion tons of shale in the Fushun Mines, the yield calculated at five per cent would be 250,000,000 tons; at nine per cent, 450,000,000 tons of oil. Taking an average of the two, the yield would be 350,000,000 tons and assuming the value of the oil to be fifteen yen a ton, the oil shale contained in the Fushun Mine would bring us Yen 5,250,000,000.

This will be a great industrial revolution for us. From the standpoint of national defence and national wealth, petroleum is a great factor. Having the iron and petroleum of Manchuria, our army and navy will become impregnable walls of defence. That Manchuria and Mongolia are the heart and liver of our empire is a truthful saying. For the sake of our empire, we should be congratulated.

As to Cultural undertakings such as hospitals, schools and philanthropic institutions, they are our signal towers in the advance into Manchuria and Mongolia. They are the institutions for spreading our national prestige and power. More specifically, they are the basis for rights and privileges.

The slogan of "Equal Opportunity" helps us to get foreign loans as well as to dispel suspicion of our designs in North Manchuria. At any rate, we shall need foreign capital to develop our continental empire. When the South Manchurian Railway is open to foreign investments, the powers will be glad to lend more to us and China can do nothing to block it. This is an excellent way to further our plans in Manchuria. We should lose no time in doing it.

Break Russo-Chinese Friendship

Moreover, both Russia and ourselves have been increasing armaments. On account of geographical positions, we have conflicting interests.

If we want to obtain the wealth of North Manchuria and to build up the new Continent according to the will of Emperor Meiji, we must

rush our people into North Manchuria first and seek to break the friendship between Russia and China.

Organised Exploitation Of Manchuria

Our exploitation of Manchuria takes a variety of forms. Often those in authority take such different views that even the most profitable undertaking for our country cannot be carried out.

Because of the lack of speed, our secrets are often exposed and are used as propaganda material by the Mukden Government much to the detriment of our country in international relations. Whenever a new undertaking is projected in Manchuria and Mongolia, it will become the subject of discussion of tens of meetings and conferences in Dairen. Not only the approval of the four-headed government there is necessary, but also the sanction of the cabinet at home has to be secured before anything can be carried out.

Because of all these obstacles, any undertaking will take months and months before any definite results are seen. In the process it is possible for the Chinese to employ Japanese adventurers and to steal our secrets so that before a project is launched it is often reported to the Chinese and in turn it becomes common property of the world. We are suddenly brought under the check of the world opinion, and more than once we have incurred hardship in putting into practice our policy towards Manchuria and Mongolia.

Furthermore, the opposition party has also made capital out of what they find in these regions in order to attack the government. All these have many serious results in connection with our diplomatic relations.

Henceforth, we must change our practice in order to proceed adroitly. The centre of control must be in Tokyo. That will (1) ensure secrecy, (2) stop China from knowing beforehand our plans, (3) avoid the suspicions of the powers before a thing is done, (4) unify the multiple control in Manchuria and (5) bring the government agencies in Manchuria and Mongolia in close touch with the Central government so as to deal with China with undivided power.

For these reasons we should follow the original plan for absorbing Korea laid down by Ito and Katsura and establish a Colonial Department the special function of which is to look after expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia.

The administration of Formosa, Korea and Saghalien Island may be its nominal function, but our expansion in Manchuria and Mongolia is its real purpose. This will blind the eyes of the world on the one hand and forestall the disclosure of secrets on the other.

Fooling International Opinion

It is my personal conviction that the fact that the absorption of Korea could not be effected during the administration of Ito was due to the lack of a special office for control. Therefore, there were always differences of opinion and secret policies were impossible. Such a state of affairs played into the hand of international obstruction and Korean opposition.

Then a number of propagandists went to Europe and America as well as Korea itself, declaring that we firmly respected the independence of Korea and had no designs on an inch of Korean territory. The result of their work was the recovery of international confidence. After that, a colonial department was established under the pretence of Formosa. Then we seized the opportunity and the object was gained.

It goes to prove that in order to undertake colonisation and immigration, a special office for it is absolutely necessary. Moreover, the creation of a new empire in Mongolia and Manchuria is of utmost importance to the existence of Japan. It is necessary to have a special colonial office in order that the politics in that vast territory may be controlled from Tokyo.

The officers in the field should only take orders; they should not interfere with the execution of policies where they please. This will ensure secrecy; and the opposition nation have no chance of getting into secrets of our colonial activities. Then our movement regarding Mongolia and Manchuria will be beyond the reach of international public opinion, and we shall be free from interferences.

British War Cabinet's Proposals

For Creation of an Indian Union

Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission

"The Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the British War Cabinet with party arrived at Karachi by air on the 22nd. March and at New Delhi on the 23rd. March to discuss with the leaders of Indian opinion conclusions which the War Cabinet have unitedly reached in regard to India, and to ascertain whether these conclusions will be generally acceptable to Indian opinion. Sir Stafford, who arrived by air from England, was accompanied by Mr. F. F. Turnbull (of the India Office and Secretary to the Secretary of State), temporarily attached to Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission, Mr. A. D. K. Owen and Mr. Graham Spry. Messrs. Owen and Spry are personal assistants to Sir Stafford and members of the War Cabinet staff. Mr. Owen is an economist and was Secretary, Political and Economic Planning, a non-official organisation, and is an expert on social services. Mr. Spry is a Canadian businessman in London.

Cripps At Delhi Press Conference

At a Press Conference in New Delhi on March 23, shortly after his arrival at the Imperial Capital, Sir Stafford Cripps said:

"Obviously it would not be appropriate for me to say anything further about the precise nature of the proposals at this stage beyond the indications which were given by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. Their chief object is to set out finally and with precision the practical steps which His Majesty's Government propose as the method of fulfilling their past promises of self-government to the Indian peoples. We believe that a generally acceptable line of practical action can be laid down now, and that thus the main obstacle to India's full co-operation in her own defence will have been removed."

"A Great Friend Of India"

"We feel confident that with the political atmosphere thus clarified the leading political organisations will be enabled to put forward their maximum effort in preserving their country from the brutalities of aggression. How best their effective participation in the counsels of their country can be immediately arranged will be another matter for discussion.

"I have come here because I am, as I have always been, a great friend and admirer of India and because I want to play my part as a member of the War Cabinet in reaching a final settlement of the political difficulties which have long vexed our relationships. Once these questions are resolved, and I hope they may be quickly and satisfactorily resolved, the Indian peoples will be enabled to associate themselves fully and freely not only with Great Britain and the other Dominions but with our great Allies, Russia, China, and the United States of America so that together we can assert our determination to preserve the liberty of the peoples of the world.

"There is no time to lose and no time for long discussions. I am sure that in the circumstances of today the leaders of the main parties and interests in India will be ready to take quick decisions.

"My intention is to stay at Delhi for two weeks, for there are many urgent and important matters to be attended to in England, and I believe that within that time, with energy and goodwill, the essentials of success can be achieved. During so short a visit I shall, of course, not be able to travel about in the country and see everyone I should like to meet. I hope that my friends in India will understand that my time is short and will forgive me if I am unable to see them before I leave.

"My association in the past has been more close with my friends in the Congress than with the members of other parties or communities, but I am fully impressed with the need in any scheme for the future of India to meet the deep anxieties which undoubtedly exist among the Muslims and the other communities. I shall therefore embark upon my task with a mind equally open to all points of view—Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, and others. I believe that the proposals of the War Cabinet will appeal to the Indian leaders since they are the unanimous

result of the deliberations of a body of people who were known in the past to have widely differing outlooks upon the Indian question.

Appeal To Press

"I shall be spending the first two days with the Viceroy, who has cordially welcomed my mission, and shall then have the opportunity of meeting the Commander-in-Chief and other members of the Executive Council and the provincial governors. The Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, the Chamber of Princes and the Hindu Mahasabha have been asked to nominate their own representatives to hold discussions with me, and representative of the Sikhs, the Liberal Party, and the Scheduled Castes have also been invited to meet me. I shall of course see other representative people including provincial premiers.

"I am confident that both the Indian Press and the Press in other interested countries will give their help in the great cause of Indian self-government and defence and will not by untimely speculation or by the spreading of uninformed and illconsidered rumours prejudice the chance of a successful settlement of the outstanding issues."

British War Cabinet's Proposals

The following are the conclusions of the British War Cabinet which Sir Stafford Cripps brought with him for discussion with Indian leaders :—

His Majesty's Government having considered the anxieties expressed in this country and in India as to the fulfilment of promises made in regard to the future of India have decided to lay down in precise and clear terms the steps which they propose shall be taken for the earliest possible realisation of self-government in India. The object is the creation of a new Indian Union which shall constitute a Dominion associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs.

His Majesty's Government, therefore, make the following Declaration :—

(a) Immediately upon the cessation of hostilities steps shall be taken to set up in India in the manner described hereafter an elected body charged with the task of framing a new Constitution for India.

(b) Provision shall be made, as set out below, for the participation of Indian States in the Constitution-making body

(c) His Majesty's Government undertake to accept and implement forthwith the Constitution so framed subject only to :—

(i) The right of any province of British India that is not prepared to accept the new constitution to retain its present constitutional position, provision being made for its subsequent accession if it so decides.

Complete Transfer of Responsibility

With such non-acceding provinces, should they so desire, His Majesty's Government will be prepared to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union and arrived at by a procedure analogous to that here laid down.

(ii) The signing of a treaty which shall be negotiated between His Majesty's Government and the Constitution-making body. This treaty will cover all necessary matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands ; it will make provision, in accordance with undertakings given by His Majesty's Government, for the protection of racial and religious minorities ; but will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member States of the British Commonwealth.

Whether or not an Indian State elects to adhere to the Constitution it will be necessary to negotiate a revision of its treaty arrangements so far as this may be required in the new situation.

(d) The Constitution-making body shall be composed as follows unless the leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities agree upon some other form before the end of hostilities :—

Immediately upon the result being known of provincial elections which will be necessary at the end of hostilities, the entire membership of the Lower Houses of Provincial Legislatures shall as a single electoral college proceed to the election of the Constitution-making body by the system of

proportional representation. This new body shall be in number about 110th of the number of the electoral college.

Indian States shall be invited to appoint representatives in the same proportion to their total population as in the case of representatives of British India as a whole and with the same powers as British Indian members.

(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India

Cripps' Broadcast On The Proposals

The following is the text of the broadcast talk by Sir Stafford Cripps from the Delhi station of the All India Radio on March 30, 1942 :

I want tonight to give you a short explanation of the document which was published in the Press this morning, and which gives the proposal of the British War Cabinet for the future of India, a document unanimously agreed upon by every member of that Cabinet.

First of all you will want to know what object we had in view. Well, we wanted to make it quite clear, and beyond any possibility of doubt or question, that the British Government and the British people desire the Indian peoples to have full self-government, with a Constitution as free in every respect as our own in Great Britain or as of any of the great Dominion members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. *In the words of the draft Declaration, India would be, "associated with the United Kingdom and other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown but equal to them in every respect, in no way subordinate in any aspect of its domestic or external affairs."*

There is, however, an existing Constitution which regulates the Central and Provincial Governments of India and everyone agrees that in these troublous times we cannot here and now set about forging a new Constitution. It is far too important a matter for the future of India to be improvised in a hurried way.

The principle on which these proposals are based is that the new Constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves. So we propose that immediately hostilities are ended a Constitution-making body should be set up consisting of elected representatives from British India, and if the Indian States wish, *as we hope they will, to become part of the new Indian Union*, they too will be invited to send their representatives to this Constitution-making body, though, if they do, that will not, of itself, bind them to become members of the Union. That is the broad outline of the future.

Defence of India

Now what is to happen in the meantime ?

The British people are determined to do their utmost for the defence of India and we are confident that in that great task the Indian peoples of all races and religions are eager to play their full part. Let me read to you what the statement says on this point—

"(e) During the critical period which now faces India and until the new Constitution can be framed, His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for, and retain the control and direction of, the defence of India as part of their world war effort, but the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India. His Majesty's Government desire and invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. Thus they will be enabled to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task which is vital and essential for the future freedom of India." So ends the document.

The Governor-General whose task it is to form the Central Government of

India has done his utmost to assist me with my mission, and I am certain that the Indian leaders can rely upon him to find the best way in consultation with them for carrying out the general principle laid down in the clause that I have just read to you.

"The Most Vital Question"

So much for the general framework of the proposals. But as we all know, the most vital and difficult question is that which concerns the interests of the various communities amongst the Indian peoples.

I will not attempt to go into any of the historical origins of these difficulties; let us instead look at them as a present fact. In the great sub-continent of India there is more than one people, there are many peoples and races as there are in the great sub-continent of Russia. Our object is to give to the Indian peoples full self-government with complete freedom as to how they will devise and organise their own Constitution.

There are those who claim that India should form a single united country, there are others who say it should be divided up into two, three or more separated countries. There are those who claim that Provincial Autonomy should be very wide with but few centrally controlled federal services; others stress the need for centralisation in view of the growing complexity of economic development.

These and many other and various ideas are worthy to be explored and debated, but it is for the Indian peoples and not for any outside authority, to decide under which of these forms India will in the future govern herself.

If the Indian peoples ask our help it will of course be gladly given but it is for you, the Indian peoples, to discuss and decide upon your future Constitution. We shall look on with deep interest and hope that your wisdom will guide you truly in this great adventure.

We ask you therefore to come together all religions and races—in a Constitution-making body as soon as hostilities are over to frame your own Constitution.

We have specified the form which that body will take, unless, and this is an important point, the leaders of the principal sections of Indian opinion agree between themselves before the end of hostilities upon some other and better form.

Single Constitution

That Constitution-making body will have as its object the framing of a single Constitution for the whole of India—that is, of British India together with such of the Indian States as may decide to join it.

But we realise this very simple fact. If you want to persuade a number of people who are inclined to be antagonistic to enter the same room, it is unwise to tell them that once they go in there is no way out—they are to be for ever locked in together. It is much wiser to tell them they can go in, and if they find they can't come to a common decision, then there is nothing to prevent those who wish, from leaving again by another door. They are much more likely all to go in if they have knowledge that they can by their free will go out again if they cannot agree.

Well, that is what we say to the provinces of India. Come together to frame a common Constitution—if you find after all your discussion and all the give and take of a Constitution-making assembly that you cannot overcome your differences and that some provinces are still not satisfied with the constitution, then such provinces can go out and remain out if they wish and just the same degree of self-government and freedom will be available for them as for the Union itself, that is to say, complete self-government.

We hope and expect to see an Indian Union strong and united, because it is founded upon the free consent of all its peoples, but it is not for us, Britishers, to dictate to you, the Indian peoples; you will work out and decide that problem for yourselves.

Appeal To Indian Leaders

So we provide the means and the road by which you can attain that form of the absolute and united self-government that you desire at the earliest possible moment. In the past we have waited for the different Indian communities to come to a common decision as to how a new Constitution for a self-governing India should be framed and because there has been no agreement amongst the Indian leaders, the British Government have been accused by some of using

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act to delay the granting of freedom to India. We are now giving the
that has been asked for and it is in the hands of Indians and Indians only
er they will accept that lead and so attain their own freedom. If they fail
cept this opportunity the responsibility for that failure must rest with them.
We ask you to accept this fulfilment of our pledges in the past and it is
request that I have put before your leaders in the document which you have
seen.

As regards the position of minority communities within the new Indian
ioa, I am confident that the constitution-making body will make just provision
their protection. But in view of the undertakings given to these minorities
His Majesty's Government in the past we propose that in the Treaty, which,
nder the draft Declaration, will be concluded between His Majesty's Government
nd the Constitution-making body, the new Indian Union should undertake to
protect the rights of these minorities. If there should be any non-acceding
provinces a similar treaty provision would be made in respect of minority communi-
ties within their borders.

I have already indicated to you the position as to the immediate future.

The C-in-C's Position

I know that His Excellency the Viceroy has the greatest hope that the
acceptance in principle of this document by the leaders of Indian opinion will
make it possible for him to start forthwith upon the consultations which will
enable him to implement the principle laid down in the last paragraph of the
document which I have already read over to you.

It contains one essential reservation—that in respect of the responsibility for
defence. This reservation does not mean that the Governor-General and his
Executive Council will, or indeed could, be excluded from taking an effective share
in the counsels for the defence of India. In this wide-flung war, defence cannot
be localised in a single country and must permeate the activities
of every department of Government and must demand from every department
the fullest co-operation. If His Majesty's Government are to take full responsibility
for the conduct of the naval, military and air defence of India, as it is their
duty to do, then the defence of India must be dealt with by them as part of
the world war effort in which they are now engaged, and the direction of that
defence must rest in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief under the War Cabinet
and their highest staff officers. But, as I have already pointed out, the Government
of India must also have an effective share in the defence counsels and so we
have decided that the Commander-in-Chief must retain his position as a Member
of the Executive Council.

In order, however, that India may have her full voice in this central control
of strategy, defensive and offensive, not only in India itself but in all the
inter-related theatres of war, we have invited the appointment of a representative
Indian to the War Cabinet and to the Pacific Council of the United Nations—
that is one of the ways in which India will have her full say in the counsels
of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations as an equal partner. And
when it comes to the making of the peace, India will appoint her own representa-
tives to the Peace Conference side by side with those of the other free nations
and so make her contribution to the building of a new world order.

Definite And Precise

I am confident that nothing further or more complete could be done towards
the immediate realisation of the just claims and demands of the Indian peoples.
Our proposals are definite and precise. If they were to be rejected by the leaders
of Indian opinion, there would be neither the time nor the opportunity to
reconsider this matter till after the war and it would be a bitter blow to the
friends of India all over the world.

I consider it a high honour that it has fallen to my lot to be the messenger
of the War Cabinet in a matter of such vital and far-reaching importance to
the future world order. I personally am convinced of the soundness and complete-
ness of these proposals, and I have asked your leaders to give to them an
ungrudging acceptance.

There will still be difficulties perhaps—the result of the distrust which has
grown up between us in past years, but I ask you to turn your back upon
that past, to accept our hand, our hand of friendship and trust and allow us to
join with you for the time being in working to establish and complete your

freedom and your self-government. This, as you may know, has long been a cause dear to my heart and it is with the greatest hopes that I look to the events of the next few days which may, if wisely handled, seal for ever your freedom and our friendship.

Your country today is in peril from a cruel aggressor, an aggressor whose hand has soaked in blood and suffering great areas of China with its friendly and democratic peoples, an aggressor allied to those nations who have deluged with tragedy the once peaceful plains of Russia. Against those aggressors we and the Allied Nations will fight to victory.

The outlook is overcast for the moment but, believe me, I have no doubt as to the final result. Russia, the United States, China and Great Britain have resources which the Axis and its allies can never defeat.

We stand by our duty, growing out of our past historical associations, to give you every protection that we can, but with your willing help and co-operation this can be made more effective and more powerful.

Let us enter upon this primary task of the defence of India in the now sure knowledge that when we emerge from the fire and travail of war it will be to build a free India upon foundations wrought by the Indian peoples themselves, and to forge a long, lasting and free friendship between our two peoples. Regrets and recriminations as to the past can have no place beside the confident and sure hopes of the future, when a Free India will take her rightful place as a co-worker with the other free nations in that world reconstruction which alone can make the toil and suffering of the war worth while. Let the dead past bury its dead! And let us march together side by side through the night of high endeavour and courage to the already waking dawn of a new world of liberty for all the peoples.

Resolution Of The Congress Working Committee

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress was held at Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1942. It passed the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British Government. This resolution was however not released to the press till April 10th after the final failure of the negotiations. It was communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps on April 2nd.

The Working Committee have given their full and earnest consideration to the proposals made by the British War Cabinet in regard to India and the elucidation thereof by Sir Stafford Cripps. These proposals, which have been made at the very last hour because of the compulsion of events, have to be considered not only in relation to India's demand for independence, but more especially in the present grave war crisis, with a view to meeting effectively the perils and dangers that confront India and envelop the world.

The Congress has repeatedly stated, ever since the commencement of the War in September 1939, that the people of India would line themselves with the progressive forces of the world and assume full responsibility to face the new problems and shoulder the new burdens that had arisen, and it asked for the necessary conditions to enable them to do so to be created. An essential condition was the freedom of India, for only the realisation of present freedom could light the flame which would illumine millions of hearts and move them to action. At the last meeting of the All India Congress Committee, after the commencement of the War in the Pacific, it was stated that: 'Only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the larger causes that are emerging from the storm of war.'

The British War Cabinet's new proposals relate principally to the future upon the cessation of hostilities. The Committee, while recognising that self-determination for the people of India is accepted in principle in that uncertain future, regret that this is fettered and circumscribed and certain provisions have been introduced which gravely imperil the development of a free and united nation and the establishment of a democratic State. Even the constitution-making body is so constituted that the people's right to self-determination is vitiated by the introduction of non-representative elements. The people of India have as a whole clearly demanded full independence and the Congress has repeatedly declared that no other status except that of independence for the whole of India could be agreed to or could meet the essential requirements of the present situation. The Committee recognise that future independence may be implicit in the proposals but the accompanying provisions and restrictions are such that real freedom may well become an illusion.

The complete ignoring of the ninety millions of the people of the Indian States and their treatment as commodities at the disposal of their rulers is a negation of both democracy and self-determination. While the representation of an Indian State in the constitution-making body is fixed on a population basis, the people of the States have no voice in choosing those representatives, nor are they to be consulted at any stage, while decisions vitally affecting them are being taken. Such States may in many ways become barriers to the growth of Indian freedom, enclaves where foreign authority still prevails and where the possibility of maintaining foreign armed forces has been stated to be a likely contingency, and a perpetual menace to the freedom of the people of the State as well as of the rest of India.

The acceptance beforehand of the novel principle of non-accession for a province is also a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity and an apple of discord likely to generate growing trouble in the provinces, and which may well lead to further difficulties in the way of the Indian States merging themselves in the Indian Union. The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will. While recognising this principle, the Committee feel that every effort should be made to create conditions which would help the different units in developing a common and co-operative national life. The acceptance of the principle inevitably involves that no changes should be made which result in fresh problems being created and compulsion being exercised on other substantial groups within that area. Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union, consistently with a strong national State. The proposal now made on the part of the British War Cabinet encourages and will lead to attempts at separation at the very inception of a union and thus create friction just when the utmost co-operation and goodwill are most needed. This proposal has been presumably made to meet a communal demand, but it will have other consequences also and lead politically reactionary and obscurantist groups among different communities to create trouble and divert public attention from the vital issues before the country.

Any proposal concerning the future of India must demand attention and scrutiny, but in today's grave crisis, it is the present that counts, and even proposals for the future are important in so far as they affect the present. The committee have necessarily attached the greatest importance to this aspect of the question, and on this ultimately depends what advice they should give to those who look to them for guidance. For the present the British War Cabinet's proposals are vague and altogether incomplete, and it would appear that no vital changes in the present structure are contemplated. It has been made clear that the Defence of India will in any event remain under British control. At any time defence is a vital subject; during war time it is all important and covers almost every sphere of life and administration. To take away defence from the sphere of responsibility at this stage is to reduce that responsibility to a farce and a nullity, and to make it perfectly clear that India is not going to be free in any way and her Government is not going to function as a free and independent government during the pendency of the War. The Committee would repeat that an essential and fundamental pre-requisite for the assumption of responsibility by the Indian people in the present, is their realisation as a fact that they are free and are in charge of maintaining and defending their freedom. What is most wanted is the enthusiastic response of the people which cannot be evoked without the fullest trust in them and the devolution of responsibility on them in the matter of defence. It is only thus that even at this grave eleventh hour it may be possible to galvanise the people of India to rise to the height of the occasion. It is manifest that the present Government of India, as well as its provincial agencies, are lacking in competence, and are incapable of shouldering the burden of India's defence. It is only the people of India, through their popular representatives, who may shoulder this burden worthily. But that can only be done by present freedom, and full responsibility being cast upon them.

The Committee, therefore, are unable to accept the proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet.

Note : Sir Stafford Cripps, after receipt of the Working Committee resolution had an interview with the Congress President. With reference to the resolution

Sir Stafford Cripps told the Congress President that he took it that the resolution will not be immediately released to the press. He also told him that he would consult His Majesty's Government 'as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism' of your Working Committee that under clause (e) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative India.'

Azad-Cripps Correspondence

The full text of the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps in connection with the British Government's draft declaration is given below :

New Delhi, March 30, 1942

My dear Maulana Sahib

I had the opportunity of a short talk with H. E. the Viceroy last night, during which he discussed with me his views as to the implementation of clause (e) of the draft declaration.

It must be clearly understood that the final definition of the division of responsibilities between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India is as stated in paragraph (e) of the document. I propose to make the position as to this as clear as I can in my broadcast tonight.

The Viceroy would be prepared to consult with Indian leaders on this basis to see whether it were possible to designate an Indian to some office connected with the Government of India's defence responsibilities without in any way impinging upon the function and duties of the Commander-in-Chief either in his capacity as supreme commander of the armed forces in India or as the member of the Executive Council in charge of Defence.

I give you this information as you put the question to me when last I had the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

The Congress President received wires from Shri Shanti Kumar Narottam Morarjee and others drawing his attention to the fact that while Sir Stafford Cripps had invited the representatives of British Commercial interests for a discussion with him he had sent no such invitation to the Indian Commercial interests. The President sent a copy of the wire from Shri Morarjee to Sir Stafford Cripps and invited his attention to the just complaint of the Indian Commercial community. Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following reply :

New Delhi, March 31 1942

My Dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter of to-day. The reply which I gave at my press conference, and to which Mr. Morarjee refers in the telegram you have sent me, was I assure you not intended to convey any lack of appreciation of the importance of Indian Commercial interest. I was dealing with the position in regard to European Commercial interests if the proposals which I have been discussing with you and the other leaders are given effect, and I said that I had seen representatives of the European community because the interests of that community might be affected. After all, the Europeans are a minority element in India who are entitled to be heard in such discussions as at present, not only in regard to their business interests but on other matters. Indian business interests will presumably be able to make their voice heard in the Constitution making Body through those members of the Provincial legislature who represent their interests, and then would be the time and place at which their interests would have to receive consideration. It does not seem to me that it would really be helpful to the discussions I have come here to hold to see Mr. Morarjee although I would have been happy to do so if I had been able to stay here longer than I can on this occasion.

I am exceedingly sorry that my letter of yesterday should have been delayed in reaching you. My Secretary took it to Birla House in the belief that the Working Committee was meeting there and understood that it would be immediately communicated to you.

Yours very sincerely

(Sd.) Stafford Cripps

New Delhi, April 1, 1942

Dear Maulana Sahib

I understand from the Hindu press that difficulties are still in the mind of Congress as to the question of the responsibility for the Defence of India.

I have done what I could to clarify this point but as I think it would be a tragedy if negotiations were to break down upon any misunderstanding of the position I should like to suggest that I should ask the Commander-in-Chief to meet yourself and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with myself in order that he may explain fully to you the technical difficulties of the situation and in order that you may make to him any suggestions you wish as to the division of responsibilities in this sphere of government. Unfortunately he is at the moment away at Calcutta but he is expected back on Saturday next at the latest (and possibly earlier). If you consider this a helpful suggestion—as I hope you will—I will ask him the moment he returns whether he will be prepared to attend such a meeting and I do not anticipate that there will be any difficulty about it.

I am sure you will realise that I do not want to be met with an impasse if there is any reasonable way out.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps
New Delhi, April 1, 1942.

My Dear Sir Stafford

I have your letter of today's date, for which I thank you.

If you so desire it, I shall gladly meet the Commander-in-chief and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will, I hope, be able to accompany me.

My Committee have already arrived at a decision in regard to the proposals communicated by you to us. It was my intention to send this to you this evening, or possibly to take it over in person, in case you wished to discuss any point contained in it. This decision naturally covers other points also apart from Defence. I hope to send it to you some time today. If you wish to meet me again in regard to this I shall gladly meet you.

In your letter you refer to the "Hindu Press." I do not know what exactly you mean by this.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad.
New Delhi, April 1, 1942

My dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you very much for your letter.

I will make the arrangement for the meeting with the Commander-in-chief the moment he returns.

As to the document you are sending over, I understand this expresses the views of the Congress Working Committee upon the proposals, but that it is not intended to be a definite and final statement as to the Congress attitude, in view of our meeting again.

I should be most grateful if you could come over and see me with regard to it tomorrow morning at 10 A. M.

I apologise for the reference to the "Hindu Press." I was referring to the Hindustan Times amongst other papers.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps
New Delhi, April 2, 1942

Dear Maulana Sahib

Mr. Jinnah has asked me to give him a clear picture of the method by which I have proposed that a Province should decide whether it will or will not join an Indian union set up in accordance with the procedure laid down in His Majesty's Government draft Declaration. I have told him in reply that the proposition which I have put orally to him and to the other leaders is that a Province should reach its decision by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution that the Province should join the Indian Union, and that if the majority for accession is less than 60%, the minority would have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population.

I explained this to you at our first meeting, but as I have written to Mr. Jinnah in this sense, I thought it desirable to give you a similar letter.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps
April 3, 1942

Dear Maulana Sahib

I have now been able to see His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and he will be very glad to meet you and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to discuss the position

regarding Defence. Subject to your convenience, 6 o'clock tomorrow evening would suit General Wavell and if you can manage this, I suggest that you should come here at 10 minutes to 6 p. m., and I will go up with you to the Commander-in-Chief's Office.

If there are any specific points of detail about organisation which you wish to raise, I should be very much obliged if you could let me have a note of them tonight or first thing tomorrow morning so that the Commander-in-Chief can consider them before the meeting.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

After consulting His Majesty's Government on clause (e) of the declaration Sir Stafford Cripps sent the following letter to the Congress President :—

New Delhi, April 7, 1942

My dear Maulana Sahib

I have, as I promised when I last saw you, consulted His Majesty's Government as to what further step could be taken in order to meet the criticism of your Working Committee that under clause (e) of the draft declaration the defence of India would not fall to be administered by a representative Indian. Although, as the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities, His Majesty's Government are anxious to give representative Indians the maximum possible participation in the Government during that period, in accordance with the principle laid down in clause (e) of the draft declaration.

I have explained to you the technical difficulties with regard to the position of the Commander-in-Chief and will not here reiterate them.

I have also pointed out that all those main aspects of the defence of India which at present fall under the care of other members of the Executive (e. g., Civil Defence, Supply, Home Affairs Communications, etc., etc.) will if the scheme is accepted, be administered by representative members in the new National Government.

His Majesty's Government are however anxious to do their utmost to meet the wishes of the Indian people, and to demonstrate their complete trust in the co-operative effort of the two peoples, British and Indian, which they hope may reinforce the Defence of India.

They also appreciate the force of the arguments that have been put forward as to the necessities of an effective appeal to the Indian peoples for their own defence.

I am therefore authorised to propose to you as a way out of the present difficulties that,

(a) The Commander-in-Chief should retain a seat in the Viceroy's Executive Council as "War Member" and should retain his full control over all the war activities of the armed forces in India subject to the control of His Majesty's Government and the War Cabinet upon which body a representative Indian should sit with equal powers in all matters relating to the Defence of India. Membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

(b) An Indian representative member would be added to the Viceroy's Executive, who would take over those sections of the Department of Defence which can organisationally be separated immediately from the Commander-in-Chief's War Department and which are specified under head (i) of the annexure. In addition this member would take over the Defence Co-ordination Department which is at present directly under the Viceroy, and certain other important functions of the Government of India which are directly related to Defence and which do not fall under any of the other existing departments and which are specified under head (ii) of the annexure.

His Majesty's Government very much hope, as I personally hope, that this arrangement will enable the Congress to come into the scheme so that if other important bodies of Indian opinion are also willing it will be possible for His Excellency the Viceroy to embark forthwith upon the task of forming the new National Government in consultation with the leaders of the Indian opinion.

Yours sincerely

(Sd.) R. Stafford Cripps

Annexure

(i) Matters now dealt with in the Defence Department which would be transferred to a defence Co-ordination Department.

(a) Public relations.

(b) Demobilization and post-War reconstruction.
 (c) Petroleum Officer, whose functions are to calculate the requirements of, and make provision for, all the petroleum products required for the Army, Navy and Air Force, and for the Civil Departments including Storage and distribution.

(d) Indian representation on the Eastern Group Supply Council.
 (e) Amenities for, and welfare, of troops and their dependants, including Indian soldiers abroad.

(f) All canteen organisations.
 (g) Certain non-technical educational institutions e. g., Lawrence Schools, K. G. R. I. M. Schools and the Prince of Wales' Royal Indian Military College.

(h) Stationery, Printing and forms for the Army.
 (i) Reception, accommodation and social arrangements for all foreign missions, representatives and officers.

(ii) In addition the Defence Co-ordination Department would take over many major questions bearing directly on defence, but difficult to locate in any particular existing departments. Examples are

"Denial" policy.

Policy of evacuation from threatened areas.

Signals co-ordination,

Economic warfare.

The formula for defence suggested in the above letter, was considered by the Working Committee and rejected by them. In particular the functions allotted to the Defence Minister, as listed in the Annexure, were considered totally insufficient. The Committee, therefore, expressed their inability to accept this suggestion.

After the rejection of the above formula a second formula for Defence was placed before the Working Committee by a mutual friend, with the previous approval of Sir Stafford Cripps. There was no list of subjects or functions attached to this.

Second Formula For Defence

In amplification of clause (e) of the draft declaration His Majesty's Government make the following proposition upon the subject-matter of the Defence of India.

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in charge of a representative Indian member with the exceptions of functions to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief as war member of the Executive Council.

(b) A war department will be constituted which will take over such functions of the Defence Department as are not retained by the Defence member. A list of all the retained functions has been agreed, to which will be added further important responsibilities including the matters now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department and other vital matters related to the defence of India.

The Working Committee having considered the above formula varied it as follows :

Working Committee Formula

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, for the duration of the war by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India, and who will be an extraordinary member of the National Cabinet for that purpose.

(b) A war Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of all other matters relating to Defence, including those now dealt with by the Defence Coordination Department.

This formula was sent with a covering letter, dated April 8th, which stated inter alia :

The new proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British War Cabinet, were entirely unsatisfactory. Both the approach and the allocations of subjects were, in our opinion, wrong, and there was no real transfer of responsibility for Defence to representative Indians in the National Government. Such transfer is essential for the successful defence of the country, for on it depends the full mobilization of the war-potential of the country.

The approach made in the draft you gave me this morning seems to us a more healthy one. With some alterations that we suggest, it might be made the

basis of further discussions. But, it must be remembered, that a very great deal depends on the allocation of subjects between the Defence Department and the War Department, and until this is done, it is not possible to give a final opinion.

Leaving aside this subject of allocation for the present, we would suggest that the formula which is to form the basis of discussion should be as follows: The formula is given above.

You will notice that this does not differ materially from your formula. The general approach is that the National Government is responsible for the entire government of the country including its defence. But, in view of the war and the obvious necessity of allowing full scope for war operations to the Commander-in-Chief, functions relating to the conduct of the war are delegated to him and are to be exercised by him for the duration of the war. He will in effect have full control of these operations and of the war activities of the armed forces in India.

It is presumed of course that there will be full cooperation between the Defence Department and the War Department. The National Government will inevitably strain every nerve towards the successful defence of the country and will give all possible help to the Commander-in-Chief in this behalf.

Sir Stafford Cripps has already stated that a representative Indian will be a member of the War Cabinet in London, and that membership of the Pacific Council would likewise be offered to a representative Indian.

There are many other important matters which have to be considered, but I do not wish to trouble you with them, however, in order to prevent any misapprehension later on. In the draft declaration proposed to be made by the British Government there is much with which we do not agree. The preamble commits us to Dominion Status, though there is a possibility of our voting ourselves out later on. Clauses C and D relate, inter alia, to the right of a province not to join the Union and to the nomination by the Rulers of States' representatives to the constitution-making body. We think these provisions are bad and likely to have dangerous consequences. We have indicated our views in regard to them in the resolution a copy of which I have already sent you. All these provisions are for the future and they need not come in the way of a present arrangement. As controversial matter, this might be left out of any proposed declaration at this stage. It will be open to any group or party to adhere to its own opinions in regard to them and yet co-operate in a settlement for present action. We hope that it may be possible for us to arrive at a satisfactory settlement about them at a future date.

One other matter to which we attach importance might be mentioned, though it does not arise out of the present talks. We presume that the independent status of India will be recognized by the United Nations. Whenever this is done, it will greatly help our common cause and strengthen our bonds with each other.

Sir Stafford Cripps' Formula

Sir Stafford Cripps amended as follows the Working Committee's formula given above.

(a) The Defence Department shall be placed in the charge of a representative Indian member, but certain functions relating to the conduct of the war will be exercised, until the new constitution comes into operation, by the Commander-in-Chief, who will be in control of the war activities of the armed forces in India and who will be a member of the Executive Council for that purpose.

(b) A War Department will be constituted under the Commander-in-Chief. This Department will take over such functions as are to be exercised by the the Commander-in-Chief. A list of such functions has been prepared and is attached.

(c) The Defence Member shall be in charge of the other matter relating to Defence in the Defence Department and those now dealt with by the Defence Co-ordination Department in addition to other important matters closely related to Defence.

(d) In the event of any new functions falling to be discharged in relation to Defence or any dispute arising as to the allocation of any old functions it shall be decided by His Majesty's Government.

To this was added a comprehensive description of the functions of the War Minister:

The War Department, for which the Commander-in-Chief will be Member, will be responsible for the governmental relations of G. H. Q., N. H. Q. and A. H. Q., which include:—

- (1) Examining and sanctioning all proposals emanating from G. H. Q., and A. H. Q.
- (2) Representing the policy of Government on all questions connected with the war which originate in or concern G. H. Q., N. H. Q. or A. H. Q.
- (3) Acting as the channel of communication between the Government of India and H. M. G. on all such questions.
- (4) Acting as liaison between these head-quarters and the other Departments of Government, and Provincial Governments.

The above formula was received on the afternoon of April 8th. Immediately on receipt of it a letter was sent on behalf of the Working Committee pointing out that the description of the War Minister's functions appeared as all-comprehensive. It was, therefore, requested, that illustrative lists of the functions of both the Defence Minister and the War Minister be supplied to enable the Working Committee to understand the implications of the proposal. No such lists were supplied then or at any time later.

The Working Committee met, as usual in the morning and afternoon of April 9th and gave full consideration to the new proposal. In view of the absence of the list of functions no definite decision could be taken.

In order to avoid further delay it was decided that the matter be further considered in a personal interview between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps. Also there were other matters that needed elucidation. The interview took place in the late afternoon of April 9th. On the 10th morning a report of what transpired at the interview was placed before the Working Committee, who came to the decision that they could not accept the British Government's proposals as they stood. The following letter was therefore sent by the Congress President to Sir Stafford Cripps :

Azad's Letter to Cripps

New Delhi, April 10, 1942

Dear Sir Stafford

On the 2nd April I sent you the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress containing their views on the tentative proposals put forward by you on behalf of the British Government. In this resolution we expressed our dissent from several important and far-reaching proposals for the future. Further consideration of these proposals has only strengthened us in our conviction in regard to them, and we should like to repeat that we cannot accept them as suggested. The Working Committee's resolution gives expression to our conclusions relating to them which we reached after the most earnest consideration.

That resolution, however, emphasized the gravity of the present situation and stated that the ultimate decision that we might take would be governed by the changes made in the present. The over-riding problem before all of us, and more especially before all Indians, is the defence of the country from aggression and invasion. The future, important as it is, will depend on what happens in the next few months and years. We were therefore prepared to do without any assurances for this uncertain future, hoping that through our sacrifices in the defence of our country we would lay the solid and enduring foundation for a free and independent India. We concentrated, therefore, on the present.

Your original proposals in regard to the present, as contained in clause (e) of the proposed declaration, were vague and incomplete, except in so far as it was made clear that "His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the full responsibility for the defence of India." These proposals, in effect, asked for participation in the tasks of to-day with a view to ensure "the future freedom of India." Freedom was for an uncertain future, not for the present, and no indication was given in clause (e) of what arrangements or governmental and other changes would be made in the present. When this vagueness was pointed out, you said that, this was deliberate, so as to give you freedom to determine these changes in consultation with others. In our talks you gave us to understand that you envisaged a National Government which would deal with all matters except Defence.

Defence at any time, and more particularly in war time, is of essential importance and without it a National Government functions in a very limited field. Apart from this consideration, it was obvious that the whole purpose of your proposals and our talks centred round the urgency of the problems created by the threat of

Note: G. H. Q.=General Headquarters; N. H. Q.=Navy Headquarters; A. H. Q.=Air Headquarters.

the invasion of India. The chief functions of a National Government must necessarily be to organize Defence both intensively and on the widest popular basis and to create a mass psychology of resistance to an invader. Only a National Government could do that, and only a government on whom this responsibility was laid. Popular resistance must have a national background, and both the soldier and the civilian must feel that they are fighting for their country's freedom under national leadership.

We pointed this out to you. The question became one not of just satisfying our national aspirations but of effective prosecution of the war and fighting to the last any invader who set foot on the soil of India. On general principles a National Government would control defence through a Defence Minister, and the Commander-in-Chief would control the armed forces and would have full latitude in the carrying out of the operations connected with the war. An Indian National Government should have normally functioned in this way. We made it clear that the Commander-in-Chief in India would have control of the armed forces and the conduct of operations and other matters connected therewith. With a view to arriving at a settlement, we were prepared to accept certain limitations on the normal powers of the Defence Minister. We had no desire to upset in the middle of the war the present military organization or arrangements. We accepted also that the higher strategy of the war should be controlled by the War Cabinet in London which would have an Indian member. The immediate object before us was to make the defence of India more effective, to strengthen it, to broad base it on the popular will, and to reduce all red tape, delay and inefficiency from it. There was no question of our interfering with the technical and operational sides. One thing, of course, was of paramount importance to us; India's safety and defence. Subject to this primary consideration, there was no reason why there should be any difficulty in finding a way out of the present impasse in accordance with the unanimous desire of the Indian people, for in this matter there are no differences amongst us.

The emphasis on Defence led you to reconsider the matter and you wrote to me on the 7th April suggesting a formula for Defence.

In this letter you said: "As the Working Committee have understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities." The Working Committee's attitude in the matter has been completely misunderstood and I should like to clear this up, although we are not immediately concerned with it. The Committee do not think that there is any inherent difficulty in the way of constitutional changes during the war. Everything that helps in the war not only can be but must be done, and done with speed. That is the only way to carry on and win a war. No complicated enactments are necessary. A recognition of India's freedom and right to self-determination could easily be made, if it were so wished, together with certain other consequential but important changes. The rest can be left to future arrangements and adjustments. I might remind you that the British Prime Minister actually proposed a union of France and England on the eve of the fall of France. No greater or more fundamental change could be imagined, and this was suggested at a period of grave crisis and peril. War accelerates change; it does not fit in with static conceptions.

The formula for Defence that you sent us was considered by us together with its annexure which gave a list of subjects or departments which were to be transferred to the Defence Department. This list was a revealing one as it proved that the Defence Minister would deal with relatively unimportant matters. We were unable to accept this and we informed you accordingly.

Subsequently, a new formula for Defence was suggested to us, but without any list of subjects. This formula seemed to us to be based on a more healthy approach and we suggested certain changes pointing out that our ultimate decision would necessarily depend on the allocation of subjects. A revised formula was then sent back to us together with an indication of the functions of the War Department.

This was so widely and comprehensively framed that it was difficult for us to know what the actual allocation of subjects and departments, as between the Defence Department and the War Department, would be. A request was made on our behalf that illustrative lists of these subjects might be supplied to enable us to consider the matter. No such lists were supplied to us.

In the interview we had with you yesterday we discussed the new formula

and expressed our viewpoint in regard to it. I need not repeat what I said then. The wording of the formula is after all a minor matter and we would not allow that to come in our way, unless some important principle is at stake. But behind that wording lay certain ideas and we were surprised to find that during the past few days we had been proceeding on wrong assumptions.

When we asked you for illustrative lists of subjects for the two departments, you referred us to the old list for the Defence Department which you had previously sent us and which we had been unable to accept. You added that certain residuary subjects might be added to this but, in effect, there was not likely to be any such subject as the allocation was complete. Thus, you said, that substantially there was no change between the old list and any new one that might be prepared. If this was so, and we were to go back ultimately to the place we started from, then what was the purpose of our searching for new formula? A new set of words meaning the same thing made no difference. In the course of our talks many other matters were also cleared up, unfortunately to our disadvantage. You had referred both privately and in the course of public statements to a National Government and a "Cabinet" consisting of "ministers." These words have a certain significance and we had imagined that the new Government would function with full powers as a Cabinet, with the Viceroy acting as a constitutional head. But the new picture that you placed before us was really not very different from the old, the difference being one of degree and not of kind. The new Government could neither be called except vaguely and inaccurately, nor could it function as a National Government. It would just be the Viceroy and his Executive Council with the Viceroy having all his old powers. We did not ask for any legal changes but we did ask for definite assurances and conventions which would indicate that the new Government would function as a free government the members of which act as members of a cabinet in a constitutional government. In regard to the conduct of the war and connected activities the Commander-in-Chief would have freedom, and he would act as war minister.

We were informed that nothing can be said at this stage, even vaguely and generally, about the conventions that should govern the Government and the Viceroy. Ultimately there was always the possibility of the members of the Executive Council resigning or threatening to resign if they disagreed with the Viceroy. That sanction or remedy is of course always open, but it is curious that we should base our approach to a new government on the probability of conflict and resignation at the very outset.

The picture therefore placed before us is not essentially different from the old one. The whole object which we, and I believe you have in view—that is, to create a new psychological approach to the people, to make them feel that their own national government had come, that they were defending their newly won freedom—would be completely frustrated when they saw this old picture again, with even the old labels on. The continuation of the India Office which has been a symbol of evil to us, would confirm this picture. It has almost been taken for granted for sometime past that the India Office would soon disappear as it was an anachronism. But now we are told that even this undesirable relic of a past age is going to continue.

The picture of the government, which was so like the old in all essential features, is such that we cannot fit into it. Normally we would have had little difficulty in disposing of this matter for it is so far removed from all that we have striven for, but in the circumstances of today we were prepared to give full consideration to every proposal which might lead to an effective organisation of the defence of India. The peril that faces India affects us more than it can possibly affect any foreigner, and we are anxious and eager to do our utmost to face it and overcome it. But we cannot undertake responsibilities when we are not given the freedom and power to shoulder them effectively and when an old environment continues which hampers the national effort.

While we cannot accept the proposals you have made, we want to inform you that we are yet prepared to assume responsibility provided a truly national government is formed. We are prepared to put aside for the present all questions about the future, though as we have indicated, we hold definite views about it. But in the present, the National Government must be a cabinet government with full power and must not merely be continuation of the Viceroy's Executive Council. In regard to defence we have already stated what, in our opinion, the position should be at present. We feel that such an arrangement is the very minimum that

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is essential for the functioning of a National Government and for making the popular appeal which is urgently needed.

We would point out to you that the suggestions we have put forward are not ours only but may be considered to be the unanimous demand of the Indian people. On these matters there is no difference of opinion among various groups and parties, and the difference is as between the Indian people as a whole and the British Government. Such differences as exist in India relate to constitutional changes in the future. We are agreeable to the postponement of this issue so that the largest possible measure of unity might be achieved in the present crisis for the defence of India. It would be a tragedy that even when there is this unanimity of opinion in India, the British Government should prevent a free National Government from functioning and from serving the cause of India as well as the large causes for which millions are suffering and dying today.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad

Cripps' Reply to Azad

New Delhi, the 11th April 1942

My Dear Mulana Sahib,

I was extremely sorry to receive from you your letter of April 10th expressing the rejection by the Congress Working Committee of His Majesty's Government's draft declaration.

I will not deal with those points which are covered by the original resolution of your Committee which you sent me, as they were clearly not the reason for your decision.

Nor need I go into the question of the division of duties between the Defence Minister and the Commander-in-Chief as War Member with which you deal at length. This division allotted to the Defence Minister all functions outside those actually connected with the General Headquarters and Air Headquarters which are under the Commander-in-Chief as head of the fighting forces in India.

In addition to these functions in the narrow field of "Defence" it was suggested that all other portfolios relating to that subject such as :—

Home Department—Internal order, police, refugees, etc.
Finance Department—All war finance in India.
Communications Department—Railways, roads, transport etc.
Supply Department—Supplies for all forces and munitions.
Information and Broadcasting Department—Propaganda, publicity, etc.
Civil Defence Department—A. R. P. and all forms of civilian defence.
Legislative Department—Regulations and orders.
Labour Department—Mau power.
Defence Department—Administration of Indian personnel, etc.

should be put in the hands of representative Indians as members of the Executive Council.

Nothing further could have been done by way of giving responsibility for Defence services to representative Indian members without jeopardising the immediate defence of India under the Commander-in-Chief. This defence is, as you know, a paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government, while unity of Command is essential in the interests of the Allied help to India.

The real substance of your refusal to take part in a National Government is that the form of Government suggested is not such as would enable you to rally the Indian people as you desire.

You make two suggestions. First that the constitution might now be changed. In this respect I would point out that you had received the suggestion for the first time last night, nearly three weeks after you had received the proposals, and I would further remark that every other representative with whom I have discussed this view has accepted the practical impossibility of any such legislative change in the middle of a war and at such a moment as the present.

Second you suggest "a truly National Government" be formed, which must be a "cabinet Government with full power."

Without constitutional changes of a most complicated character and on a very large scale this would not be possible, as you realise.

Were such a system to be introduced by convention under the existing circumstances, the nominated cabinet (nominated presumably by the major political

organisations) would be responsible to no one but itself, could not be removed and would in fact constitute an absolute dictatorship of the majority.

This suggestion would be rejected by all minorities in India, since it would subject all of them to a permanent and autocratic majority in the Cabinet. Nor would it be consistent with the pledges already given by His Majesty's Government to protect the rights of those minorities.

In a country such as India where communal divisions are still so deep an irresponsible majority Government of this kind is not possible.

Apart from this, however, until such time as the Indian peoples frame their new constitution, His Majesty's Government must continue to carry out its duties to those large sections of the Indian people to whom it has given its pledges.

The proposals of His Majesty's Government went as far as possible short of a complete change in the constitution which is generally acknowledged as impracticable in the circumstances of to-day.

While therefore both I and His Majesty's Government recognise the keen desire of your Working Committee to carry on the war against the enemy by every means in their power, they regret that your Working Committee has not seen its way to join in the war effort upon the conditions sincerely offered, the only conditions which could have brought together all the different communities and sections of the Indian people.

I propose to publish this answer.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Stafford Cripps

Azad's reply to Cripps

New Delhi, April 11, 1942

Dear Sir Stafford,

I have just received your letter of April 10th and I must confess that my colleagues and I were considerably surprised to read it. I am sending you this reply immediately and can only deal briefly here with some of the points you have raised.

The points covered by our original resolution are important and represent my Committee's well-considered views on the British proposals as a whole. But we pointed out to you that so far as the proposals relate to the future they might be set aside, as we were anxious to assume responsibility for India's government and defence in this hour of danger. This responsibility could only be undertaken, however, if it was real responsibility and power.

As regards the division of functions between the Defence Minister and the War Minister you did not give illustrative lists, as requested by us, and referred us to the previous list of the Defence Minister's functions, which, as you know, we had been wholly unable to accept. In your letter under reply you mention certain subjects, directly or indirectly related to the war, which will be administered by other departments. So far as the Defence Minister is concerned, it is clear that his functions will be limited by the first list that you sent.

No one has suggested any restrictions on the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief. Indeed we went beyond this and were prepared to agree to further powers being given to him as War Minister. But it is clear that the British Government's conception and ours in regard to defence differ greatly. For us it means giving it a national character and calling upon every man and woman in India to participate in it. It means trusting our own people and seeking their full co-operation in this great effort. The British Government's view seems to be based on an utter lack of confidence in the Indian people and in withholding real power from them. You refer to the paramount duty and responsibility of His Majesty's Government in regard to defence. That duty and responsibility cannot be discharged effectively unless the Indian people are made to have and feel their responsibility, and the recent past stands witness to this. The Government of India do not seem to realise that the war can only be fought on a popular basis.

Your statement that we have for the first time after three weeks suggested a change in the constitution is hardly correct. In the course of our talks reference was made to it, but it is true that we did not lay stress on it as we did not want to introduce new issues. But when you stated explicitly in your letter that we had agreed that no constitutional changes could be made during the war, we had to deny this and correct your impression.

It is the last part of your letter that has especially surprised and pained

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us. It seems that there has been a progressive deterioration in the British Government's attitude as our negotiations proceeded. What we were told in our very first talk with you is now denied or explained away. You told me then that there would be National Government which would function as a Cabinet and that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King in England vis-a-vis his Cabinet. In regard to the India Office, you told me, that you were surprised that no one had so far mentioned this important matter, and that the practical course was to have this attached or incorporated with the Dominions' Office.

The whole of this picture which you sketched before us has now been completely shattered by what you told us during our last interview. You have put forward an argument in your letter which at no time during our talks was mentioned by you. You refer to the 'absolute dictatorship of the majority.' It is astonishing that such a statement should be made in this connection and at this stage. This difficulty is inherent in any scheme of a mixed cabinet formed to meet an emergency, but there are many ways in which it can be provided for. Had you raised this question we would have discussed it and found a satisfactory solution. The whole approach to this question has been that a mixed cabinet should be formed and should co-operate together. We are interested in the Indian people as a whole having freedom and power. How the Cabinet should be formed and the main question was decided; that is, the extent of power which the British Government would give up to the Indian people. Because of this we never discussed it with you or even referred to it. Nevertheless you have raised this matter for the first time, in what is presumably your last letter to us, and tried most unjustifiably to sidetrack the real issue between us.

You will remember that in my very first talk with you, I pointed out that the communal or like questions did not arise at this stage. As soon as the British Government made up its mind to transfer real power and responsibility, the other questions could be tackled successfully by those concerned. You gave me the impression that you agreed with this approach.

We are convinced that if the British Government did not pursue a policy of encouraging disruption, all of us, to whatever party or group we belonged, would be able to come together and find a common line of action. But unhappily, even in this grave hour of peril, the British Government is unable to give up its wrecking policy. We are driven to the conclusion that it attaches more importance to holding on to its rule in India, as long as it can, and promoting discord and disruption here with that end in view, than to an effective defence of India against the aggression and invasion that overhang us. To us, and to all Indians, the dominant consideration is the defence and safety of India, and it is by that test that we judge.

You mention that you propose to publish your letter to me. I presume that you have no objection now to our publishing our original resolution, and our letters to us, and our letters to you.

My dear Maulana Sahib

Thank you for your letter which I have just received in reply to mine of the 10th April. I have no objection to your releasing the Congress resolution and our correspondence whenever you desire to do so.

Yours sincerely
(Sd.) Abul Kalam Azad
New Delhi, April 11, 1942

Note :—On receipt of this letter the resolution of the Working Committee as also the correspondence that passed during the Congress resolution and our Cripps were released to the press.

Yours sincerely
Stafford Cripps
Stafford

The Congress President At a Press Conference

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad met a large number of journalists on April 11th in Delhi and spoke to them about his talks with Sir Stafford Cripps. In particular, he referred to his first interview with Sir Stafford, and said that he had emphasis on these issues.

Firstly, he told Sir Stafford that the approach to the Indian problem made

in the Draft Declaration was not only not correct but was likely to lead to greater complications. If the British Government desired to infuse a new spirit in India even at this eleventh hour and send out a person like Sir Stafford for the task, the simple method would have been to sent out through Sir Stafford the announcement that Britain was prepared to part with power. Sir Stafford could then have asked Indians to draw up a scheme. If we failed to draw one up, the entire responsibility would have been ours.

Sir Stafford, in reply, referred to the first part of the Draft Declaration and asserted that it was a considered decision of principle. He added that provision had already been made in it for different political organisations and it was open to them to come to an agreement at any time.

"I pointed out," said the Maulana, "that after concrete proposals had been introduced by him, the task of independent agreement among the parties in India had been made difficult."

"Secondly," proceeded the Maulana, "I told Sir Stafford that the Draft Declaration laid much greater emphasis on the future than on the immediate present, while India demanded changes in the present system. The proposals relating to the present were not positive; they were negative.

"I said to him that as far as the Congress was concerned I do not see how it could accept the proposals. War, I said, was threatening India; but the light had gone out of the hearts of the millions, who might have sacrificed themselves for their country.

"Our common task now demanded that we should find a psychological approach in order to re-ignite the spark of patriotic fervour in those hearts. This could not be achieved merely by holding out promises for the future, but people must be made to feel that they were free in their own country to-day and had to defend their own freedom and their own country.

"Sir Stafford, speaking with great confidence, assured me that clause (e) of the Draft Declaration provided for complete freedom and transfer of power, with only one reservation about defence.

"I then pointed out that defence of the country was the demand of the moment as far as the country was concerned and during the war. Civil administration had disappeared because problems of defence permeated every civil department, and if you reserved defence you practically reserve all the powers which you say are being transferred to India.

"Sir Stafford said by way of reassurance that the reservations related only to the functions of the Commander-in-Chief.

"The rest of the discussion proceeded in respect of this particular question.

"The third point emphasised by me was that in tackling the political question in India, communal questions were bound to arise at some stage or other and would have to be solved. I assured him that as soon as the main political problem was settled, the responsibility of finding a satisfactory solution of the communal and other problems would be ours, and I could confidently assert that we would find a satisfactory solution.

"Sir Stafford entirely agreed with me and said this was exactly what he had said before the War Cabinet before he came out to India.

"This naturally conjured up in my mind a picture of the present not found in the cold words of the Draft Declaration, and I, therefore, naturally decided to call a meeting of the Working Committee to examine it.

"I, however, regret to say that the first impression of the picture created as a result of my earlier interviews with Sir Stafford gradually became blurred as the discussions on material points proceeded from stage to stage. And when I last met him on the night of April 9, the whole picture had completely faded out."

Referring to his interview with General Wavell, the Maulana said: "In the course of our talks, Sir Stafford Cripps had repeatedly emphasised the technical difficulties in the way of transferring defence to an Indian member. He had suggested that we should meet General Wavell, because he could explain the technical side of the question much better.

"But curiously enough, throughout our interview with the Commander-in-Chief, at which other military officers were present, not a word was spoken about any technical difficulty; the entire discussion proceeded on political lines. It did not strike me for a moment that we were interviewing a military expert but an expert politician.

"I think," the Maulana went on, "I must clarify the position created by

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certain speculations in a section of the press as regards Mahatma Gandhi's part in the discussions. The Mahatma's views as regards participation in any war are well known and it would be entirely untrue to suggest that the Working Committee's decisions have in any way been influenced by those views.

"In fact, Mahatma Gandhi made it clear to the Working Committee that they were perfectly free to come to their own decisions on the merits of the proposals. He did not really want to participate even in the earlier sittings of the Working Committee but he was persuaded by me to stay on from day to day as long as he could afford to do so. Eventually, my persuasion proved powerless to make him stay longer.

"I want to repeat what I said yesterday that the Working Committee's decision has at every stage been unanimous," he declared.

He concluded: "It is deeply to be regretted that the aim which all of us had passionately desired has not been reached, but I must acknowledge that all these discussions were carried on in a friendly atmosphere and in spite of profound differences which at times led to heated controversy. We and Sir Stafford have parted as friends. The cordiality of the talks was maintained to the last."

Jawaharlal Meets The Press

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru met a number of Indian and foreign journalists at a Press conference in New Delhi on April 12th 1942 and dealt at length with the Cripps' negotiations and the attitude taken up on behalf of the Congress.

Who is responsible for the failure of the Cripps' negotiations? In answer to this question, Pandit Nehru explained in detail the various stages of the negotiations. If he had been asked just before his last interview with Sir Stafford Cripps, he would have said that the chances of coming to an agreement were about 75 per cent. At that interview, however, the full picture which Sir Stafford, suddenly and for the first time, put before them of the proposals was such that he could not agree to it. "A big change had occurred somewhere in the middle" said Pandit Nehru. It was obvious, he added, that there was some trouble between Sir Stafford and others.

Pandit Nehru went on to say: "While it was my extreme desire to find a way out and make India function effectively for defence and make the war a popular effort—so great was my desire that some things I have stood for during the last quarter of a century, things which I could never have imagined for a moment I would give up, I now agreed to give up—I am convinced personally that it is impossible for us to agree to the proposals as they eventually emerged from the British Government's mind. I am in complete and whole-hearted agreement with the Congress resolution and the letters of the Congress President.

The change in the attitude of Sir Stafford Cripps which led to the sudden breakdown of the negotiations was then described by Pandit Nehru. From the first, the impression which Sir Stafford had himself often used the words, would be a National Government. Sir Stafford had given was that the new Government "National Cabinet." He had also said that the position of the Viceroy would be analogous to that of the King, in other words, a constitutional head. The language used by Sir Stafford had led them to assume that everything was being transferred except Defence and also that the Viceroy would not interfere with the decision of the Cabinet though he might have special powers such as in connection with the States or some major issue. So the question of the new Government's powers, etc., was not even discussed. At the last interview on Thursday night, however, the picture which Sir Stafford gave showed that the premises and assumptions on which they had been arguing had no real foundation. Sir Stafford began to talk of the Viceroy's "Executive Council" and not a "National Government." Names did make a difference. "If we go to the people think?" asked Pandit Nehru amidst laughter. They agreed to legal phraseology, but contrary to their old assumptions, Sir Stafford suddenly made it perfectly clear that there would be no essential change between the position of the Viceroy's Council and that of the new Government which they were asked to join. "I was amazed," declared Pandit Nehru. It might be that Sir Stafford had been pulled up by his senior partner in England or someone here. "We cannot change laws," said Sir Stafford, but when he was asked: "Tell us at least what conventions you propose. Will they function as a Cabinet? Will the Viceroy work as a constitutional head?" Sir Stafford replied: "I am totally unable to say anything on the subject, because it is completely within the discretion of the Viceroy. Go to him later on and discuss the matter with him. I can-

not interfere or indicate what should be done." So it amounted to the old August offer again—with a few minor changes. They were merely asked to agree to join the Viceroy's Council practically unconditionally—with the vague background provided by the Cabinet's declaration.

Dealing with the Defence question, Pandit Nehru said that at no time had it been suggested by the Congress that the normal powers of the Commander-in-Chief for carrying on the war in an effective way should be interfered with. But in addition to his powers as Commander-in-Chief, he was now having other powers which were really those of a Defence Minister. Pandit Nehru said that the removal of Defence from their responsibilities made the position of the Defence Minister absurd and ridiculous. Their conception of defence was different from that of the Government. It was not keeping a regiment here and there, but they wanted to mobilize hundreds of millions of Indians. They wanted to make every man and woman do something for the war—make it a popular war. The military conception was a fight with their armies and if the latter failed, to surrender, but their conception was different. They would not surrender whatever happened—whatever happened to military forces, popular resistance should continue to the end—as in China and Russia. Could they discharge their duty in this spirit? Could they make India hum as an organized unit of resistance? Could they make India feel that she was fighting her own war for her freedom? That was their idea in asking for a popular conception of Defence, but the Government's attitude as put to them was a singularly complacent attitude—a conception of India from a standpoint which was peculiar only to England. "We are in the right. All those who are against us, are not only in the wrong, but damnably in the wrong."

Referring to the Defence question during the Cripps' negotiations Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said that at first a certain formula was given by Sir Stafford according to which the Commander-in-Chief was to be War Minister and the Defence Minister was to have certain functions entrusted to him. Attached to it was a list—practically exhaustive—of the functions entrusted to the Defence Minister. They were propaganda, canteens, petroleum, amenities, stationery and subjects of that kind. The subjects proposed to be allotted were such that "they would have made the Defence Minister's position ridiculous in the eyes of the public," said Pandit Nehru. It was not acceptable to the Congress Working Committee. Then came a new formula—at the instance of a third party but presumably with Sir Stafford's approval—with no list of subjects attached.

In the Working Committee's opinion, this afforded a basis for arriving at an agreed formula for Defence, but the really important point was—what would be the subjects transferred to the Defence Minister? Sir Stafford did not reply to a letter asking for a list of these subjects: "At no stage did we receive them" said Pandit Nehru. When they asked him personally, Sir Stafford referred them to the Army Manual. Later, Sir Stafford entered into a long disquisition on the Indian Army—that it was really an offshoot of the British Army controlled by the British Government, through their representative, the Commander-in-Chief. It was explained to Sir Stafford on behalf of the Congress that it was not their intention to do anything to upset present arrangements, but what they wanted was, firstly, to make the Indian Army feel that the Army was theirs. They wanted to give the National background, the psychological appeal, necessary for a popular war. Sir Stafford's attitude was, however, rigid. In the end, he said that the list of subjects were those already given in his original formula.

Sir Stafford refused to follow the Australian model saying that Mr. Curtin in Australia had even greater powers than Mr. Churchill had in England. As regards the citizen army, Sir Stafford said that the matter would lie within the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, but he added that the Commander-in-Chief would probably agree. If he did not agree, it was open to the Ministers to resign.

Commenting on this attitude of the Government, Pandit Nehru said: "That is not the way to bring about a settlement." He went on to say: "That is not the way to fight a war—not the lackadaisical way of the Viceroy's House and the Government of India. If there is a National Government, everybody will have to work or get out. It is not an evening dress war. It is work work, work. Those who sit to dinner in evening dress at 8-15 are not going to win this war. In reply to those who talked of the want of equipment as a reason against a citizen army, he cited the example of China and Spain. The former was now self-sufficient so far as small arms were concerned. In India, with a National Government, they could double or treble the production of our factories. They could do without

luxuries and turn those factories producing non-essential goods into factories for small arms. The whole conception of the citizen army was, he said, a practical conception, a psychological conception, an essential conception.

Pandit Nehru went on to narrate how a person who had become a German prisoner and had managed to escape told him and others what the Germans thought of the Indian troops, how much they had been struck by their courage and efficiency in action. It is a magnificent army. What would we not do, if we has such people to draw upon?" said the Germans. "If they fight like this in a mercenary way how much better would they fight if they thought they were fighting for their own freedom?" It was really a question of psychological approach, declared Pandit Nehru. Explaining further, he said:

"The whole approach was one of lighting a spark in hundreds of millions of minds in India. It was not an easy responsibility for anyone to undertake. Nevertheless, we felt that circumstances demanded it and whatever our grievances with the British Government, whatever the past history of our relations, we could not allow that to come in the way of what we considered our duty to our country at present."

Referring to the future, Pandit Nehru said: "India and Russia are the two important theatres of war. Little else counts for the present. Much will, of course, depend on the next two or three months in the Russo-German War. A great deal depend on India or what happens as between Germany and Russia; but apart from that India is going to be for the next three or four months the crux of the war. It will make a difference to the length of the war and the intensity of the war. Every country in the world realizes this, except, of course, the big people in New Delhi and Whitehall—they are slow of understanding and comprehension—and, therefore, you have these frantic radio appeals from Germany and Japan.

"If today a National Government of India said, 'We are going to arm the Indian people. We may not have the best of modern arms, aeroplanes, tanks; but we are going to arm them with such guns as we can make, think how the world situation will change; what reaction it will have on Germany and Japan and also in the Allied countries.'"

In answer to a question, Pandit Nehru said:—

'So far as I know India, and I know it tolerably well, the major sentiment in India naturally is one of hostility to the British in India. You cannot root out 150 years of past history and all that has happened in those years. It has sunk deep down into the Indian soul. Suppose we had come to an agreement and had to convert, to change that sentiment suddenly, we could have done it if we could have given a sensation of freedom to the people of India. The fundamental factor today is distrust or dislike of the British Government. It is not pro-Japanese sentiment. It is anti-British sentiment. That may occasionally lead individuals to pro-Japanese expression of views. This is short-sighted. It is a slave's sentiment, a slave's way of thinking, to imagine that to get rid of one person who is dominating us we can expect another person to help us and not dominate us later. Free men ought not to think that way. It distresses me that any Indian should talk of the Japanese liberating India. The whole past history of Japan has been one of dominating others. Japan comes here either for Imperialist reasons straight out or to fight with the British Government. Anyhow, whatever the reason, if it comes here, it does not come here to liberate."

In the course of his talk, Pandit Nehru removed two or three misconceptions. In reply to Sir Stafford's charge that the Congress had, for the first time, in its letter of April 10 asked for big changes immediately in the constitution, Jawaharlalji explained that the reference in the letter was only intended to remove a misunderstanding. In one of his letters Sir Stafford had said that the Congress had agreed that there should be no constitutional changes in the interim period. As this was not correct, the President explained the position. The Congress had merely said that it did not want to enter into an argument now on these constitutional questions, but they had made no commitment of the kind that they agreed not to ask for any immediate constitutional changes. Their position was this: "While we are not agreeing, we are not pressing this. It is not an issue." Sir Stafford was not, therefore, correct in saying that a major issue had been raised.

Pandit Nehru referred to the offer made by Mr. Churchill, at a critical time in the war, to France for a union with England. The suggestion made by Pandit Nehru was that Parliament should pass a small Bill of six sections giving independent status to India and agreeing to the principle of self-determination. Other

details, communal and other, could be left over for settlement later, but if this had been done, the whole approach to the question would have become different—as between England and India and also between the communities. The Congress point of view was this—they were prepared to have a National Government for war purposes, but as regards the future Government, they were prepared to leave over for future consideration the question of detailed and precise proposals for future Government. Pandit Nehru said, however, that the present proposals would have also to be considered with the view-point of the future. If the independence of India was now accepted in principle, it would have a great psychological effect on the people.

Asked about Sir Stafford's reference to the "tyrannical rule of a majority" in his farewell statement, Pandit Nehru said :

"I want to make it perfectly clear that throughout our talks and correspondence, except for the last two letters, there was no reference at all at any stage in the slightest degree to the question of majority rule, because much as we disliked it we accepted the idea of a composite Cabinet formed from different groups representing different ideologies in the country, some coming among others from the Muslim League and from the Hindu Mahasabha and Sikhs. We accepted that, although it was a thing which would have made the functioning of the National Government very difficult. At no stage, did we discuss the number of any groups in the Council. It was important, but we did not discuss it because we, speaking on behalf of the Congress, never laid stress on the Congress having this or that. We wanted no power for the Congress. We always talked in terms of what the National Government would have, whoever may be there and whatever numbers it may consist of. We talked of it as a group and of what power that group should have. The communal issue in any form was never discussed except that Sir Stafford Cripps often repeated one formula, that he was only concerned with agreement between three groups in India, the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League. He did not care whether others agreed or not, but if any of these three did not agree the scheme fell through.

"For the first time," he went on, "this question was definitely emphasised by Sir Stafford Cripps in his letter dated April 10 in which he used the phrase 'tyrannical rule of the majority.' Now, for an eminent lawyer and constitutionalist like Sir Stafford to use these phrases in this manner is extraordinary. We were thinking in terms really not even of a legislature but of a Cabinet consisting of 15 persons. What the proportions in that Cabinet may be we never discussed. Suppose there was the so-called Congress majority in it, though the Congress was not thinking on those lines. But Sir Stafford's mind was continually functioning, balancing the different communal factors. Suppose, then, in a Cabinet of 15 there was a Congress majority of eight or nine. Now cabinets, if they are to function at all, cannot function and do not function, especially in war-time, by majority. You must have a certain homogeneity or common outlook; otherwise the Cabinet may break up. Sir Stafford has been continuously reminding us of the ultimate sanction of resignation. If we had that ultimate sanction, so also every group in that Cabinet had that ultimate sanction. So, the talk of the tyranny of the majority is amazing and fantastic nonsense.

Pandit Nehru referred to the mention of the 'Hindu Press' in one of Sir Stafford's letters. When further questioned, he said he meant the *Hindustan Times*. That in itself showed how he was continually thinking in regard to every matter in terms of Hindu and Muslim.

Pandit Nehru observed he could not conceive of Mr. Jinnah or Dr. Savarkar really disagreeing with anything that the Congress had put to Sir Stafford in regard to the proposals for the immediate present.

Earlier at the conference, Pandit Nehru declared: "Today the dominant factor is the imminent peril to India, and I want you to appreciate what I say. We agreed to things which in the last 22 years we would never have dreamt of agreeing to or coming near. In these 22 years we have stood for something. Not only the Congress but vast numbers of people outside the formal fold of the Congress, even communal organizations, have demanded independence. For the first time in these 22 years, I swallowed many a bitter pill, when I said I was prepared to agree to many things so as somehow to come to an agreement. I did want to throw all my sympathy and all the energy I possess in the organization of the defence of India."

Statement by Congress President :

Sir Stafford Cripps is reported to have said in the course of an interview

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to see Col. L.

at Karachi before leaving India that Congress leaders first went to see Col. L. Johnson, who acted as a mediator in his personal capacity. This is likely to create an impression that his mediation was sought by us. Facts, however, are otherwise. On or about April 1, a common friend informed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that Col. L. Johnson was anxious to meet him and would be glad if a meeting could be arranged at his residence. Accordingly, Pandit Nehru met him. Again it was by a pure accident that on April 3, while I was on my way to a meeting of the Working Committee, I went to Pandit Nehru's residence which was on my way to pick him up, and there I found Col. Johnson. Naturally we met and had a brief talk. At the end of this talk, Col. Johnson expressed a desire that in the event of the Working Committee coming to an adverse decision, he should be allowed a chance to see if he could be helpful, before the committee's final verdict was formally communicated to Sir Stafford Cripps. His wish was so obviously in the interest of the common object, namely, successful conclusion of Sir Stafford Cripps' mission, that I saw no objection in complying with it. It is hardly necessary to narrate the rest of the story. But I must make it perfectly clear that nobody on behalf of the Congress sought either Col. Johnson's or President Roosevelt's intervention, although in the very nature of things, Col. Johnson's friendly interest was appreciated.

Jawaharlal's Statement to the Press

Sir Stafford Cripps' statement made in Karachi about Congress leaders going to Colonel Louis Johnson and his acting as mediator is not correct and is liable to be misunderstood. Sir Stafford has not been fair either to Colonel Johnson or to the Congress leaders. There was never any question, as I have stated previously, of our asking for mediation or arbitration from any one and President Roosevelt's name has been needlessly dragged into this matter. We dealt with Sir Stafford alone though others were naturally interested in the developments that were taking place. Colonel Johnson did no interfere in any way, though of course he expressed his desire that a satisfactory settlement should be reached. We are grateful to Colonel Johnson for his friendly approach to our problems, though in the nature of things he could not interfere in what was taking place. Sir Stafford has told us that the British Government is not going to take any further initiative from them as they have managed to get completely stuck in ruts of their own making. We do not rely on the British Government for anything except to obstruct political and economic advance in India. The initiative lies with others who do not live in ruts. The dominating factor of the situation is the fact that India can only be defended effectively as a free country by the people themselves acting through their National Government. I notice that parts of what I have said torn from their context, have been given publicity by some sections of the press and by the radio. This is not fair. I think it is every Indian's duty to refuse submission to every aggression, old and new, and to resist it. We cannot and must not submit for that way lies a surrender of the soul and spirit of the nation. But it must be realised that effective resistance is not an individual matter and no one can deliver the goods except a free national Government with power and responsibility, which can organize the masses. This patent fact cannot be ignored and this is the crux of the question in India.

Cripps Explains Breakdown of Negotiations

"You will have heard that the draft declaration which I brought to India on behalf of the War cabinet, and which I explained to you last time I spoke over the wireless, has been rejected by your leaders," declared the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, Member of the British War Cabinet, broadcasting from the Delhi station of All India Radio at 8.30 p.m. on April 11, 1942.

Sir Stafford said: I am sad that this great opportunity of rallying India for her defence and her freedom has been missed.

None could have been more fully conscious than I of the great difficulties which history has placed in the way of a settlement of the relations between British and Indian peoples and even more between the different communities in India.

In the past British Government have been accused of using vague terms to cloak a lack of purpose; and when they have stated that it must be left to the Indian communities to agree amongst themselves, it has been said that this was only a device by which Great Britain might indefinitely retain its control over India.

The Congress has, since the outbreak of war, repeatedly demanded two essentials as the basis for its support of the Allied effort in the war. First, a declaration of Indian independence and, second, a Constituent Assembly to frame a new and free Constitution for India. Both these demands find their place in the draft declaration.

It was in the light of the demands and criticism of the Indian leaders that the War Cabinet drafted their declaration, with the object of convincing the Indian peoples and world public opinion of the sincerity of their desire to offer freedom to India at the earliest practicable moment.

To avoid the complaints that had been made in the past, they put out a clear and precise plan which would avoid all possibility of Indian self-government being held up by the views of some large section or community. But they left it open to the Indian leaders to agree upon an alternative method if they wished.

Of course, every individual and organisation would have liked the draft declaration to express his or their point of view, forgetting that if it did, it would inevitably have been rejected by others.

The War Cabinet were thus in a position rather like that of an arbitrator who tries to arrange a fair compromise between conflicting points of view. They could not, however, without denying the very freedom that they were offering, impose a form of government upon the Indian peoples which they did not themselves freely choose. But in all this spate of criticism, those vital parts of the document with which all agree have never been mentioned. Full and free self-government for India—that is its central feature.

Immediate Difficulties

This critical and unconstructive attitude is not the best way of arriving at a compromise, but compromise there must be if a strong and free India is to come into being.

Some day, somehow, the great communities and parties of India will have to agree upon the method of framing their new Constitution. I regret profoundly for the sake of India, for whom I have a deep and admiring friendship, that the opportunity now offered has not been accepted.

But all this concerns the future. The immediate difficulties have been as regards the present. First, there was the difficulty as to defence. Upon that the attitude of the British Government was very simple. For many decades the defence of India has been in the charge of His Majesty's Government. This has led to an organisation which places the control of the armed forces under a Defence Secretariat headed by the Commander-in-Chief who is also the Defence Member. The Army in India—containing British and Indian units—the Navy and the Air Force all came under this supreme command.

The demand has been made that the defence of India should be placed in Indian hands. No one suggests that the Commander-in-Chief, as the head of the armed forces, should be under the Indian Government, but they say, the functions of the Defence Member should be transferred to an Indian.

"An Impossible Course"

This may sound simple—in fact it would mean a long and difficult reorganisation of the whole Defence Secretariat—an unscrambling of eggs scrambling many years ago—which would cause delay and confusion at the very moment when the enemy is at the gates and the maximum of speed and efficiency is essential in defence. The duty of the British Government to defend India and our duty to our American Allies who are giving such valuable help, makes such a course impossible.

To show our complete sincerity of desire to give to representative Indian members of the Executive the maximum of power, we offered to create a new War Department which would take over the Governmental relation of the Commander-in-Chief's General Headquarters and Naval and Air Headquarters and which would be in his charge as War Member, leaving the rest of the Defence Department—with a number of most important functions added—to an Indian Defence Member.

In the wider area of Defence, which touches almost every department of the Government of India, the administration would have been wholly under the control of representative Indians.

But none of these things was the real cause of the breakdown of the negotiations.

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Why Talks Failed

In their final letter addressed to me, the Congress Working Committee have stated that the temporary form of Government envisaged during the war is not such as to enable them to join the Government.

They have two suggestions to remedy the situation. First, an immediate change of the Constitution, a plan that everyone else has admitted to be wholly impracticable while the war is proceeding; and second, that they are prepared to enter a true National Government with a Cabinet of Indian leaders untrammelled by any control by the Viceroy or the British Government.

Realise what this means. The governing of India for an indefinite period by a set of persons nominated by Indian parties, responsible to no legislature or electorate, incapable of being changed and the majority of whom would be in a position to dominate large minorities.

It is easy to understand that the great minorities in India would never accept such a system. Nor could His Majesty's Government, who have never pledged to those minorities, consent to their being placed unprotected while the existing Constitution lasts, under a simple and possibly inimical majority rule. It would be a breach of all the pledges that we have given.

Such a solution may sound simple and attractive to those who have no knowledge of the deep communal division in India, but it is in fact wholly impracticable and would never be accepted by very large sections of the Indian peoples.

"The Essential Need"

The essential need in India today is for all the leaders of all the main parties and communities to come together in a single National Government. A scheme that attracts some and repels other, such as the Congress has suggested, is of little value.

Nor does the precise form matter so greatly. Inspiration and leadership are not to be found in forms or conventions, they will be demonstrated by combined purpose and unity of action.

No Constitution and no convention will work unless those who lead the people will come together with a common determination to make it work. Had Congress leaders felt themselves able to join with the other leaders who were willing, then, indeed, a great work might have been accomplished.

One thing I must make clear. I alone in India carry the responsibility for what has been done, neither the Viceroy nor the Commander-in-Chief carries any responsibility for these negotiations. They have throughout done their utmost to help me, and I express to them and many other willing helpers of all nationalities my most sincere thanks for that help.

A "Genuine Effort"

We have tried by the offer that I brought to help India along her road to victory and to freedom. But, for the moment, past distrust has proved too strong to allow of present agreement.

But in that failure to achieve immediate result there is no bitterness. Our effort has been genuine. No responsible Indian has questioned the sincerity of our main purpose—the complete freedom of India.

We may differ as to the methods by which that freedom can best be reached both now and in the future, but upon one thing we must all be agreed, that it cannot be reached through a fresh conquest of India by a power such as Japan that has shown itself brutal and intolerant to its own Asiatic sister nations.

It is only necessary to visit Formosa or the occupied parts of China—as I have done—to know that through a Japanese conquest death, misery, and starvation will come.

The widely advertised propaganda of the Japanese, painting themselves as the liberators of China, has resulted in nothing but untold suffering and tragedy for hundreds of thousands of honest and peaceful Chinese, men, women and children.

The same propaganda, now being made to trick the Indian people into submission, holds out for them no better prospect than the dire suffering which have been inflicted upon their Chinese neighbours.

The basic philosophy of the Japanese Fascists, as of their German counterparts, is that they as a superior race have the right to enslave

all whom they can conquer. I have seen and heard of the exploits of the Nazis in Russia, in Poland, in Yugoslavia and in other Slav countries of Europe and I know that none but the most diseased imagination could ever conjure up the ghastly and sadistic horrors which these barbarians have made a reality throughout every town and village in that vast area.

An Overwhelming Tragedy

That human bestiality could sink so low is an overwhelming tragedy for the world, and it is a tragedy that we and you and all the Allied nations are determined to expunge from the pages of history, in the only way that we can, by the decisive defeat of those responsible for this brutalisation of humanity. No peoples with the culture of the Indians—a culture as old, as deep and as real as that of their Chinese neighbours—could ever stand by and tolerate these insults to their moral standards and to their common humanity.

Our philosophies, our religions and our traditions differ widely, but in whatever form we may each worship our own conception of supreme power and absolute goodness, we one and all, desire to see those ethical and moral standards which are implicit in our religion become the touchstone of our behaviour in all the wide and human contacts which make up our day-to-day life.

A Duty And An Obligation

And in this epic struggle for decent moral standards in the world we fight against the godless barbarism and bestiality of our enemies, but we do not fight alone. Russia, China, the United States of America, and all the Allied nations with their suffering peoples, stand beside us, a great company of gallant men and women who will give their all for those things which they know to be right and just. On the battlefields of Russia and China, in their cities and on their farms, millions of our fellow men and women have already given their lives that we might live.

To that great and gallant army of the heroic dead we not only owe a debt of gratitude, but we acknowledge a duty and an obligation.

"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield." To strive, to seek, to find that righteous victory which they died to win, and not to yield to that barbarous aggression against which they made their bodies a living wall of resistance.

It is true that millions have died in those countries, as others have died in the crowded streets of our English cities, in our ships upon the high seas and fighting in our armies on the land and in the air; but as each has fallen others have crowded forward to take the vacant place and countless millions are even now preparing to strengthen and reinforce the effort, to make victory sure.

Plea For United Efforts

The hour has struck when India herself is being driven inexorably by the aggression of Japan into the front line of defence in a war which now spreads its evil tentacles into nearly every country in the world.

We shall do our utmost, despite all our heavy commitments elsewhere, and the United States of America will lend her great and growing aid as well, to assist the Indians in the defence of their country. We ask them to help us as we seek to help them. Together we can do much, divided far less.

Hard and difficult times surely lie ahead, the path of honour and of duty has never been an easy one, and today in those who would follow it to its end there must be found a greater courage and determination than ever before; but the end is certain as the slow wheels of justice grind out defeat for the aggressor nations.

The vast resources of manufacture of the United States, of Great Britain and of Russia, matched to the unlimited man-power of the Allied nations, can bring but one result—the final victory, and towards that victory India can and must play her part, a part that will give her the proud right to full and free representation in the council of the nations when they meet to make the final peace which can, if we will it, lead the peoples of the world into a brighter and happier future of organised and co-operative freedom.

The common peoples of the world will have opportunities in the world resettlement such as they have never had before, and the Indian peoples and their leaders must make ready to play their full part in building up the new world order.

BRITISH WAR CABINET'S PROPOSALS

[NEW DELHI—

Call To Youth

This is the time when the youth of the world are called upon to make every sacrifice, the ultimate sacrifice of life itself, but through that selfless service to humanity they earn the right to take their full share in the shaping of the future. Though old heads may be wiser, old hearts cannot have the fire and courage of youth—it is that fire and courage which we must summon to the Defence of India and to the building up of her freedom when victory is won.

Risks must be taken, innovations must be tried, and we must climb quickly out of the ruts of peacetime habits and customs. A new tempo is needed, a new devotion, a more total effort to finish quickly with the horrors of war.

I have seen that effort being made in the Soviet Union, the wholehearted devotion of an entire continent—more varied in racial origin than India itself—and the world has learnt what a great and courageous people inspired with the love of their country and of their freedom can achieve. I have witnessed, too, the Chinese—ill-equipped, lacking many essential supplies—indomitably carrying on their defence year after year and wearing down the aggressor who has penetrated deep into their homeland. The cities and towns of England have been deeply scarred and her people have suffered as none ever before from the concentrated hate of enemy bombing. Their courage and their fortitude have thrilled the world.

Now is the time for India and her people to join their courage, strength and their endurance in this great heroic and world-wide army of the common people, and to take her part in those smashing blows for victory against brutality and aggression which shall for ever free the masses from the age long fear and tragedy of poverty and of war.

Statement At Press Conference

Addressing a Press Conference held in New Delhi on the 11th April 1942, Sir Stafford Gripps said :

I have now received the replies from all the principal parties and communities to whom I submitted the draft declaration of His Majesty's Government. The negotiations have been prolonged in the case of the Congress only. There have been many meetings and a number of formulæ and suggestions especially upon the question of a Defence Minister. After very lengthy deliberations, the outcome of which seemed uncertain from day to day, I received the reply of the Congress.

It made it clear that the Working Committee were not prepared to accept the scheme or to enter a national government.

As a result of this and other answers I have had most regretfully to advise His Majesty's Government that there is not such a measure of acceptance of their proposals as to justify their making a declaration in the form of the draft.

The draft is, therefore, withdrawn and we revert to the position as it was before I came out here. Though not quite perhaps to that position.

"Frank And Friendly Spirit"

These discussions and negotiations have been carried on in the most frank and friendly spirit on all sides. We have all acknowledged each other's sincerity in the matter and although we must for the moment agree to differ, there is no bitterness or rancour in our disagreement.

Sometimes in the heat and excitement of discussion and argument we are apt to overlook the area of agreement.

There is a large and very important area of agreement as to the future freedom of India.

I shall be leaving New Delhi on my return journey on Sunday morning. I want first to thank you all for your help and then I want to ask you to continue that help—not to me but to India.

The discussions are over, they will slip back into history and they will leave their impress a good, clear, healthy impress which will influence the future.

But the present and the future press upon us and must be faced. India is threatened, all who love India—as I love India and you love India—must bend their energies—each in his own way—to her immediate help.

That help cannot come through discussions and differences, it must come by drawing together the diverse elements into a closely-knit and common effort. That is your task, there you can help whatever your party or community. We

have tried our best to agree—we have failed. Never mind whose fault it is, let me take all the blame if that will help in uniting India for her own defence.

Great Britain will do her utmost. America is doing all she can, and now India must devote herself wholeheartedly with total effort in every field of activity to defending her soil and to protecting her women and children from those ghastly horrors that have befallen her Chinese friends, neighbours.

You have my best thanks for what you have done to help me, you will have my even greater thanks in what you will do to help India.

Sapru-Jayakar Memorandum

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Dr. M. R. Jayakar, in a memorandum presented to Sir Stafford Cripps, dated New Delhi, 4th. April 1942, strongly pressed for the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Governor-General's Executive Council and among other things asked that the majority required for any decision by a Provincial Legislature to adhere or not to adhere to the Union should not be less than sixty-five per cent of the Indian members of the lower House present at the meeting at which the decision would be taken. The memorandum opposed a plebiscite for the purpose and called attention to the necessity for the restoration of popular Governments in the Provinces.

Giving their personal views, Sir Tej Bahadur and Mr. Jayakar said: "We observe from the draft declaration that excepting Clause (E) there is very little in the declaration about the change to be introduced in the constitution of the Government during the period of the war. It may be that instructions have been or may be issued to His Excellency the Viceroy to bring about the necessary changes in the composition and the constitution of the Executive Government. If any such instructions have been issued, we are not aware of them, but we must point out that Indian opinion attaches the greatest importance to the transfer of real power in the Central Government at the present moment, and it is for this reason that we emphasise the necessity of the complete non-official assumption of Government without the reservation of any portfolio during the interim period.

"We have considered the terms of Clause (E) as originally given to us and as subsequently amended by Sir Stafford Cripps. In the amended clause, we find it stated that, while His Majesty's Government must inevitably bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as a part of their world war effort, the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the people of India. We have carefully considered the terms of this amended clause, particularly in the light of the speech of Sir Stafford Cripps at the Press Conference, a summary of which appeared in the Press on the 30th of March, 1942. It is stated therein that Sir Stafford Cripps was emphatic that handing over political control and direction of Defence in the midst of the war to the Indian Government would be fatal, and further that if Indian leaders insisted on absolute control over Defence before accepting the scheme, then the scheme would fall through. We realise that the transfer of absolute control over Defence at the present juncture, when it is necessary that there should be unity of direction and control of military policy, would not be in the best interests of England and India. But we fail to see how this end will fail to be achieved by the appointment of an Indian Defence Member, who, we presume, will be a man possessed of a due sense of responsibility and would be only too willing to accept expert advice and to work in the closest co-operation with the War Cabinet.

"While we appreciate the necessity of unity of policy and control in matters of defence, we think, in common with most of our countrymen, that the appointment of an Indian Member in charge of Defence, working in close association and co-operation with the War Cabinet and willing to accept expert advice, will be taken at this stage as an unmistakable token of the reality of the transfer of such power and as a symbol of the confidence of His Majesty's Government in the people of his country. We have no doubt that the object of His Majesty's Government is that the people of this country should feel that this is their own war, but we feel that the requisite sense of responsibility for the defence of the country can best be stimulated by an appeal to their sense of pride and self-esteem and by the two countries—England and India—completely identifying themselves with each other in the common causes of defending this country. We strongly

hold that it would be a mistake to ignore the strength of the sentiment of the people on this subject.

"We desire to state unequivocally that we are stongly in favour of the Indian people rendering every possible help in the successful prosecution of the war. At the same time, we feel equally clearly that in order to achieve that end, it is necessary that, during the period of the war, there should be an Indian Defence Member of the Council of the Governor-General. We are fully aware of the arguments to the contrary and we do not wish to overlook or minimise them but we feel that the arguments in favour of the adoption of this step are overwhelming.

"The adoption of an Indian Defence Member will have a great effect on Indian psychology. It will inspire the people with confidence and materially help in altering the present mentality of the people which in our opinion, is not adequately zealous in the successful prosecution of the war. We do not in the slightest degree desire that there should be any conflict between his powers and those of the Commander-in-Chief in technical matters or in decisions about the movements or disposition of the troops or similar other matters. We think that the presence of such a Member will, far from weakening the military position in India, strengthen it, and the political effects of this step will be very wholesome."

"Besides, there are, in our opinion, large and inexhaustible resources of man-power remaining untapped in the youth of the country, which can be mobilised by methods which a Defence Member drawn from the people alone can effectively employ. His approach to this store-house of strength will be by methods vitally different from those which the British official mind has hitherto employed with such little effect. The successful way in which the people of China, Russia and even the small Philippine Islands have resisted the overwhelming forces of Japanese aggression, contrasted with the debacle in Malaya, Singapore and Rangoon, graphically illustrates the difference between a struggle carried on by the people of a country under the direction of their own leaders and another pursued with the aid of a professional army, guided and directed by officers who are drawn from a different race. We venture to suggest that at this critical time, when the danger is daily approaching the old-world ideas of keeping Indians in the perpetual position of unarmed helplessness and also the feelings of distrust and suspicion which have led this policy, should be forthwith abandoned and a new era of hope and confidence inaugurated, leading to a joint effort by England and India on terms of mutual reliance and association. It is only such an association that would be productive of the maximum effort of this country, resulting, eventually, in a victory based on the self-esteem, honour and willing sacrifice of a proud people.

"On all these grounds, we desire strongly to press the inclusion of an Indian Defence Member in the Executive Council as otherwise, the declaration, whatever its other merits may be, will fail to achieve the object it is intended to serve. It should not, in our opinion, be difficult to define the spheres of activity of the Defence Member and of the Commander-in-Chief so as to avoid conflict; nor should it be difficult to secure close co-operation and co-ordination between the two.

The second point to which we desire to advert relates to Clause (E) of the proposed declaration. While we recognise the justice of allowing any province of British India the liberty of remaining out of the new constitution and of retaining its present constitutional position, we are not free from considerable doubt and anxiety about the wisdom of the further provision which makes it possible for another Federal Union being established. Such a Federal Union may, in certain conceivable circumstances, be a rival or hostile Union. But apart from this, we cannot favour any step which may have the effect of breaking up the integrity of the country fostered by a long succession of Hindu and Muslim Emperors and a galaxy of British administrators. We are convinced that the creation of more than one Union, howsoever consistent in theory with the principle of self-determination, will be disastrous to the lasting interests of the country and to its integrity and security.

"In the draft Declaration which has been handed over to us, we do not find any indication of the precise majority of votes which will be required in a provincial legislature to carry a resolution as to whether the province will or will not adhere to the Union. We are, however, of the opinion that in a matter of this momentous character, the method of a bare majority cannot be adopted, and the majority required for any decision on this question should not be less than 65 per cent of the Indian members of the Lower

House in which the resolution is passed. We do not think that a decision in which the Indian population is primarily interested should be allowed to be influenced by the votes of European members to whom the question of remaining in one Federation or another cannot be of the same importance as it is to the Indian members.

We are also strongly of the opinion that, once this principle of a prescribed majority of votes in a legislature is accepted, it would not only be superfluous but might easily lead to grave social disorder if resort were to be had to the further device of a plebiscite of the adult population of the province. We feel that, in the existing circumstances of the country, such a plebiscite, however democratic in theory, is bound to lead to serious consequences gravely disturbing peace and tranquillity not only in the province concerned, but in other areas to which the contagion may easily spread, leading to violent communal or religious conflicts. For these reasons, we cannot conceal our grave concern as to the wisdom and expediency of the provisions making it possible for some provinces to combine into a separate Union.

"We attach importance to the possibility of leaders of Indian opinion in the principal communities coming to some mutual agreement before the cessation of hostilities—an agreement which may secure and safeguard the interests of all minorities by providing for (a) their representation in the legislature, (b) in the Government to be established, and (c) reservation to them of the fullest liberty in matters of conscience, religion and culture. If the contending parties begin to work together in a common cause during the interim period, they will, we hope, learn to appreciate one another's point of view, and a spirit of tolerance and confidence may be generated, conducive to a final settlement which will secure the position of the minorities in the fullest measure without causing a disruption of the well-established integrity of the country.

"If, however, all attempts during the intervening period to secure one Federal Union unhappily fail and the overwhelming wishes of the provinces to have separate union are indicated through their legislatures, and the evils pointed above of having a separate Union are prevented or mitigated, we have no objection to the experiment suggested in the draft declaration being made subject, of course, to what we have stated above.

"Lastly, we desire to call attention to the necessity for the restoration in the provinces of a popular form of Government. There is no reference to this question in the draft Declaration, probably, because it is intended to leave it for decision by the new Government which is to be established at the Centre. We consider, however, that the rule which at present prevails in so many provinces under Section 93 of the Government of India Act should be brought to an immediate end and their administration restored once more to popular control. If for the successful working of the Provincial Government it should be necessary to establish Coalition Governments, we would indeed welcome such an arrangement.

"On the other points arising out of the draft declaration of Sir Stafford Cripps, we do not wish to say anything more than that we are in general agreement with the line adopted by His Majesty's Government."

The Hindu Maha Sabha Memorandum

The Working Committee of the Hindu Maha Sabha, in a memorandum on Sir Stafford Cripps' proposals, issued from New Delhi on the 1st. April 1942, said :

"There are several points in the declaration which are more or less satisfactory, but according to the statement unfortunately made by Sir Stafford Cripps, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*. As some essential features of the scheme are wholly or partially unacceptable to us, the Hindu Maha Sabha has no other alternative but to reject the scheme.

India should not be divided

"One of the cardinal points in the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has put forward on behalf of the War Cabinet is the right which has been conferred on the provinces of British India to keep out of the Indian Union or Federation. The basic principle of the Hindu Maha Sabha is that India is one and indivisible. In religious and cultural aspects there has been recognised the fundamental unity of India by the Hindus throughout the ages, and even unity in political sphere was an accomplished fact in many periods of this country's history.

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Even during some two centuries of British rule, the political unity of India has been recognised and fostered and this has always been claimed by Britain herself as her finest achievement. Besides, India has been treated as one political and constitutional unit under the Constitution Act of 1935. The right to step out of the Indian Federation will stimulate communal and sectional animosities. The other option given to the non-acceding provinces to set up a rival Pakistan-Federation constitutes, in view of such Moslem movements as Pakistan and Pathanistan involving threats of joining hands with Afghanistan and other Moslem nations, a serious menace to India's security and this may lead to civil war in the country. The Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be true to itself and to the best interests of Hindustan (India) if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form. The Hindu Maha Sabha therefore has fundamental objections to the proposal.

Objection to right of non-accession

"The right of non-accession of any province to the 'Indian Union' cannot be justified on the principle of self-determination, and no such right can be imposed by any outside authority. India has already been one unitary State, and the existing provinces are constituted as administrative units. The analogy of sovereign States entering into a federation and surrendering portion of their sovereignty for certain common purposes cannot apply to Indian provinces. According to the scheme of Sir Stafford Cripps, a treaty will be signed between His Majesty's Government and the Constituent Assembly and such a treaty will implement the undertakings given by His Majesty's Government for the protection of racial and religious minorities. In the framing of this treaty all parties and sections will have an effective say. Such a treaty ought to completely satisfy the minorities. If, however, any minority is not satisfied with the safeguards in the proposed constitutions, then the question of such safeguards can be referred to the tribunal of arbitration to be appointed by the Constituent Assembly in consultation with disputing parties. We want to take our stand on justice and fairplay and we do not ask for any rights or privileges which we are not prepared to extend to any community.

Interim arrangements vague and unsatisfactory

"The Hindu Maha Sabha is not so much concerned with a declaration as to the future but the real question is whether England is willing to transfer immediately real political power to India and, if so, to what extent. It notes with regret that the scheme which Sir Stafford Cripps has announced is nebulous, vague and unsatisfactory with regard to the interim arrangements. The Government of India Act of 1935 still maintains the bureaucracy in power with the Governor-General and the Governors as their powerful protagonists. But, for the successful prosecution of the war, it is essential to transfer real power to Indian hands and to set up conventions whereby Indian Ministers can formulate and execute a policy of national defence, including the formation of national militia and the arming of the Indian people for the defence of the country.

"It has been the demand of the Hindu Maha Sabha that India should be immediately declared an independent nation with free and equal status in the Indo British Commonwealth. The declaration and status of India during the interim period have not been made at all clear. Particularly in regard to defence, the scheme of His Majesty's Government is unacceptable to us. It is urgent and imperative that if India is to be an effective partner in the struggle for freedom, her defence policy must be determined and her defence arrangements must be made on the responsibility of her own Defence Minister enjoying the confidence of all sections of the people. The tragic experience of Malaya and Burma have demonstrated that apart from people who were deliberately kept unarmed, contributed to the British reverses. The psychology necessary for full and willing co-operation in the present war amongst the Indian people cannot be created unless and until the defence of India is put in Indian hands.

Election of constitution-making body

"We note with satisfaction that this scheme provides for a constitution-making body for framing the future constitution of India, and that the Constituent Assembly may begin its work with the declaration of India's independence. But the principle on which it will be constituted is vicious. The constitution-making

body will be elected on the basis of the communal award which is not only anti-national but runs counter to the essential principles of democracy.

"Unless and until the scheme of His Majesty's Government is radically altered and readjusted on the vital issues mentioned above, the Hindu Maha Sabha cannot be a party to its acceptance, inasmuch as the scheme is to be accepted or rejected *in toto*."

The Muslim League Memorandum

The Muslim League Working Committee in a resolution dated New Delhi, the 11th. April 1942, declared that the Cripps proposals, in their present form, were not acceptable.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, says the resolution, have given their most earnest and careful consideration to the announcement made by Mr. Churchill, the British Prime Minister, in the House of the Commons on the 11th of March, 1942, and the Draft Declaration of the War Cabinet of His Majesty's Government regarding the future of India and also the interim proposals, during the critical period which now faces India, for the immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country.

The Committee appreciate that the British Prime Minister in his pronouncement, made it clear that the Draft Declaration embodied only the proposal of His Majesty's Government and not their decision, and that they are subject to agreement between the main elements in India, thus maintaining the validity of the Declaration of the 8th of August 1940, which had promised to the Mussalmans that neither the machinery for the framing of the Constitution should be set up nor the Constitution itself should be enforced without the approval and consent of Muslim India.

The Committee while expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication by providing for the establishment of two or more independent unions in India regret that the proposals of His Majesty's Government, embodying the fundamentals, are not open to any modification and therefore no alternative proposals are invited. In view of the rigidity of the attitude of His Majesty's Government with regard to the fundamentals not being open to any modification, the Committee have no alternative but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable to them for reason given below.

(1) The Mussalmans, after 25 years' of genuine efforts for the reconciliation of the two major communities and the bitter experience of the failure of such efforts, are convinced that it is neither just nor possible, in the interest of peace and happiness of the two peoples, to compel them to constitute one Indian Union, composed of the two principal nations—Hindus and Muslims, which appears to be the main object of His Majesty's Government, as adumbrated in the preamble of the Draft Declaration, the creation of more than one union being relegated only to the realm of remote possibility and is purely illusory.

(2) In the Draft Declaration a Constitution-making Body has been proposed with the primary object of creating one Indian Union. So far as the Muslim League is concerned, it has finally decided that the only solution of India's constitutional problem is the partition of India into independent zones; and it will, therefore, be unfair to the Mussalmans to compel them to enter such a Constitution-making Body, whose main object is the creation of a new Indian Union. With conditions as they are, it will be not only futile but on the contrary may exacerbate bitterness and animosity amongst the various elements in the country.

Besides, the machinery which has been proposed for the creation of the Constitution-making Body, namely, that it will consist of members elected by the newly elected Lower Houses of the eleven Provinces, upon the cessation of hostilities, as a single electoral college by the system of proportional representation, is a fundamental departure from the right of the Mussalmans, hitherto enjoyed by them, to elect their representatives by means of separate electorates which is the only sure way in which true representatives of the Mussalmans can be chosen.

The Constitution-making Body will take decisions by a bare majority on all questions of most vital and paramount character involved in the framing of the constitution, which is a departure from the fundamental principles of justice and contrary to constitutional practice so far followed in the various countries and Dominions; and the Mussalmans by agreeing to this, will, instead of exercising

their right and judgment as a constituent factor, be at the entire mercy of the Constitution-making Body, in which they will be a minority of about 25 per cent.

(3) The right of non-accession to the Union, as contemplated in the Draft Declaration, has been conceded, presumably, in response to the insistent demands by the Mussalmans for the partition of India, but the method and procedure laid down are such as to negative the professed object for, in the draft proposals, the right of non-accession has been given to the existing Provinces, which have been formed from time to time for administrative convenience and on no logical basis.

The Mussalmans cannot be satisfied by such a declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issues is to court disaster.

In the draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union; but in the letter dated the 2nd of April from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps, addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that "a Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent, the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population." In this connection, it must be emphasised that in the provinces, where the Mussalmans are in a majority as in the case of major provinces of Bengal and the Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assemblies; and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province, the total number namely 60 and 50 respectively is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated and a decision under such conditions cannot be the true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Mussalmans of those Provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the Provinces in which the Mussalmans are in a majority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assemblies, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the provinces and not to the Mussalmans alone which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

(4) With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or from a Union.

(5) With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement on the terms between the contracting parties nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

Complete picture not available

With regard to the interim arrangement, there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are, therefore, unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country, is that Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the Centre and discard the rest of the draft scheme, and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements.

In conclusion, the Committee wish to point out that the position of the Muslim League has been and is that unless the principle of Pakistan Scheme, as embodied in the Lahore Resolution dated March, 1940, which is now the creed of the All-India Muslim League, namely, "The establishment of completely independent States formed by demarcating geographically contiguous units into regions which shall be so constituted, with such territorial readjustment as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Mussalmans are numerically in a majority, as in the North Western and Eastern zones of India, shall be grouped

together to constitute independent States as Muslim free national homelands in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign ; adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the Constitution for minorities in the above mentioned units and regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them ; in other parts of India where the Mussalmans are in a minority adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them" is unequivocally accepted and the right of the Mussalmans to self-determination is conceded by means of a machinery which will reflect the true verdict of Muslim India, it is not possible for the Muslim League to accept any proposal or scheme regarding the future.

The Liberal Federation's Memorandum

Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, President of the Liberal Federation of India, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad and Mr. Naushir Bharucha, Honorary Secretary of the Federation, saw Sir Stafford Cripps on the 2nd. April 1942, and communicated to him the following views of the Liberal Federation on the draft declaration :

The Council of the Liberal Federation has very carefully examined the draft declaration brought by Sir Stafford Cripps. It welcomes the proposals as are India a self-governing Dominion with the same status and functions as are enjoyed by Great Britain and other members of the Commonwealth. On examination of the different heads of the proposals, the Council feels that the provision giving liberty to any province not to accede to the Indian Union is fraught with serious difficulties and dangers. The creation of more than one Federal Union in India, having their own separate armies may result, in certain conceivable circumstances, in a conflict between them. It would almost immediately lead to customs barriers and complicated questions about ports, railways, existing public debt, etc., would arise. Moreover, the weakness of the military organisation of the one or the other of the different Unions will seriously impair the safety and defence of India as a whole. The Council further feels that communal feelings would be further exacerbated in the course of a decision about accession or non-accession.

All these and other considerations and the serious dangers and difficulties, should be fully considered before His Majesty's Government finally decide to implement these proposals. The Council has always been of the view that the interests of different communities should be adequately safeguarded and that the case will seriously affect not only the unity and solidarity of India, but her stature and influence in the Common-wealth of Nations. One of the effects of the proposals is that the questions whether a province accedes to the Union or not will in the last resort be determined by a plebiscite, unless 60 per cent of the Lower House of the Legislature vote for accession. The plebiscite vote is to be determined by a bare majority. The Council feels that the decision of such a momentous question should not be concluded by a bare majority but that some minimum percentage, say, at least 55 per cent should be prescribed. The Council also sees no reason why women, who are entitled to vote for the elections to the Legislatures and can be and are members of the Legislature, should be denied a vote in the plebiscite.

With regard to the representation of the Indian States on the constitution-making body the Council urges that the people of the States should be given a voice in the selection of the representatives of the States on this body.

An Indian Defence Member essential

On the subject of Defence, the representation of India on the War Cabinet and the Pacific War Council is satisfactory so far as it goes. But this should not stand in the way of the appointment of an Indian as a Defence Member. Such an appointment will have a tremendous effect in producing the necessary psychological reaction, which will bring the Indian people whole-heartedly in the war effort. The Council of the Liberal Federation would also urge the British Government to appreciate the fact that totalitarian aggression involves totalitarian deferment to a total war cannot be won unless the Indian nation, as a united political entity, throws itself into this war heart and soul. Malaya, Singapore and

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Rangoon serve as grave warnings as to how, even in modern warfare, technical skill alone, without the spontaneous support of the millions on the 'Home Front,' can achieve little on the military front. It is the considered opinion of the Council that full co-operation of the Indian people will not be secured in the war effort unless an Indian Defence Member is appointed, the Executive Council, the Governor-General's Council should be nationalised, so that by conventions in the near future, the Governor-General may assume the position of a constitutional head of his Government.

States' People's Conference Memorandum

The Standing Committee of the All-India States' People's Conference considered the proposals of the British War Cabinet as published on March 30, 1942.

The Standing Committee is naturally interested in all the proposals made because of their direct or indirect effect on the future of the Indian States, which is bound up with the future of the rest of India. But the Committee proposes to consider only those proposals which directly affect the people of the Indian States.

The Committee has noted that the whole approach to this question on the part of the British Cabinet is vitiated by the extra-ordinary assumption that only the British Government and the Rulers of the States count in the disposal of these vital issues. Nowhere is any reference made to the people of the States who number 90 odd millions. This would in any event, have been an extraordinary assumption and procedure, but in the modern world and in the course of the world war that is going on, when so much is repeatedly said about a new order and democracy and freedom, such a deliberate omission and ignoring of 90 million people is significant of the way the mind of the British Government functions even in these times of peril and disaster. It is an insult to those people and any proposals based on such insults, can only be resisted to the uttermost. The only alternative to such a course would be for the States' people to give up all their cherished objectives and dreams and submit indefinitely to an intolerable slavery.

Based On Unwarranted Assumption

In these circumstances, it is hardly necessary for the Standing Committee to consider these proposals in any detail when they are based on unwarranted assumptions and premises which can never be accepted. Nevertheless the Committee desires to emphasise that these proposals are utterly harmful and injurious to the cause of freedom both in the States and in India as a whole. The Committee desires to repeat what has been authoritatively stated before that it "cannot admit the right of the Rulers of the Indian States or of foreign vested interests to come in the way of Indian freedom. Sovereignty in India must rest with the people within the States or in the provinces and all other interests must be subordinated to their vital interests."

To treat the so-called treaties between the British Government and the Rulers of Indian States, as a justification for the political fragmentation of India in opposition to or ignoring the opinion of the people of the States, is a position wholly untenable in the modern world. It must be remembered that only 30 or 40 States have such treaties and that in the making of these treaties the States people had no hand. These treaties were made long ago in circumstances which no longer exist. It is intolerable that these ancient treaties should be made to come in the way now of political and economic advance on the part of the people.

Establishment of Responsible Government

The States' People's Conference holds as its fundamental objective that the present States' system in India must be ended and responsible government should be established in the States. It holds with the Indian National Congress that "Poorna Swaraj or complete independence which is the objective of the Congress, is for the whole India inclusive of the States; for, the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it is being maintained in subjection."

The Indian States system represents an order which has ceased to exist all over the world and which is a denial of both national and personal freedom. It suffers from not only the autocratic personal Government of the Ruler but also from the direct and indirect intervention and control of irresponsible British authority. It thus suffers, as has frequently been pointed out in the past by high British officers, from the evils which inevitably flow from this extraordinary arrangement. In some ways it represents a system far worse than that of fascism

against which the present war is said to be waged. It is the people of the States and not their Rulers of the British suzerain authority that stand for democracy.

In the proposals under consideration no reference whatever is made to the internal democratisation of the States. It is stated there that the States will have the option at two stages to join the rest of India. First, in the drafting of a constitution; secondly, in accepting membership in the Indian Union. At neither stage is there any reference to the people of the States and only the Rulers are supposed to decide these vital questions which affect the people. The people of the States demand the right of self-determination at every stage through their elected representatives and any decision made with reference to them can have no binding effect of them.

Perpetuating British Dominion

In the event of the Rulers of the States keeping out of the Union, it would appear that British Paramountcy is intended to continue together with all the other evils that present. It has been stated that foreign British armed forces may be stationed in the States to give effect to this paramountcy. In present circumstances, when both the States and the rest of India are under British control, this however undesirable, is a feasible proposition. But in the event of the rest of India forming an independent Union, the stationing of foreign forces in the States will create new problems affecting both the safety of the States and that of the Indian Union. Questions will inevitably arise as to how these foreign forces can move from one State to another through independent territory. As a result a large number of British Colonial territories calling themselves Indian States will be created owing ultimate allegiance to a foreign power. Such a development can only lead to continuous conflict and instability.

The Standing Committee, therefore, rejects and condemns these proposals put forward on behalf of the British War Cabinet in regard to the States. The whole scheme is a complete negation of the avowed war-aims of the British Government and would appear to be an attempt to consolidate the British Colonial domination in large parts of India and to maintain autocratic rule in the States. The Committee declares that nothing short of full self-determination and the right to frame the constitution of the States as well as to participate in the Constituent Assembly for all India through their elected representatives, can be accepted or can meet the requirements of the situation.

Congress Support urged

The Standing Committee respectfully draws the attention of the Indian National Congress towards all these resolutions and statements of policy that have emanated from its executive from time to time with regard to the Indian States, and trusts that the Congress will accept any constitutional scheme for India in which the right of self-determination for the people of the States has not been conceded on par with British India and in which provision is not made for the same democratic, political and economic rights as for the people of the provinces.

The Standing Committee calls upon the people of the States to strengthen their respective organisations in order to bring pressure upon their Rulers for the fulfilment of their demands and to be prepared for all the eventualities that will necessarily arise in the course of such awakening.

Momin Conference Memorandum

The Committee of the All-India Momin Conference adopted a resolution at New Delhi on the 8th. April 1942, declaring that the Cripps proposals fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and are not acceptable unless modified.

The Committee firmly believes that the solidarity, integrity and unity of India are vitally essential for the common good of the Indian people and especially in the best interests of the Muslims of India. The Committee cannot, however, lose sight of the fact that a section of the Muslims is against the introduction of a single unitary system of government in this country, apprehending such a system to be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims residing in the Muslim majority provinces. But the Committee, being conscious of the fact that the fear and apprehensions of such Muslims are the outcome of the mutual distrust and suspicion of the communities inhabiting this country, has full belief that such communal dissensions and animosities as exist at present will completely disappear with the establishment of full self-rule in India.

The Committee holds that the proposal relating to the option given to the provinces to keep out of the proposed Indian Union has been ingeniously devised inasmuch as its practical effect would inevitably be to create several 'Ulsters' within India.

The Committee opines that the constitution-making body, as envisaged by the proposals, would reflect the opinion of only 10 per cent of the inhabitants of India and can, therefore, hardly be called a democratic body.

Stressing the need for transfer of control of India's Defence to Indians, the Committee declares that the masses must be made to feel that this war is being fought in the interest of India and that it is their own war.

SUGGESTED CHANGES

The Committee considers that the proposals are absolutely unsatisfactory and fall short of the aspirations of the Muslim masses and regards them as quite unacceptable unless they are modified in the manner suggested below :

1. that no province be allowed to keep out of the Indian Union unless the scheme of one single Indian Union were given a fair trial for full ten years;
2. that instead of allowing the existing Lower House of the Provinces to nominate representatives to the constitution-making body, provision be made to constitute that body by electing its members by means of adult franchise;
3. that the control of the Defence of India be forthwith transferred entirely into Indian hands; and
4. that the peoples of the Indian States be given the right to elect representatives to the constitution-making body.

The Depressed Classes' Views

"The proposals which Sir Stafford Cripps placed before us, as settled facts, if accepted by us, would undoubtedly place us under the yoke of our oppressors and blood and tears would be our lot for ever", said Rao Bahadur *M. C. Rajah*, *M. L. A.*, in a statement to the Press, issued from Pooná on the 22nd. April 1942, expressing his views on the proposals of Sir Stafford Cripps.

Continuing, Rao Bahadur Rajah says that the Depressed Classes do not view favourably the proposal of His Majesty's Government to set up a Constituent Assembly as the constitution-making body inasmuch as in this caste-ridden and sect-ridden country the Depressed Classes will have absolutely little or no chance, through such an electoral college as envisaged in the proposal, of returning genuine representatives of the community to the constitution-making body. It will only aid the Congress Party to secure a fully packed gathering in such a body.

"If the portfolio of Defence is also to be handed over to the Indians, that will be the last instrument placed in the hands of the Congress by His Majesty's Government to emasculate and strangle the Depressed Classes politically", he adds.

Proceeding Rao Bahadur Rajah says, "Ninety per cent of India's wealth is reported to be her agricultural produce and 90 per cent of India's tillers of the soil are the Depressed Classes. I feel that it is my duty to point out that India will march onwards to its promised goal, that it will progress forward to the extent to which its least favoured community, the Depressed Classes, march onward and progress. It is, therefore, necessary that if any further power devolved upon the Congress or the Muslims, it should be so devolved that the interests of all classes, however small, should be very carefully protected and safeguarded and their aspirations nourished and not smothered."

Concluding, Rao Bahadur Rajah sounds a note of warning that no arrangement which the British Government might enter into with the Congress and other political parties without the consent of the Depressed Classes would be binding on the community and that if any such arrangement was made it would be strongly resented and stoutly resisted with all the means at their command.

Moderate Sikhs' Memorandum

On the invitation of Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia, a meeting of Moderate Sikhs of the Punjab was held at Amritsar on the 5th April 1942 at Majithia House, Sardar Jodh Singh, Principal of the Khalsa College, presiding. Over 150 Sikh leaders including Sardar Buta Singh, a member of the Council of State, were present.

After four hours' discussion the meeting adopted a number of resolutions demanding that all portfolios including that of Defence be transferred to Indians,

that a representative government owing allegiance to the Crown and including at least one Sikh be established at the centre, that secess on of provinces should not be allowed, and that there should be joint electorates with reservation of seats for minorities including Sikhs.

A memorandum on these lines was submitted through Sardar Kirpal Singh Majithia.

Cripps Explains Breakdown in Commons

In the House of Commons on the 28th. April 1942 Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal, opened the debate on his mission to India. He said that he did not think that any one in this country need regret that the proposals for the solution of the problem of Self-Government for India were put forward. No one blamed His Majesty's Government for the failure to reach an agreement.

Sir Stafford Cripps added: "I do not believe it is possible to find under the existing circumstances a fairer solution of the problem than the Government's declaration."

Sir Stafford spoke as follows :

"When it was announced that I was to go to India with the Cabinet's proposals, this House was good enough to express its hopes that the mission might have a successful conclusion. That hope, was, I know, re-echoed by the great mass of the British people, by the Dominions and by a multitude of friends in Britain, India, the United States and elsewhere. Unfortunately, events have brought disappointment to these hopes, but I do not think anyone in this country need feel regretful that the proposals were put forward or need blame the British Government for the unfortunate fact of the failure to reach an agreement.

"OUR SINCERITY OF PURPOSE DEMONSTRATED"

"I should like to emphasise, at the outset, what I fear may prove rather a lengthy account of my mission, that, in my view, nothing but good will result both from the fact that the proposals were made and from the almost equally important fact that the War Cabinet sent one of its own members to discuss them in India with the leaders of Indian opinion (cheers). This method of presentation of the proposals has, I believe, demonstrated our sincerity of purpose (cheers).

"Let me say a word or two regarding the background to my visit. Undoubtedly, the moment was a difficult one and a number of people have made comment on it. It is a pity that something on the same lines was not done earlier."

"There is much in the relationship of this country to India that could be criticised, analysed and argued about. But I do not propose to embark upon any such argument, as it is far more profitable, I believe, to spend the time available in an examination of the present and future rather than in an attempt to allot blame for the past. It is a task we can very well leave to the historian.

"MOMENT CHOSEN A DIFFICULT ONE"

"The moment chosen was a difficult one for three main reasons. First, because of the imminent approach of the enemy to India's shores. Japanese forces, by land and sea and air, were almost at the gates of India, and in such circumstances, many things that might have been usefully discussed and negotiated in more peaceful times could not be dealt with, because there was the overriding need to do everything in our power to carry out our duty to defend India from a foreign invader. Second, owing to the events in the Far Eastern theatre of war, accompanied by highly skilled, though grossly misleading, propaganda from Axis sources, an atmosphere of defeatism and anti-British sentiment was showing itself in certain sections of Indian opinion. Indians too, were uncertain of the future, and of the British Government's view as to what that future should be. Third, with the approach of Self-Government or Dominion Status as a reality, communal differences of view as to the form of government suitable for the future in India had tended to become more definitely crystallised; and, especially the idea of two separate Indias, which even two years ago was little more than a vague vision of certain extremists, had come to be a definite and accepted programme of the most powerful Muslim political organisation. There were, of course, other factors in the situation, but these were the principal ones, which increased the difficulties of obtaining any general understanding among the Indian peoples.

BRITISH WAR CABINET'S PROPOSALS

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BRITISH GOVERNMENT'S OBJECTIVE

"It was the need for a clarification of the situation and for consolidation of Indian opinion in a favourable direction that impelled the British Government to decide that some positive steps must be taken and taken quickly. The British Government's objective and hope was that we might use these very difficulties to bring together all the main leaders of Indian opinion for the double purpose of solving India's future and reinforcing her defence against the invader threatening her shores. To accomplish this, two things were necessary, first, to give a clear, unequivocal promise regarding the future; second, to address an invitation to the various communal and political sections of Indian opinion to come together on the Viceroy's Executive Council for the immediate prosecution of the war in India. This invitation would have to be made upon the basis of the offer regarding the future status of India. In the circumstances of the communal situation in India at the present time, it must be borne in mind that the future is inevitably linked with the present. I am confident that no mere temporary arrangements could have been reached without some exposition of our future intentions.

"Had we attempted to deal only with the present, we should immediately have been met with the demand for a clarification regarding the future. The difficulty of the communal situation has recently been emphasised by Mr. Gandhi in an article in the *Harijan* of April 19, where he makes the following statement. "The attainment of Independence is impossible until we have solved the communal tangle. We will never tackle this problem so long as either or both parties think Independence will or can come without any solution of the tangle. There are two ways of solving what has almost become insoluble—the royal way of non-violence or the way of violence."

Conflicting Demands

"The British Government also had to deal with certain definite and often conflicting demands voiced by various leaders of important sections of Indian opinion. The Congress was known to have demanded repeatedly Independence for India and a Constituent Assembly which should devise the new constitution for the Indian people, and perhaps the most important of all, a single Indian Government for the whole of India, British India and Indian States together. The Muslim League, on the other hand, had adopted, as the main plank of its programme, the demand for Pakistan—a territory made up of that rather vague congerie of areas in which Muslims are in a majority. The more dispersed, but still important minority of the Depressed Classes desired specific protection against the adverse effect of the caste system, while the Sikhs, that brave fighting race (cheers) who have done and are doing so much to help Britain in the defence of India, desired some form of protection against majority rule by another community. There were many other minorities, religious, racial or social, who equally asked for special treatment, either along the lines of that already accorded under the 1935 Act or upon some more generous scale. Then, outside British India, were the Princes and their peoples, some Princes having special treaty rights arising, in many cases, over a century ago."

"Among these conflicting claims it was necessary for the British Government to attempt to lay down some method whereby the Indian people could determine their own future—a method that would be acceptable to as many shades of opinion as possible. It was, of course, wholly consistent with the whole trend of opinion declarations, that if all sections of Indian opinion could agree upon some alternative method of Self-Determination, there would be no difficulty regarding its acceptance by the British Government. But in the past, when it had been left to the Indian communities to agree upon some manner of deciding their future, the British Government had been accused of relying upon the impossibility of an agreement in order to perpetuate their own domination over India. It was, therefore, necessary to devise a scheme whereby the refusal of a large minority to co-operate would not hold up the majority in their demand for Self-Government.

Clause relating to Interim Period

"So much for the considerations upon which that part of the draft Declaration dealing with the future constitution of India was based and which resulted in the form in which it was made before the Indian leaders and in which it appears now in the White Paper. The second part of the draft Declaration was to deal with the immediate period before the new constitution could come into being. It was left in vague and general terms, but subject to one vital and precise reserva-

tion. The reason for this form was that it was desired to leave open for discussion the way in which participation by Indian leaders in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations, to use the words of the document, could be made most effective and immediate. The single express reservation was as to Defence, and I shall return to that point in detail since it was one of the difficulties which arose during my discussions in Delhi.

"Let me, now, say a word as to the manner of conducting these discussions. I was most anxious that there should be no suspicion, whatever, that the British Government were hand-picking those whom I saw and consequently I asked the main organisations themselves to appoint those they wished to meet me. This they did, and they mostly expressed the wish that I should not interview any other than those of their Working Committees (laughter). Certain individuals I did see, such as Mr. Gandhi, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Joshi, Mr. Jayakar, the present or past Prime Ministers of all Provincial Governments, the Governors, and lastly but by no means least, members of the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indeed, it was to this latter body that I first disclosed the details of the draft Declaration immediately upon my arrival in India and after seeing them, each one individually. It was to the same body that I first announced the failure of the agreement. The British Government are fully aware of the service that has been done by the members of the Viceroy's Executive, and especially by those Indians, who have represented the interests of their peoples in that body. For that reason, I considered it necessary to go first and last to them.

Indian Press Both helpful and Fair

"As the House knows, I kept the draft Declaration from publication for the first week of my stay in Delhi in order that during that period I might submit to all the principal Indian representative leaders personally. It then became clear that its contents were becoming generally known, and it was considered better that it should be published and this was done. The Indian Press were both helpful and fair in that they gave the fullest publicity to all I said to them in Press conferences, while of course expressing their own views, often very forcibly.

"It is worthy of note that the skilful and analytical minds of the Indians sometimes lead them to seek out and emphasise every point as to which there may be doubt or as to which there may be disagreement, while they are apt to pass over points as to which there is agreement. This, sometimes, gives an appearance of much more keen and concentrated opposition than in fact exists. On the fundamental vital facts of their Self-Government and their Self-Determination there was, I believe, no single case of disagreement, not excluding representatives of the European community whom I saw twice. Disagreement came upon the way in which Self-Determination should be exercised, and upon the transitory provision for the Government of India until the new constitution could come into force.

A Legacy of the Past

"It must always be remembered that the one legacy of the past is the unwillingness of any considerable section of Indian opinion to accept any British offer unless the offer was also accepted by at least one of the two principal bodies—the Congress and the Muslim League. The state of internal opinion is such that, unless there is to be a large measure of acceptance of an offer, no minority cares to lay itself open to the accusation of being the creature of British Imperialism. It was, therefore, to be anticipated and we did anticipate that there would either be general acceptance or general rejection of the draft Declaration.

"Before I pass to particular matters around which discussions developed, I must make clear one other matter relating to the negotiations. When I was sent to India by the War Cabinet, I was given full authority to arrive at a settlement within the terms of the draft Declaration. Its essentials had to be maintained—a matter which I myself regarded as of importance as it was the one and only way in which general, discursive and endless discussions could be avoided. But, I alone was responsible for what was put forward to Indian leaders by way of explanation and amplification of the details in the draft.

"I naturally maintained close contact with the Viceroy. We met, in fact, every night during my stay and discussed the progress of events. I also maintained close contact with the Commander-in-Chief. Both were most helpful, but the responsibility for what was done was mine, not theirs. There was a tendency in some Indian quarters to suggest that they were responsible for the difficulties over Defence. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"There is perhaps one other person to whom I should refer to avoid any misunderstanding since his name has been somewhat bandied about in the Press. It so happened by coincidence that while I was in New Delhi, the Economic Mission arrived from the United States, headed by Colonel Louis Johnson, representing directly in that matter, President Roosevelt. He was entertained by the Viceroy on his first arrival, and while he was there, one of the Congress leaders asked to see him. After consulting the Viceroy and in accordance with the latter's advice, he saw Pandit Nehru and in a most helpful conversation ascertained what at the time seemed to be the difficulties in the way of settlement. I also called upon Col. Johnson by way of courtesy on his arrival, and gave him as accurate a picture of the situation as I could. Thereafter, at my suggestion and in accordance with his own personal desire to be of any assistance he could, he had other interviews of great help in clarifying the situation. At no time did he act otherwise than in a purely personal capacity, and he like two or three of my good Indian friends, merely did his best to give what help he could. I am personally most grateful to him and I am sure the Congress leaders are similarly so. But, I wish to make it abundantly clear that there was no question of American intervention, but only the personal help of a very able and pleasant American citizen.

Congress Attitude to Dominion Status

"Let me now come to the difficulties that arose. These were mostly concentrated into my discussions and correspondence with the Congress leaders. The Muslim League did not deliver me their objections until after they knew the result of my negotiations with the Congress. Questions outside the Congress objections which were raised by other sections I will deal with separately.

"The difficulties fell under three heads, which will be observed from a perusal of the final resolution of the Congress and the letter from the Congress President in the White Paper. The first were those related to the method of determining the new Constitution, the second those relating to Defence and the third those relating to the general form of the interim government.

"So far as the first category was concerned there were three objections. The first to the use of the word 'Dominion' and its definition in the opening paragraph of the draft Declaration. This was not a matter of prime importance. The Congress claim has been for Independence and they were afraid that their followers would attach undue importance to the apparent limitations included in the definition, although, I think, the leaders themselves appreciated the added words in Clause C of the draft Declaration which reads: 'The Treaty will not impose any restriction on the power of the Indian Union to decide in future its relationship to other Member-States of the British Commonwealth.' I think these words were accepted as making it perfectly clear that India could, in fact, leave the British Commonwealth of Nations should the Indian Government under the new constitution so desire it.

Provinces and Right of non-accession

"The second objection was the most substantial one. It was as to the right of non-accession of the provinces after the new constitution had been decided by the constitution-making assembly. I would ask members to study the two resolutions of the Congress and the Muslim League and then to look at the draft Declaration. They will, I think, come to the conclusion that the draft Declaration does no more than what Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders have constantly stated that they were prepared to do—that is keep open the issue of Pakistan—and they also, I am sure, realise that the scheme of the draft Declaration is as fair a compromise as possible between two extreme views. It was the British Government's duty to try and get an agreement by compromise, and not give either party all they wanted and then force it upon the other. I do not personally believe it possible to find, under existing circumstances, a fairer solution of the problem—a solution which aims at and provides for a single United India but which admits, if in the last resort parties cannot agree upon a form of constitution enabling them to work together, that the Muslims must be allowed, in those provinces where they can get a majority of the whole electorate, to vote those provinces out of the Union.

"I should add one word of explanation regarding the proposal made for effecting this non-accession, and which does not appear in the document itself.

The only ultimate test must be the wish of the actual majority of the adult male population of the province—that is to say, by a plebiscite. But it was not necessary to go to the trouble of a plebiscite where the result is a foregone conclusion. It was, therefore, suggested that every province should pass in its Lower House a formal vote of accession to the new Union, but if a minority of 40 per cent or more were against accession, then the minority should have the right to challenge a plebiscite, which should determine the matter by a simple majority. I desire to emphasise once again that the whole scheme was no rigid unchanging plan since it was expressly open to Indian communities to agree among themselves on a better alternative.

Position of Indian States

"The third and last objection was as regards the position of Indian States. The Congress has now, for many years, interested itself in the lot of the people in the Indian States and has declared that, in any new Constitution, the people, as distinct from their autocratic Rulers, must have a say. They, therefore, protested not against the Indian States coming into the constitution-making authority, but against their representatives being nominated by the Rulers and not elected by the people. Unfortunately, in my view, representative institutions have not yet developed in a great majority of the Indian States, which must be dealt with as they are, if they are to be brought into the constitution-making authority—and that participation, I believe, every one desires including most of the States' Rulers themselves.

"If there was a machinery in the States whereby popular representatives could be chosen, the British Government would be only too pleased. Already, a small beginning has been made in some States by the more enlightened Rulers and their Dewans. I am certain this House would wish the British administration in India to do all it can to encourage and expedite that development. But, for the moment, we can only deal with the situation as it exists historically. I need not trouble the House with all the complexities of the present constitutional position so far as the Indian States are concerned since, under the draft Declaration, the position would have been altered only so far as alteration was necessary to adjust the economic relationships of the new Indian Union or was caused by the action of the Indian States themselves in joining the new Union.

"However, none of these three differences with the Congress Working Committee would have been decisive of a negative result. For, though objecting and registering their protest, the Congress and the Muslim League and other bodies, such as, the Hindu Mahasabha, would have been prepared to co-operate, upon the immediate situation, despite the making of a declaration by the British Government and that is probably the most one can expect under the circumstances. It would, in fact, have meant a solution, for the Self-Determination laid down in the draft would then have held the field with finality, subject only to the various communities and bodies in India arriving at some alternative method by agreement.

Minorities other than Muslims

"There is one other matter with regard to the future to which I must refer. That is the position of the minorities such as the Depressed Classes, the Sikhs, Indian Christians and others. Each wished not unnaturally to have some special specific measure of protection included to cover its own case. But once Self-Determination has been promised to India, as proposed in the draft Declaration, it would be impossible for any British Government to impose terms in the new Indian Constitution. To do so would be a negation of Self-Determination. We have, however, in the past given undertakings to these minorities but in none of these cases other than that of the Muslims could these promises be dealt with by such device as non-accession. The minorities are not sufficiently localised or self-contained even in the case of the Sikhs, to make that possible, assuming that, upon other grounds, it was desirable. Some other solution therefore had to be found. I have not the slightest doubt that these minorities, all of whom would have been represented in the constitution-making body, in accordance with their strength under the Communal Award, would have obtained ample protection under the constitution from the majority. Indeed, the forces operating within the constitution-making body would have tended, very much, in favour of the minorities. But in view of our pledges we could not leave the minorities to rely upon this alone. We therefore, inserted an express clause as to the Treaty covering minority protection which will be found in Paragraph 2 of the draft Declaration.

"I should like to record here that neither the Congress nor the Muslim League expressed the slightest objection to this method of treating this subject.

Minorities themselves were, of course, unable to say at this stage what form of protection they wished for, since until the form of the new constitution is known, nobody can state how within that form the minorities can best be protected. That would have had to be a matter for negotiation when the main lines of the constitution have been decided upon. The minorities were all, I think, anxious to come into a temporary Government had it been formed under the terms of the draft Declaration despite their criticism of the scheme as a whole as lacking more specific protection for their own interests.

Defence control

"I now pass to the second category of objection—that relating to Defence. This is a matter which is far more complicated than might appear on the face of it, and whereon there was a distinct division of opinion amongst Indians themselves. Upon one thing, there was, I think, practical unanimity, and that was the actual technical conduct of the war in India and the control of the armed forces for the fighting purposes must remain under the British Commander-in-Chief. Every one realised that that was mere common-sense. So, there was no difficulty regarding it. The difference of opinion came when the responsibilities of the Government of India as apart from those of the British Government were considered. These latter—that is the direct responsibilities of the British Government—would have been quite satisfactorily dealt with by having a representative Indian on the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council, both of which posts were offered to Indian leaders. It was first sought to clarify the position as between the British Government's direct responsibilities and those of the Government of India by rewarding the final draft of Clause E into the form in which it now appears in the White Paper: 'During the critical period which now faces India and until the new constitution can be framed, the British Government must inevitably bear responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the defence of India as part of their world war effort. But the task of organising to the full the military, moral and material resources of India must be the responsibility of the Government of India with the co-operation of the peoples of India.' It was thought by those words to define as clearly as possible the division of responsibilities between the British Government and the Government of India. But, there is another cross division of responsibilities, much more difficult to define or separate out.

"The House will appreciate that, since the last war, the Commander-in-Chief in India has also held the post of Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and his actual function and activities are divided between the two posts he holds. In fact, the Defence Secretariat and the Defence Department and staff are, from the mere fact that they have a common chief, all interlinked and interdependent in such a way as to make anything like a complete detailed separation of the functions of the Commander-in-Chief from those of the Defence Minister a very long and complicated matter, and one which, if it was attempted at such a critical moment at this, would throw into chaos the whole Defence organisation in India,

FORMULA EVOLVED AS REGARDS DEFENCE MEMBER

"Nevertheless, I took the view—and the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief agreed—it will be difficult for representative Indians on the Viceroy's Executive to rouse the people of India to their defence, unless they could say with justice that at least some part of Defence was the responsibility of a representative Indian and so of the Indian peoples. That was the point which was stressed by practically every one I interviewed including the Europeans. It was in an attempt to overcome this very real difficulty that I spent a good deal of my time at New Delhi. Various suggestions were made and several formula tried, until eventually one was worked out which became the final suggestion and is the only one with which I need now deal. It will be found on Page 8 of the White Paper. Its object was quite simple, to allocate to the Commander-in-Chief, as War Member of the Viceroy's Executive, all administrative functions under the Government of India for the vital and efficient carrying on of the war—that is the relations of his General Staff, Naval Staff and Air Staff, whilst at the same time leaving to a representative Indian other functions of Defence, roughly corresponding to the list on page 8 of the White Paper under the heading, Annex I, together with a number of other very important functions, examples of which are given in Annex 2 and which would in fact have made the new Defence Department one of the largest of all departments in India.

"The House will, of course, realise that numerous other aspects of Defence, such as, Civil Defence, Communications, Labour, etc., are already in the hands of Indian members of the Viceroy's Council and would have continued so, although personages might have been changed. It was impossible for the British Government to go further with safety (cheers) and no risk could be taken at such a moment as the present on so vital and immediate a matter as the defence of India. Moreover I do not believe that the minorities, who contain some of the finest fighting elements in India, such as, the Panjabi Muslims and the Sikhs (cheers), would have consented at this stage to any further devolution of Defence responsibilities. This question did not actually arise and the British Government were not able to go further. From the attitude of these minorities, I am confident they would not have consented to any further transfer in this field. I believe that this latest formula might have gained acceptance and at one moment, the Indian public seemed to think that a satisfactory solution had been found. I feel pretty sure, had the Congress leaders been able to accept finally the draft Declaration and enter the new Government, they would, upon the question of Defence, have been able to rally their Indian followers behind them. But it was not upon this issue that the final break came, though it was no doubt to some undefined extent involved in the breakdown.

Form of Interim Government

"The final question which was raised at my last and long meeting with the President of the Congress and Pandit Nehru, was as to the form of the temporary Government that might be in power until the end of the war and the coming into operation of the new constitution. I had, from the outset, made it clear to those whom I saw that it was not possible to make any constitutional change, except of the most insignificant kind, prior to the new constitution coming into operation as a result of the labours of the constitution-making assembly. This fact had been accepted by everyone without discussion as it was obvious, that it was a practical impossibility to start upon the discussion and framing of a new constitution at the present time. And, if such a discussion had been practicable and had been embarked upon, it would have occupied many months during which nothing could have been done by way of forming a new Government. Not only so, but any such alteration now would have been thought to prejudice the situation under the new constitution and would undoubtedly have met with opposition for that reason. Any such step, therefore, as recasting the constitution at the present time, was admittedly out of question. This was made quite clear in my letter to the President of the Congress, dated April 7, where I said: 'As the Working Committee have fully understood, it is impossible to make any change in the existing constitution during the period of hostilities.

Cabinet anxious to make a reality of the offer

"At the same time, the British Government were most anxious to make a reality of the offer under Clause (e) in any way practicable and consistent with the existing constitution. It was always possible, in such circumstance, by mutual understanding, with co-operation on both sides, to do much, especially when all are intent upon a common object so vital and all-embracing as the defence of India. Questions as to the formation of a new Government, how members of the Viceroy's Executive should be treated, how the business therein should be conducted, were of course essential matter for the Viceroy who had to carry on the Government of India and not for me as a member of the War Cabinet on a visit to India. I, therefore, told the Congress leaders that the general principle of participation or co-operation was laid down in paragraph (e) of the Declaration, which stated that the British Government desired to invite the immediate and effective participation of the leaders of the principle sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, but the exact nature of its operation could only be decided as the result of discussions with the Viceroy, once Indian leaders had made up their minds that they could accept the draft Declaration upon other points. I stated that I was prepared to remain in India in such an event until the new Government was formed so that I could, if necessary, give any help required, but I could not bind the Viceroy to accept any particular arrangement for the conduct of his Executive. I informed them, after a discussion with the Viceroy, that immediately they decided to accept, he would call the principal leaders into consultation as to the formation of his new Government and that the only British members upon whom the new scheme insisted were the Viceroy himself and the Commander-in-Chief. I also pointed out to them if the conditions offered by the Viceroy were such that

they could not accept them they would of course, be as free as any other individuals who refused to take office or if they found they could not work in the Government, they would be free to resign, though naturally I hoped such a situation would never, in fact, arise. I see no other way myself in which the matter could have been arranged, but Congress leaders, as is shown by their final letters, apparently felt they would not have wide powers they thought necessary for their successful participation in the Government.

Issues on which Final Break came

"As I pointed out in my broadcast from New Delhi, the position of complete power asked for by the Congress—and which was not demanded by any other section of opinion in India—would leave them in an impossible situation. The Executive Council, once chosen by the Viceroy, would not have been responsible to anyone but themselves or in a loose way perhaps to their political or communal organisation, and there would have been no protection for any minorities. I am quite confident none of the minorities would have accepted such a position and least of all the Muslims (cheers). It was on this issue that the final break came, followed as I had expected, by the rejection by the Muslim League for reasons precisely opposite of those by the Congress, but all concerned with the future rather than the present.

"I regret and the British Government regret most profoundly that our efforts had failed, but do not let the House or the people of this country imagine that all the results of the War Cabinet's action and my mission are on the debit side. There is much. I venture to think, on the credit side as well (cheers.)

"First, there is the advantage which accrues from the methods which have been adopted in this case. Instead of a somewhat vague declaration, put out without previous consultation with the leaders of Indian opinion, a precise and clear statement of a suggested solution has been discussed in India with all Indian leaders by a member of the War Cabinet sent there for that particular purpose. The fact that a member of the War Cabinet was sent in the stressed circumstances of to-day indicated the depth of the genuineness of our desire to reach a settlement of our outstanding difficulties.

"Second, the content of the scheme has put, beyond all possibility of doubt or question, that we desire to give India Self-Government at the earliest practicable moment and wish her to determine for herself the form that Government shall take. However great the criticism of the details may have been, no responsible Indian leader has challenged our sincerity upon that point. I think it accurate to say that this is the first time such an assertion could be truly made, and it is a most important and significant fact for our future relationships.

"Thirdly, the whole of the discussions proceeded upon a basis of frank and mutual understanding and in an atmosphere of friendliness though the past was too strong for complete confidence to have been established. I have a feeling that we have taken a step forward especially as far as the younger elements in India are concerned, who are perhaps less influenced by the struggles and bitterness of the past than some of their older colleagues who still retain leadership.

India's Determination to defend country

"Finally, the whole discussion upon the issue of Defence has served to bring to the front the determination of the Indian people to defend their own country. Such statements as that by Paudit Nehru—a man of great determination—or the more recent attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari, must do much to influence Indian opinion. The representative of the Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah and the leaders of other parties and communities, such as the Sikhs and Mahrattas, all expressed to me personally their readiness to stand with us in the defence of their country and do their utmost to help in every way. It is unfortunate that they do not find themselves in a position to give help as members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but it is good to know that each in his own way is prepared to assist. We have been brought closer to our Indian friends as fellow-defenders of their country, but we are not yet so close as we would wish or even as is necessary for the most effective defence of India.

'Looking back at this historical incident and an important incident in the history of both our countries I feel no regret at the decisions taken by the British Government. I am convinced that they were just and we have done all we could in an admittedly difficult situation, to bring about agreement and better understanding between the two peoples of the two countries. It is in fact the

past—exercising its influence upon all parties—that have proved too strong for us, and we must now leave the leaven of better understanding to work quietly towards an ultimate satisfactory solution of the political problem. If we are to do this, let us, at all costs, forego the transient satisfaction of blaming others.

Door not closed

"I stated when I left India that in default of acceptance the draft Declaration must be considered as being withdrawn. But this does not and cannot close the door to that closer co-operation which we desire to see in the defence of India or to a solution of the problem of Self-Government after the war. It means that the British Government have done their best to make their contribution to a solution of the problem both in the substance of the draft Declaration and in the method of its presentation to the Indian people. For the time being, there is nothing further we can do. We must be patient, open-minded and willing to consider any proposals upon which Indian leaders can agree. But, for the moment, we must concentrate upon our duty—to do our utmost for the defence of India, a task in which our great American allies have generously come forward to offer their help which we, and Indians alike, welcome and appreciate. Many Indian leaders too will do their best to arouse the Indian peoples in their own defence and I hope by co-operation in defence we may move a step nearer to the solution of our problems.

"I am certain that the members of this House and the British people and all well-wishers of Democracy, the world over, will continue to hope that, through successful resistance to brutal Japanese aggression, the Indian people will reach their goal of Self-Government and self-determination without internal strife and bitterness, and that thus India will emerge as a great equal of the free nations of the world, able to make her full contribution to the future of the new civilisation after the victory of the Allied cause."

Sis S. Cripps concluded amid loud and prolonged cheers.

The Hur outrages in Sind

History of Seventy Years of Crime

On the 1st. June 1942 Martial Law was proclaimed in the area of Sind afflicted by the criminal outrages of the Hurs. Over a period covering more than six months the Hurs have, by wholesale murder, sabotage and dacoity, terrorised whole districts. The means available to the civil authorities have failed to cope with the situation because of the fanaticism of these followers of the Pir Pagaro and the terror they inspire in their victims who are too cowed to bear witness against them. A special force of troops was recently despatched to aid the civil power in restoring order in the area roughly lying to the East of the Indus between Reti, Hyderabad and Mirpurkhas. The Military Commander has instructions to take all steps to restore civil security and order with all possible speed. To this end he has proclaimed martial law which will enable summary justice to be enforced by special courts against the Hurs. Complete control of the civil administration rest with the military commander who will have the advice and assistance of the civil authorities in the area concerned.

The Hurs are a criminal tribe of Sind and the neighbouring States. The history of these gangsters goes back to the last century.

Significantly, a case of the treacherous murder of a holy man is the starting point of the story of how the appellation "Hur," a name sacred among Muslim, came to be applied to these Siudhi and Baluchi tribes of criminals.

Murder In Mosque

About the middle of the last century, Hazbullah Shah succeeded his father as Pir of Kingri. Pir Hazbullah Shah recognised as his "Khalifa" or Deputy for a part of the Hyderabad district, one Ghulam Nabi Laghari who was destined to leave his impress on the subsequent history of the ignorant followers of the Pir.

But in another

Shah's cousin, Pir Fazbullah Shah, famed for his piety and eloquent and impressive sermons which drew to him an ever increasing procession of devotees. This excited the jealousy of the Kingri order. Pir Fazbullah Shah was murdered in his village mosque in the holy month of Ruzman in 1865.

Pir Hazbullah Shah was charged with instigation, and his Khalifa, Ghulam Nabi Laghari, and some others were charged with murder. But the Pir and his Khalifa were acquitted, though a kinsman of the latter was sentenced to death.

Hur Brotherhood

The unswerving loyalty of Khalifa Ghulam Nabi Laghari to Hazbullah Shah during this episode, earned for him from the Pir the title of "Hur" after the name of the Arab General who fought on the side of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Hussain, and was killed in the holy war against Yazeed at Karbala. The Khalifa thereupon started a Hur Union which gradually embraced almost the whole ignorant section of the Pir's followers and this section came to be known as Hurs.

The tenets laid down by Ghulam Nabi Laghari for the Union emphasised the tie of brotherhood among the Hurs. They were to treat one another as brothers, never to act against one another and always to help and co-operate. Soon criminals and known offenders found membership of the Union of advantage to them. They found in it ready sympathisers and reliable co-operators. Other evils crept into the Hur tribes. "Brother" members were to be admitted to the circle of each other's family like nearest relatives. Immorality spread, so much so that in the inner circle of the Hur Union, adultery of wives, sisters and daughters with Hur "brothers" was regarded with no sense of jealousy or shame. On the contrary, it was overlooked, connived at or even facilitated.

Muslim Resement

But among Khalifa Ghulam Nabi's tenets, the first was the sanctity of the person of the Pir. Ghulam Nabi illustrated his doctrine by the sanctity and unity of God laid down in the Koran. The doctrine sank so deep into the minds of the ignorant followers that the Pir came to be regarded in the light of God who cannot have any relatives. Once the Pir's son was nearly slain by a Hur for going into his father's presence with his shoes on, and his life as "heir-apparent" was always in danger on the theory that he might try to murder and supplant his father. Recklessness in regard to human life became a characteristic of the sect; so that the Hurs did not hesitate to put out of the way anybody, even the Pir's relatives or Khalifas whose influence they became jealous of or who, in their opinion, led the Pir to treat them with disfavour.

So low had the Hurs fallen even before the end of the last century that the general Muslim gave them the name of "Lurs," that is, unholy. The Pir was reproached for tolerating the doctrine recognising him in the place of God, etc. Indeed, some of the Hurs constructed mosques facing north, towards Kingri, instead of towards the west, that is Mecca. Later the Hur villages became conspicuous for the absence of any mosque at all.

Attempts at reform were followed by murders. Pir Hazbullah Shah's maternal uncle, Karam Ali Shah persuaded him to try to correct the Hurs. Karam Ali Shah was murdered by a band of disguised Hurs, among whom was said to be one of the Khalifas, about the year 1873. Next, one Mohammed Saleh Rajar was said to be using his influence with the Pir in an attempt to combat the tenets of the Hur Union. He was murdered in 1883 or 1884. Again in 1888, the Pir's trusted attendant, Chutal Khan Laghari, was found working against the Hurs. He, too, paid with his life.

All this time, the Hurs went their way, and the brotherhood continued to help and protect criminals. For example, one of them murdered a woman, and to avoid arrest disappeared into the forests where for years, provided in every manner by his "brothers," he lived comfortably. Several murders followed until he was captured in 1888 in a woman's house. But one charge only could be brought home to him and he was transported for life.

Another, Bachn, the murderer of Chutal Khan Laghari referred to above, was sheltered for eight years by the Hurs. But perhaps wearied of inaction as well as of the necessity occasionally to evade the police, he gathered round him a band of desperados and commenced a career of brigandage. He and his large gangs were responsible for outbreaks of crime at intervals from

September 1893 to the beginning of 1896 in parts of Sind. He committed murders, dacoities, highway robberies and other outrages. He surrendered on May 7, 1896, after all his best men had been either captured by the police or killed.

In the first two decades of this century, too, lawlessness was caused in parts of the province by Hurs (which was aggravated by a visit of the Pir to those parts).

The Hurs Of Today

In the criminal character of the membership of their fraternity, their callous attitude towards human life and their fanatical and jealous loyalty to the person of their Pir, the Hurs are unchanged today.

There was no abatement of crimes committed by Hurs during the period 1920 to 1930. The Hurs murdered one of the Khalifas, or the Pir's deputy, in 1922, beat a brother of another in 1927, threw acid at a third in 1928, murdered a fourth in 1929, and committed obscene acts before fifth in 1929—all because the victims had caused annoyance to the Pir. Quarrels among the Hurs resulted in a murder in 1925, and another in 1926. The Hurs murdered two Hindus in 1929 at Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir's residence, and the mother of a man confined by the Pir in the Pir's "Kot" in the same year. There were two cases of theft by the Hurs of the Pir-Jo-Goth in 1925, another case of house-breaking and theft by the Hurs in 1929, and a theft in 1930 of a gun which was afterwards found in the Pir's possession.

The Pir himself was an accused in a case of dacoity in 1927 and of murder in 1928. Sixteen personal retainers of the Pir who were Hurs, were ordered on April 4, 1930, to be deported to the Bombay Presidency for being concerned in these crimes, as no evidence could be collected to bring the crimes home to them owing to their close connexion with the Pir which prevented anybody coming forward as a witness.

Indeed, the present Pir, Sibghatulla Shah, known as Pir Pagaro was born in 1908 and he succeeded as Pir in 1922 when still a minor on the desire of his father. He grew up to be a very wild man and several murders were committed by his followers at his instance, but it was difficult to get evidence against him. Eventually in 1930 after a number of serious complaints had been made, the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur, decided to raid the "Kot", the Pir's residential quarters, a sort of fortress, in the village Pir-Jo-Goth, (an island of British territory in the Khairpur State), the population of which is about 3,000. The police seized a quantity of unlicensed arms and ammunition, found evidence of orgies of debauch and sadist practices to which the foul Pir is addicted and, most curious of all, a young Muslim boy confined in a box.

The Boy In The Box

The story of the boy in the box, as also of some other victims of the Pir, is related in the judgments in cases against him. The boy was one Ibrahim, the elder son of an unfortunate woman Mariam, for causing whose death the Pir Pagaro had been tried and discharged earlier. Ibrahim was a comely lad of 14 or 15. About the year 1926, he went into the "Kot," the fortress in which the Pir lived, to work as a labourer. When the day was drawing to close the Pir's eyes fell on the lad and he took such a powerful fancy for him that next morning he sent Ibrahim an offer of service under him. Ibrahim joined, the duties assigned to him being to wait on the Pir and to clean the engine which he had installed within his "Kot."

Three weeks after, Ibrahim upset a glass oiling cup and broke it in the engine room. This trifling loss so much put out the Pir that he tied Ibrahim's arms behind his back and flogged him with a cane. But this did not abate the violence of his passion, and he saved Ibrahim's eyebrows, pulled out his eyelashes, blackened his face with oil and soot and commanded his servants to subject him to disgusting indignities parallel only by the treatment accorded in Nazi concentration camps. When Ibrahim had stood on his legs in this state for about an hour his arms were untied and he was given a bath, but was not allowed to leave the "Kot." On the fourth day on the excuse of going to see his wife and newly born son in the village, Ibrahim ran away to Larkana. But three of the Pir's hounds were sent after the boy who was brought back.

Then began Ibrahim's incarceration. He took up his old duties, but was not allowed to leave the gates of the "Kot" and was guarded day and night inside. Thus passed three or four months, after which Ibrahim was allowed to meet his mother in the "Kot."

THE HUR-OUTRAGES IN SIND

[SIND—

Sukkur Collector's Letter

A few days later the Pir received a letter from the Collector of Sukkur requiring him to dismiss Ibrahim and three other servants. The latter were sent away but not Ibrahim. Twelve months passed. The Pir now proceeded on his tour of areas inhabited by his followers, and Ibrahim had to travel with his master like a woman in a closed litter on camel's back! In camps he lived in the Pir's tent under guard. Seven months of tour thus passed. A fortnight after they had returned to Pir-Jo-Goth, the Pir again proceeded on a tour, visiting Sukkur, Quetta, Lahore, Delhi, Simla, Bombay, and Karachi accompanied by Ibrahim from whom he could not or would not separate himself. They were back home again after 22 days. Ibrahim was now told that the Superintendent of Police and the Collector of Sukkur and the Commissioner in Sind had all spoken to the Pir in the course of his recent tour enjoining on him to give Ibrahim his liberty, but that he had denied that Ibrahim was his prisoner and therefore did not consider it safe to restore him to freedom.

Another Letter

Stricter surveillance was enforced over Ibrahim. Another year passed, and another letter about Ibrahim came from the Collector of Sukkur. The reply was returned that Ibrahim was not in the Pir's service. Henceforward the lad was confined under guard in a room. Some more time passed, and Ibrahim pining to see his wife and little son and other relations, threatened that he would run away. He was now put in chains with one Ghul Hussain chained to him to keep close watch on him and locked up in a room in the vicinity of the quarters, inside the "Kot," of Rahim Shah, younger brother of the Pir. This close confinement continued till Rahim Shah, his mother, sister and aunt, apprehensive of their safety owing to their strained relations with the Pir made a masterly escape from the Pir's fortress.

Soon after, the Police Superintendent's Camp at Pir-Jo-Goth necessitated a change of prison for Ibrahim, though he continued to be chained to Ghul Hussain with two other men mounting ceaseless guard over them. After the Superintendent's Camp had been moved the Pir treated Ibrahim with less vigour. He struck all his chains but did not let him go out of his presence. But at night Ibrahim was confined in a box which used to be padlocked. This box had a circular hole at the bottom from which came the air which Ibrahim breathed. He was provided in the box with a mattress, a drinking cup and an earthen pot in which to answer the calls of nature. This manner of confinement continued till the flight from Pir-Jo-Goth of three women, Eman, Gullan and Nuran.

Story Of Three Women

These three women were inmates of the Pir's "Kot" from the time of their girlhood, ministering at first to the pleasures of the accused or his father as the case might be, and "when whatever charm they possessed began to pall, serving as maids to their legitimate wives." The Pir Pagaro had taken malicious delight in subjecting them to "indescribable tortures and unnamable indignities." As the Judge observed in another judgment, these women had to lay bare their entire life as inmates of the Pir Pagaro's "Kot" as they were to figure as witnesses not only in their own cases against the Pir but in four other cases against him. At the dictates of an odious custom and the will of their parents, they surrendered their virtues to the Pir-in-power but, the Judge maintained, were not "abandoned wretches, lost to all sense of shame and decency, that they would give utterance to such foulness without feeling defiled."

Emboldened by the success of Rahim Shah, the younger brother of Pir Pagaro, in eluding the vigilance of the Pir's guards and unable to contemplate without acute mental suffering and overpowering distress their past experiences and the fresh terrors which they knew awaited them in the Pir's "Kot," they negotiated one of the walls of the "Kot," in the small hours of the morning of February 5, 1930 when the Pir was away. Eman and Gullan safely landed outside but the rope gave way before Nuran had completed her descent and she fell injuring her back and feet. Daylight was fast approaching and their courage born of sheer desperation was now oozing out. They abandoned their flight and directed their steps to the residence of the Pir Pagaro's step-mother. They secured asylum and prevailed upon the lady to inform the Superintendent of Police, Sukkur. On the latter's arrival, four days later, on February 8, they begged him to take them with him and refused to go back to the Pir of Pagaro's service.

The Larger Box And The Smaller

The women were taken by the police to Sukkur which necessitated the Pir's visit to the town. Before leaving he locked Ibrahim up in the box and instructed his servants to keep the lad immured there till he returned. The Pir's instructions were carried out to the letter and, during the seven or eight days that Pir Pagaro spent at Sukkur, the box was not opened except to give Ibrahim food and "sometimes, though rarely, to take him out for an airing." Even after the Pir Pagaro's return home, Ibrahim continued to be confined in the box except when he was taken to the engine room to work there. On such occasions he was taken in chains with Ghul Hussain chained to him.

On the arrival of the Deputy Superintendent of Police at Pir-Jo-Goth a few days later, Ibrahim was transferred to a larger box which lay in Pir Pagaro's garden. Two or three days later, however, came the news that the District Superintendent of Police was again coming to Pir-Jo-Goth. The garden was now considered unsafe and Ibrahim was removed from the larger box and locked in a smaller one which lay in a narrow passage at the back of the Pir Pagaro's "Aghusi" Bungalow. Here it was that the Superintendent of Police found him two days later, after an elaborate search in the presence of the Pir Pagaro and four others whose turn it had been to keep guard over him that month. When Ibrahim was taken out of the box, he looked like a ghost, as pale as death, and smelt like a polcat. In the box lay the drinking cup and an earthen pot which "reeked of urine, mute witness of his long immurement."

Pir Pagaro Convicted

The Pir Pagaro was sentenced under section 344, I.P.C., to three years' rigorous imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to suffer rigorous imprisonment for six months in addition, under section 346, I.P.C. for two years; under section 19 (f) of the Arms Acts to three years and a fine of Rs. 1,000, in default, to nine months' rigorous imprisonment; under section 19 (i) of the Arms Act to two years' imprisonment. Total sentence amounted to about eight years' rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2,000 for confining the boy Ibrahim and for illegal possession of twelve rifles, three guns, two revolvers and one rifle barrel, and 25,000 rounds of ammunition and apparatus for manufacturing the latter. The Pir was released from jail on November 25, 1936. The fine of Rs. 2,000 was realised in full.

After Release

On release in 1936 the Pir Pagaro set about rehabilitating himself in the eye of the wider public. A pilgrimage to Mecca was undertaken. Of course, Mecca or no Mecca, or whether he was a worthy spiritual guide or an ex-convict, he continued to be worshipped by the large majority of his followers. Further, the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1937 setting up responsible Governments in the Indian provinces gave him some political importance. His following is large, larger than that of any other Pir in the Province. The Hurs, perhaps, total 8,000, less than 100 of them are desperados who will carry out the Pir's wishes at all cost. There is also the other section of the Pir's followers known as "Salim Jamait" who follow Islamic principles and are to a certain extent a peaceful people. The followers of the Pir are found in an area stretching from the south of Sukkur District down through the neighbouring Khairpur State into the Sind taluquas of Shahdadpur and Sinjhoro of the Nawabshah District and the Sanghar taluqua of the Thar Parkar District. Thus the new Constitution placed in the Pir Pagaro's hands the priceless weapon of the thousands of votes of his followers.

A Prophecy

Even after the release of the Pir there were a long series of crimes varying from petty thefts to murder. Besides his criminal proclivities, the Pir is imbued with the idea that, according to an old prophecy, a Pir whose face is pock-marked in a certain way, would one day become the King of Sind. He fulfils this description and is firmly convinced that he will fulfil the prophecy.

The Pir then started calling the more ardent of his followers around him and took their pledge of support even to death. Such picked persons he styled as his "Ghazis," and the number estimated to have been enrolled was 6,000. In the beginning of June 1940 he was reported to have made his headquarters in the jungles of the Khairpur State where he was said to be enrolling, training, and arming a large body of Hurs.

Learning that the Government were not unaware of his activities he caused

THE HUR-OUTRAGES IN SIND

[SIND—

it to be published that he was preparing to help the Government with a body of "Civil Guards." He further presented a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the Sind War Plane's Fund. But the enrolment of the "Ghazis" continued and there were stories of attempts to organise and train them on military lines. It is of interest to recall that while on tour earlier in the Jaisalmer State, he took pains to carry out parades in the fashion of the Khaksars and also arranged "sham fights" which he personally supervised. About the same time he was reported to be renewing his contacts with terrorists who had been in prison along with him in Bengal.

Further Outrages

By an understanding with the Government, the Pir began to live at Karachi and was required not to leave Karachi without permission. But he left Karachi without permission, went to his bungalow at Garang in Thar Parkar district and from there to Pir-Jo-Goth which is in the Sukkur district. He was sent back to Karachi by the district authorities on instruction from the Government.

His absence from Karachi coincided with a dastardly crime. The murder was committed in Sukkur of his cousin Pir Fatehali Shah, who had been clamouring that his life was in danger from Pir Pagaro. Pir Fatehali Shah had actually been given a guard of two armed policemen at his bungalow early in the morning and taking 14, 1941, these Hurs descended on the bungalow in Sukkur. But on October the policemen unawares murdered Pir Fatehali, a servant and one of the policemen. On the Pir Pagaro's return to Karachi, he was served with a notice under the Defence of India Rules to remain in Karachi. Now occurred some cases of sabotage of telegraph and telephone lines on the railway between Rohri and Reti. The Government decided to arrest the Pir and removed him from Sind to a place outside the province.

Fresh offences were committed by the Pir's followers. It is known that on return from his previous deportation Pir Pagaro expressed very strongly to his followers his disappointment that they had not protested against his removal and had not created trouble for Government in the way of committing offences on the railways or otherwise; and told them that if he were ever removed again from Sind, he expected they would follow such a course.

Accordingly his arrest was followed by the cutting of telegraph wires and sabotage on the railways and by more murders and dacoities. Early in February 1942, the Hurs attacked an armed police post of a Head Constable and five Constables; two policemen were killed and two injured and the police arms were taken. Other outrages and damage to telegraphs and railways continued. In February, the number of persons murdered by the Hurs was 26; 23 persons were wounded. Other outrages have been committed since in an attempt to intimidate the Government to release the Pir and bring him back to Sind.

The Difficulties

The suppression of the Hurs has presented difficulties. Their main hideout is somewhere in the Makhi Dhand area of the Sanghar taluqa, which area is a thickly forested area of lai, scrub and jungle with tall and thick grass over about 125 sq. miles or more.

Also, the methods adopted by them have overawed the population of the affected areas and their co-operation is difficult to obtain. The Hurs have driven the conviction into the public mind that they forget nothing; reprisals for acts unfriendly to them are known to have been taken even after the lapse of years. They are not only unforgiving but brutal in their punishment to their victims. They have an efficient intelligence service. On the other hand intelligence about their plans is difficult to obtain. They have a code of their own by which they recognise each other, and a stranger going to them generally courts certain death.

Suitable measures are being taken by the Government to deal with the trouble. Large numbers of them have been arrested. In April 1942, an Act was placed on the Statute Book conferring on Magistrates special powers for requiring from Hurs and people who assist them security for keeping the peace and good behaviour and providing for imprisonment up to three years for failure to give security; and providing for Special Judges and Special Magistrates with exceptional powers for the trial of offences committed by Hurs and people who assist them. As the Provincial Police was found inadequate to handle the situation, the Provincial Government have secured the services of some platoons of the Frontier Constabulary and a force of the Punjab Police. A special Officer assisted by a small military force is surveying the whole problem.

It is an outbreak of crime in an attempt by fanatical and notorious gangsters to intimidate the Government into releasing their leader.

Round up of Hurs

The proclamation on June 1. of martial law over an area in Sind did not have any immediate reaction and was in fact taken very quietly in the districts concerned. It had, however, the natural effect of causing the immediate dispersion of some of the larger gangs of Hurs who had, by reason of their aggressive behaviour and terrorisation of the people, been able in some places to operate almost with impunity. This dispersion has not prevented Hurs from continuing to perpetrate outrages against the public. Several further outrages have already been reported.

There are, however, some indications that the strong action now being taken is already tending to stiffen civilian moral. This is suggested by the incident reported from the Perumel Taluka near Sawghar. An attack by 20 Hurs was successfully repulsed by the villagers themselves, four Hurs being killed and two guns and camels captured. All the property seized by the dacoits is reported to have been recovered: one chowkidar lost his life in the action.

So far 14 men have been arrested in Hyderabad, Sind, and 9 dacoits have been apprehended in the Doro canal area of Mirpurkhas district. These dacoits were armed with hatchets, and a horse and a camel were captured with them. A member of one of the most prominent gangs has already been caught near Singhoro and 41 Hurs seized in Shahdadpur area; 21 suspected persons have been taken into custody in the Rohri area. A patrol pursuing another gang succeeded in capturing 12 more dacoits. Operations are continuing. Armed protection has been provided for stations and running trains.

Military Patrols

How a military patrol in pursuit of a gang of dacoits covered 122 miles in 48 hours, of which nearly 100 miles was performed on camel and foot, is related in reports from the Sind Martial Law area.

This patrol had received information that a gang was operating south-east of Sukkur and immediately set off in pursuit.

Trackers assisted the patrol and, at one stage, after travelling for about three hours, discovered that the trail had bifurcated which necessitated the patrol being split.

At last a part of the gang was traced to a small village. The force deployed and carried out a rapid search but the quarry had flown.

The track was then followed for a further ten miles and the gang overtaken.

The other section of the patrol was equally successful, and altogether 14 men and various members of their families were captured. Two guns were confiscated while amongst the baggage was discovered a silver tumbler inscribed as being presented by the Pir Pagaro.

A large military detachment has commenced a drive west of Shahdadpur towards Singh.

This widespread activity of military and police patrols has done much to spread a feeling of confidence throughout villages in the area, while the capture of the prominent Hur leader, Ahmed, a short time ago, has lessened considerably the number of organised dacoities.

During the week ending with June 23, 1942, seven dacoities occurred and two canals have been breached.

Hurs numbering 151 have been detained and are under examination. One Hur was shot when resisting arrest.

Night running on the Karachi-Lahore main line has been resumed.

Mischievous elements in one village are spreading rumours to the effect that troops search houses, rape women and loot. The headman has been ordered to trace the source of these stories and authorised to carry out arrests. The absurdity of such stories is instanced by the following extract from the *Mirpurkhas Gazette* :—

"We take pleasure in writing that the conduct of Military in Mirpurkhas and suburbs has remained so far satisfactory. No complaint of any sort has been heard of anywhere. Every merchant, hotel-keeper or fruit-vendor receives his proper dues. We express our gratefulness for this to the Military Officer-in-Charge on behalf of the public and hope that he will maintain discipline so that no occasion should arise for any complaint."

Notorious Hur arrested

Ahmed, son of Husesain Mhar Dars, who was wanted in connection with many offences, including the murder of Pir Fatehalishah in 1936, has been arrested by a military patrol along with two of his sub-lieutenants and ten other Hurs. Another leader, Yusaf, who escaped, is being pursued. Ahmed was the most prominent Hur leader in the Sukkur area.

The Sukkur area has been the scene of much military and police activity. While a combined military and police sweep through the hills to the south-east of Sukkur searched five villages and raided another, resulting in 20 arrests, a military detachment was surprising 30 to 40 men attempting to erect an obstacle on the road between Tando Adan and Saidabad about 160 miles from Sukkur. Another detachment patrolling the area Matari arrested eight men who have been sent to Hyderabad Jail. A patrol at Sakrand has arrested 28 Hurs while a raid carried out in this area yielded a further ten prisoners. A particularly fruitful search was made of villages in the Gandoo Deh area and among articles confiscated have been a rifle, a cartridge making machine and a number of cartridges. Further bad characters armed with hatchets have been apprehended. In some cases bribes of Rs. 60 per head were vainly offered to the police.

Consequent on the murder of a P.W.D. Sub-Divisional Officer by Hurs on June 4, punitive measures have been taken against villages in the Lotko area, known to have harboured accomplices. These villages are nine miles south of Sanghar which is 60 miles north-east of Hyderabad near the Nira Canal.

Reports of dacoities continue to come in. Some have been reported from Singhor and Khirpo respectively 60 miles north-east and east of Hyderabad; in connection with them 25 arrests have been made. Deh Roho has been raided by dacoits armed with guns, two people being murdered and two houses looted. As a result of these dacoities a considerable round-up has been carried out, and arrests include one party of 260 by the military and another 30 suspects apprehended in Shahpur, and Mirpur Mathelo. Two informers have been sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment.

Hurs use strange Weapons

Locked away in a room at the headquarters of Upper Sind Forces, Hyderabad, are antique firing pieces, noise-makers, and axes—property of 1942 gangsters.

Powder and small shot take the place of the tommy-gun; in place of the automatic they use the pistol which was the pride of the highwaymen of old.

This odd assortment of weapons has been collected by military and police forces operating in Sind against the Hurs. These are the arms with which the Hurs ride out against villages and small communities to murder and loot. Each weapon in this museum-armoury is laid out on a table. Underneath is a label tersely telling the story.

Boomerangs

One interesting weapon is a fairly good substitute for the Nazi-concentration camp rubber truncheon. It is a length of wire hawser with a substantial piece of lead at one end. Says the official note: "Bludgeon. This was constructed from a piece of wire hawser stolen from a telegraph pole."

With this strange collection of weapons are scales for measuring out powder and shot and a bag containing small shot—round pellets—which flatten when they strike their target and are extremely difficult to remove.

Boomerangs, too, are there; but apparently the Hurs are not adept at the use of this type of weapon.

Noise-makers on view are particularly interesting. They consist of long pieces of hollow lead tubing with bowls, like pipes, at the ends. In these bowls gunpowder is fired, the tactics being to trick the local inhabitants into thinking the Hurs' armament is much heavier and more numerous than it is.

Iron rations, too, are remembered by the Hurs. A bottle is shown with herbs like tea leaves in it. This is described as a "thirst-quenching mixture of alacki and ghulkand."

But the Hurs' great weapon is the axe. Their method is to shoot a person with a gun or rifle at extremely close quarters—in the stomach—and then to drag him for a distance by the legs and finish the business with the axe.

With large numbers of Hurs being rounded up, however, it becomes increasingly clear that their mentality is almost entirely of the "stab-in-the-back" type.

Proceedings of

The Indian National Congress

The All India Muslim League

The All India Hindu Mahasabha

The All Parties Conference

and

other Provincial Conferences

JANUARY—JUNE 1942

The Indian National Congress

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Bardoli—December 23 to December 30, 1941

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Bardoli on December 23 to December 30, 1941, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajgopalachariar, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Snankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Khau Saheb were present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout.

The following resolutions were passed :—

POLITICAL SITUATION

(For text of the resolution refer A. I. C. C. proceedings).

GANDHIJI'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhiji and recognise the validity of the point he has raised and therefore relieve him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhiji. But the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the attainment of Swaraj and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of civil disobedience.

Bardoli—30-12-1941

Dear Maulana Sahib,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I discovered that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or all war on the ground principally of non-violence. I found to my astonishment that most members differed from my interpretation and held that the opposition need not be on the ground of non-violence. On re-reading the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which its letter could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it impossible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds in which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of ill-will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material association with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence I would consider myself guilty of unpatriotic conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-extinction. Such being the case, I must continue my mission whether I am alone or assisted by an organisation or individuals. You will therefore please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue civil disobedience for the speech against all war with such Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the non-violence I have contemplated and are willing to conform to prescribed conditions.

I will not, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to steady and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely
M. K. Gandhi

WORKING COMMITTEE INSTRUCTIONS

Recent development in the world situation have brought war near to India's frontiers. This may lead to internal dislocation in certain parts

of the country and there is a possibility of some cities being subjected to aerial attack. Whatever dangers and difficulties might arise, the real antidote to them is to remain cool and collected and on no account to give way to nervousness and excitement. Congressmen must remain at their posts and continue their service of the people; wherever necessity arises they should yield places of safety to those in greater need and be ready to render aid to those who may require it.

The Congress can help and serve the people in the difficult times ahead only if its organisation is strong and disciplined and Congressmen individually and Congress Committees are able to command confidence in their respective localities. Congress Committees and Congressmen should, therefore, address themselves immediately to the task of strengthening the organization and maintaining contacts with the people in the villages and towns. Every village should, as far as possible, receive the message of the Congress and be prepared to face such difficulties as might arise.

The constructive programme adopted by the Congress, and explained from time to time by Gandhiji, is of particular importance at this juncture. It is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the co-operative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contacts with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence. The Working Committee, therefore, call upon Congress Committees and workers to further this programme intensively, and thus exercise a steadying and strengthening influence in times of dislocation and uneasiness.

During such times there is always a possibility of trouble being created by unsocial elements in the country. To avoid the emergence of such a situation and to meet it when it arises, volunteers should be organised in both the urban and rural areas. Such organisations should be formed on the basis of strict non-violence and it should always be remembered that the Congress adheres to this principle. These volunteers may co-operate with other organisations working for similar ends. This volunteer organisation is meant for rendering service to the people both normally and in the event of possible internal commotion. It should, therefore, avoid conflict with the authorities.

Prices of commodities have already risen and are causing distress among the people and no adequate steps have so far been taken by the authorities to meet this situation. These tendencies are likely to be accentuated in the future, and dislocation of trade and transport, due to stress of war, may lead to scarcity of the necessaries of life as well as of many other things which are of every day use. Big scale industries in other countries have suffered heavily on account of the war and transport of goods has become difficult on account of military requirements. China has largely overcome these difficulties by a wide-spread development of village industries. India may have to face similar problems, and village and cottage industries afford a solution, desirable in itself, and more particularly, suited to the needs of the moment. Such industries can escape to a large extent the effects of dislocation of trade and transport. It is, therefore, necessary that this item of the constructive programme should be widely taken up and worked up with vigour and earnestness so that the countryside may be rendered, as far as possible, self-sufficient in regard to the necessaries of life. The Committee would especially recommend to the villagers the growing of food crops at least to cover the needs of the village and appeal to the grain dealers not to hold up stores for profit but to release them for consumption at fair prices.

In cases of emergency, when instructions are issued to the public by the authorities for the preservation of life and property and the maintenance of public order, Congressmen should avoid conflict with the authorities. They should carry out such instructions, unless they are contrary to Congress directions.

SOVIET UNION AND CHINA

The Soviet Union has stood for certain human, cultural and social values which are of great importance to the growth and progress of humanity. The Working Committee consider that it would be a tragedy if the cataclysm of war involved the destruction of this endeavour and achievement. They have admired

the astonishing self-sacrifice and heroic courage of the Soviet people in defence of their country and freedom, and send to them their warm sympathy.

The Committee also send their greetings to the Chinese people who, through four and a half years of devastating war and suffering, have never wavered and have set an example of unparalleled heroism.

INDIANS IN MALAYA AND BURMA

The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress record their deep sympathy with the people of Malaya, Burma and the East Indies, particularly the Indian residents in those countries, in the trials and hardships they are facing as a result of the world conflict between ambitious and grasping nations. India, absorbed in her own problems and difficulties, cannot forget her children abroad and trust that they will, in the midst of the novel perils they have to face, hold together and organise such mutual help as may be possible, and thus wrench strength out of misfortune.

ORISSA MINISTRY

Ever since the Congress ministry resigned in Orissa efforts have from time to time been made to set up another ministry. The Working Committee notes with regret that some members of the Congress Party have been associated with these designs and one of them has been appointed a minister. Such members have been called upon by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to resign their seats and fulfil their election pledge. Public meetings have been held in their constituencies at which their conduct has been condemned and they have been called upon by their electors to resign their seats, as they have forfeited their confidence. But they have failed to do so.

The Working Committee considers their conduct as a betrayal of their constituencies and contrary to ordinary constitutional usage and integrity and therefore, deserving of the severest condemnation.

The normal functioning of the Act of 1935 had been suspended under Section 93 of the Act and the Legislative Assembly has not met for more than two years now. When the notification under Section 93 had been withdrawn and a new ministry had been formed, it was bound to take the earliest opportunity to seek a vote of confidence from the legislature. But the Assembly has not been convened although weeks have elapsed since the formation of the ministry. The Working Committee is of opinion that the Governor's failure to convene the Assembly thus deprives its members of their rights to pronounce their verdict on the conduct of the new ministry and is deserving of condemnation, specially in the circumstances mentioned above. A vacancy caused by the death of a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly has remained unfilled for a long time and no steps have been taken even after the withdrawal of the proclamation under Section 93, to hold a bye-election in that constituency. This omission which has resulted in depriving the electorate of its right to elect a representative, in the light of recent developments, is of a piece with the other unconstitutional acts mentioned above and equally deserves condemnation.

The Working Committee approves of the action of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee in calling upon the recalcitrant members to resign their seats and authorises the President and the Parliamentary Sub-Committee to take such disciplinary or other action as may be necessary.

A. I. C. C. MEETING AT WARDHA

The Working Committee decided that a meeting of the A. I. C. C. be held at Wardha on January 15 and subsequent days to consider the present political situation.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—January 15 to January 17, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha from January 13 to 17, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Govind Ballabh Pant, Jumnalal Bajaj, Shankar Rao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Syed Mahmud, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Committee throughout. The following resolutions were passed:—

INDEPENDENCE DAY

The Working Committee draw the attention of all Congress Committees, Congressmen and the country to the necessity of observing properly and with due solemnity the Independence Day on January 26, 1942. Since 1930 this day has been regularly observed all over the country and it has become a landmark in our struggle for independence. The celebrations on the 26th must express the declaration of our national will to freedom.

The Working Committee call upon all Congressmen and women to take the Independence Pledge given under in public meetings called for the purpose. Where owing to illness or other physical disability or owing to being an out of the way place, individual Congressmen are unable to attend a public meeting, they should take the pledge in their homes individually or in groups.

PLEDGE

"We believe that it is an inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any Government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the India people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.

"We recognise that the most effective way of gaining our freedom is not through violence. India has gained strength and self-reliance and marched a long way to Swaraj following peaceful and legitimate methods, and it is by adhering to these methods that our country will attain Independence.

"We pledge ourselves anew to the Independence of India and solemnly resolve to carry out non-violently the struggle for freedom till Purna Swaraj is attained.

"We believe that non-violent action in general and preparation for non-violent direct action in particular, require successful working of the constructive programme of Khadi, communal harmony and removal of untouchability. We shall seek every opportunity of spreading good-will among fellowmen without distinction of caste or creed. We shall endeavour to raise from ignorance and poverty those who have been neglected and to advance in every way the interests of those who are considered to be backward and suppressed. We know that though we are out to destroy the imperialistic system we have no quarrel with Englishmen, whether officials or non-officials. We know that distinction between the caste Hindus and Harijans must be abolished, and Hindus have to forget the distinctions in their daily conduct. Such distinctions are a bar to non-violent conduct. Though our religious faith may be different, in our mutual relations we will act as children of mother India, bound by common nationality and common political and economic interest.

"Charkha and Khadi are an integral part of our constructive programme, for the resuscitation of the seven hundred thousand villages of India and for the removal of the grinding poverty of the masses. We shall, therefore, spin regularly, use for our personal requirements nothing but Khadi, and so far as possible, products of village handicrafts only and endeavour to make others do likewise.

"We pledge ourselves to a disciplined observance of Congress principles and to keep in readiness to respond to the call of the Congress, whenever it may come, for carrying on the struggle for the independence of India."

RE-FUNCTIONING OF CONGRESS COMMITTEES

The President's instructions dated December 27 about the refunctioning of Congress Committees are confirmed. All elective Congress Committees will, therefore, continue to function as such and will consist of Satyagrahis as decided after the Ramgarh Congress. Those members who ceased to be members of the Committee by not signing the Satyagraha pledge or after signing it did not offer Satyagraha when called upon to do so, will not be considered members of those Committees any longer, unless they were exempted from Satyagraha or were prevented by illness or other sufficient reason from offering it. Provincial executives will consider such cases and take action in accordance with the principles laid down above.

PRIMARY MEMBERSHIP

All those who pay their subscription for the year 41 and 42 on or before the 30th June shall be deemed to have been primary members of the Congress for those years in terms of articles III and IV of the Congress Constitution.

The Working Committee also considered the non-official resolutions to be moved at the A. I. C. C. meeting.

The Committee considered the following matters.

(1) THE PUNJAB ASSEMBLY PARTY

The Committee considered the representation from the Congress Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly requesting permission to attend the Assembly meetings. The Committee after consulting Main Iftikharuddin and some members of the Assembly decided that in the existing circumstances no useful purpose will be served by lifting the ban against Congress members attending the Punjab Assembly. The Parliamentary Board may, however, permit attendance under special circumstances for specific purposes.

(2) ASSAM

The president reported to the Committee that he had been informed that Lakhimpur in the province of Assam had been declared by the Government as a Notified Area. As a consequence many normal activities of the Congress were banned. Congressmen in the province asked for directions. The Committee decided that Congressmen in Lakhimpur should carry on normal Congress activities as far as possible and avoid conflict with the authorities.

(3) PROVINCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE A. I. C. C.

In view of the suspension of the normal activities of the Congress due to the inauguration of Individual Civil Disobedience movement the Committee decided that the provincial contributions to the A. I. C. C. for the year 1941 be remitted and only contributions for the year 1942 be realized.

(4) DISCIPLINARY ACTION

The attention of the Committee was drawn to the fact that members of the Forward Bloc and the Communist Party have been carrying on for a long time anti-Congress propaganda and activities. For the Central Assembly bye-election the Forward Bloc set up a candidate of their own against the nominee. The Committee decided that it was open to any P. C. C. to take disciplinary action against members of any group if their activities were against Congress policies and if they flouted Congress discipline.

(5) FUNDS OF THE WEST KISTNA GODAVARI DISTRICT

The Committee passed the following resolution about the funds of West Kistna Godavari district deposited in the Andhra Bank.

Read letter from Mr. A. Anjappa forwarded by the President, Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

Resolved that

If the suit filed by Mr. A. Anjappa in the Bezvada subcourt is withdrawn by the party as stated in the aforesaid letter, the President, A. I. C. C. is authorised to arrange with the Andhra Bank Ltd., Masulipatam and to draw at once the deposit in the Bank made in the name of Shri Rajendra Prasad as President of the A. I. C. C.

The President is further authorised to make the money available for utilisation in the following manner:—

The amount shall be spent for some item or items falling within the purview of the Constructive programme of the Congress at such centre or centres in the West Kistna District and in such manner as may be decided upon by a Board appointed by the Executive Committee of the Andhra P. C. C. in which Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and a representative chosen by the Executive Committee of the West Kistna District Congress Committee shall be included. The Andhra P. C. C. Executive may include also a member as suggested in Mr. A. Anjappa's letter. The Board so appointed shall hold the moneys and utilize them for the aforesaid purpose, the tenure of the members of the Board and the rules under which they shall function shall be settled by the Executive of the Andhra P. C. C.

(6) LOCAL BODIES

The Committee was of opinion that it was not desirable at present for Congressmen to involve themselves in local bodies elections. The P. C. Cs. however

are left free to decide this question in the light of local circumstances subject to the general Congress policy of non-participation in war effort.

Proceedings of the A. I. C. C. Meeting

Wardha—January 15 and 16, 1942

A meeting of the A. I. C. C. was held at Wardha on January 15 and 16 in a spacious pandal erected for the purpose. 219 members out of a total of 390 were present. The province-wise attendance was as follows :—

| Sl. No. | Province | No. of members present | Total strength of the Province |
|---------|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | Ajmer | 5 | 5 |
| 2. | Andhra | 20 | 27 |
| 3. | Assam | 3 | 8 |
| 4. | Bihar | 18 | 41 |
| 5. | Bengal | 21 | 51 |
| 6. | Bombay | 3 | 5 |
| 7. | Delhi | 4 | 4 |
| 8. | Gujarat | 12 | 16 |
| 9. | Karnatak | 8 | 16 |
| 10. | Kerala | 4 | 12 |
| 11. | Mahakoshal | 15 | 15 |
| 12. | Maharashtra | 15 | 22 |
| 13. | Nagpur | 5 | 5 |
| 14. | N. W. F. P. | 3 | 7 |
| 15. | Punjab | 10 | 29 |
| 16. | Sind | 5 | 5 |
| 17. | Tamilnadu | 18 | 29 |
| 18. | U. P. | 27 | 64 |
| 19. | Utkal | 14 | 18 |
| 20. | Vidarbha | 4 | 5 |
| | President | 1 | |
| | Ex-presidents | 4 | 6 |
| | | <hr/> 219 | <hr/> 390 |

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings *Maulana Abul Kalam Azad*, the Congress President reviewed the events that led to the Bombay resolution of the A. I. C. C. in 1940 and the individual civil disobedience movement under the leadership of Gandhiji. He also explained the circumstances under which the Bardoli resolution of the Working Committee was passed.

Maulana Sahib said : "Nothing had happened to warrant a change in the country's attitude. We were today exactly where we were fifteen months ago when the A. I. C. C. met at Bombay and passed the resolution on Satyagraha. We had not moved an inch forward. Not that we did not want to move. We wanted control of the Government of our country, we wanted freedom and independence whether in times of peace or war." Proceeding he said that he had no doubt that the members present would agree with the Working Committee that nothing has happened during the last fifteen months to induce Congress to change its attitude to war which was one of complete non-co-operation. That was the Congress position in 1940 and that remains the position today.

The Congress President then explained that there were two alternatives before the Congress : One was slavish submission to the autocracy that rules the country and the other declaration to the world of our attitude to the present war which was one of non-co-operation with it unless certain vital conditions were fulfilled. At Bombay, nay, earlier, the Congress turned a new leaf. It was imperative to give a fight in order to protect the honour and maintain the very existence of the Congress. The movement launched by Gandhiji in terms of the Bombay resolution was of a special kind. It was a representative and selective movement. All the previous Civil Disobedience Movements were mass movements. This one was confined to select individuals. It was not the aim of the movement to embarrass the Government in its war effort.

At Bardoli the events of the last fifteen months were reviewed and stock of the existing situation taken. The outcome of Bardoli deliberations was before the members.

The Congress president then explained wherein he and many other members of the Working Committee differed from Gandhiji leading to Gandhiji's decision to be relieved of the official leadership of the Congress. Gandhiji was opposed to participation in the war on the pure ground of non-violence whereas they were opposed to it on political grounds. Gandhiji had declared that he would not have the independence of India if secured at the cost of non-violence and on the condition that the country should participate in war. That was not his (Maulana Sahib's) position or of those who agreed with him. He was prepared to accept the independence of the country at any time it was available, whether in times of peace or under the shadow of war. He would of course make certain that the independence got or achieved was of the genuine variety. Nothing pained him more than to have to differ from Gandhiji but he could not be false to himself. If the political demand formulated by the Congress was conceded and the country had full and genuine independence he did not think the country would reject it. Though it was a remote contingency it could not be ruled out of calculation.

People had misunderstood the Bardoli resolution, said Maulana Sahib, the reason being the simultaneous appearance of another resolution of the Working Committee by which Gandhiji was relieved of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution. The two resolutions were independent of each other. It was not correct to say that Gandhiji was relieved of the leadership of the Congress in order to enable the Working Committee to repeat its conditional offer of participation in the war. The resolution of the Working Committee was no more than restatement of the well known Congress position. The bonds between the Congress and Gandhiji were indissoluble; death alone could snap them.

MINUTES

After the speech of the Congress President the General Secretary placed before the Committee the minutes of the last meeting of the A. I. C. C. held at Bombay on June 19, 1940. The minutes were duly confirmed.

CONDOLENCE

The following condolence resolutions were passed :—

SRINIVASA IYENGAR

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. records its deep sense of sorrow and loss at the death of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar, ex-president of the Congress and conveys its heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family.

RABINDRA NATH TAGORE

The All India Congress Committee offers its sorrowful and reverent homage to the memory of Rabindra Nath Tagore who has passed away in the fullness of his magnificent achievement, leaving an imperishable heritage to his country and the world. India thinks of him with pride and gratitude and glories in this great son of hers who came in line with her ancient sages and as an embodiment of her own rich and manifold culture. Full of the wisdom that has been India's splendid inheritance, he was a living synthesis of the old and the new, of the East and the West. To our rich inheritance he added the glowing products of his mind and imagination and created a world of song and joy and beauty which lightened the burden of the present generation and which will inspire the generations to come. True son of India, he yearned and laboured for the freedom of the motherland and the ending of her poverty and her many other ills; true citizen of the world, who knew no narrow boundaries, he sought peace and freedom and enlightenment for mankind. In Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati he created the schools and university of his dreams and it is India's privilege and duty to nurture them, so that they may grow and flower and be the monument of one whose magnificent life will ever be a challenge and an inspiration to his countrymen.

A. I. C. C. MEMBERS AND OTHER CONGRESSMEN

This meeting of the A. I. C. C. expresses its sense of sorrow at the death of those members of this committee and other congressmen who have passed away during the last 15 months and conveys to the bereaved families its sincere sympathy.

GANDHIJI'S SPEECH

After the passing of the condolence resolutions the President requested Mahatma

Gandhi to address the members. The following is a summary of Gandhiji's speech in Hindustani introducing the Bardoli Resolution.

I was not a little perturbed when the Maulana raised me sky-high. I do not live up in the air. I am of the earth, earthy. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Bardoli. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good, not bad. But before I say anything on the question, let me make one or two things clear.

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Had that not been the case, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa with me is a creed, the breath of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the matter of that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa—after I found that all the so-called constitutional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political existence of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty hawkers, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that this method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served us in the past, it has enabled us to cover many stages towards Independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is in my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is new.

The Maulana has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have been taunted as a Bania. I regard that as a certificate of merit. The article in my possession is an invaluable pearl. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be hartered away even for Independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to Swaraj as never before. We dare not exchange it even for Swaraj. For Swaraj thus got will be no true Swaraj. The question is not what we will do after Swaraj. It is whether under given conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swaraj. Again, do you expect to win real Independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the Independence of the humblest and poorest amongst us. It cannot be obtained by joining the war. For the Congress to join any war before the attainment of Complete Independence is to undo the work of the past twenty years.

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not even to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clean slate to write on. Our elders have taken a step which has produced world-wide reactions. To alter the resolution out of shape is to ignore these. It would be unwise to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be endorsed by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C., but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not act in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a mirror in which all groups can see themselves. The original was Jawaharlalji's draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee at whose hands it has undergone material changes. The original had left no room for Rajaji to work. The sub-committee opened a tiny window for him to squeeze in. Jawaharlalji's opposition to participation in the effort is almost as strong as mine, though his reasons are different. Rajaji would participate, if certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-co-operators like Rajendra Babu have certainly a place, for, until the remote event takes place, non-violence rules supreme.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress critics to say that the Congress has banged the door to negotiation on the impossible or unpolitical ground of non-violence. The resolution throws the burden on the Government of wooing the Congress on the basis of participation in the war effort. That nothing is to be expected from the Government is probably too true. Only the resolution puts the Congress right with the expectant world. And since there is a party in the Congress who will welcome an honourable offer that will satisfy the rigidest test it is as well that the resolution has accommodated this party. It is likely in the end to make all of one mind. Out and out believers in non-violence of the political type have the whole field open to them.

When there was a talk of the A. I. C. C. being possibly divided, several people contemplated the prospect with trepidation, lest the Congress should again listen to mad Gandhi's advice in order to retain his leadership, and become a religious organisation instead of the political organisation that it has been all these years. Let me disabuse them of their fear, and say that the Congress can do no such thing, that we have not wasted the past twenty years. All that the Congress has decided to do is that it will allow the world to deal with it in terms that the world can understand, and if the terms are good enough, it will accept them. But you may be also sure that the Congress will not be easily satisfied. It will go on repeating 'Not this', 'Not this', until it wins the real commodity it wants. You will, therefore, say exactly what you want, and I will also say all I want. That is why I have decided to issue three weeklies, and I will go on venting my views therein with the fullest freedom, as long as I am allowed to do so. In the meanwhile, if you can get what you want, you will strike the bargain, and you may be sure that I will not shed a single tear. I therefore do want to cheat the world of its jubilation over the resolution. I do not want the Congress to look ridiculous in the eyes of the world. I do not want it to be said that in order to retain my leadership you bade good-bye to your convictions.

Some friends have complained that the resolution has no operative clause. The complaint is true so far as the resolution is concerned. The resolution had to be merely explanatory. It is addressed less to Congressmen, it is addressed to the world. It is not even addressed to the Government.

But there are the instructions about the constructive programme for Congressmen. They form the operative part. It is a substitute for civil disobedience and the parliamentary programme. Civil disobedience has been wisely reserved for me as an expert. It is good that, so long as I am alive and well in mind, it is so reserved. And so far as I am concerned, there will be none, if the Government do not interfere with *Harijan*. For this weekly will constitute enough propaganda against Germans, Italians or Japanese. I can have none against the Russians who have done great things for the proletariat. The Chinese sail in the same boat with us. I would like to think that India will, through her non-violence, be a messenger of peace to the whole world. Even political non-violence has potency of which we have no conception. *Harijan* will deliver the message of peace from week to week. But if this is not permitted, then will be the time for civil disobedience as a token. I want every worker to be out for constructive work. And if I am rendered penless, I may become the sole resister. But I have no fixed plan. Events will show the way.

So much for civil disobedience.

Though the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, in my opinion the parliamentary programme can have no place in Congress work so long as the war lasts. The Congress cannot handle it without identifying itself with the war effort. I have always held that at all times it is the least part of a nation's activity. The most important and permanent work is done outside. Legislators are not the masters but servants of their electors—the nation. The less, therefore, we look at and depend upon parliaments the better. Power resides in the people either through their arms or through their civil disobedience, more comprehensively described as non-violent non-cooperation. But the power of non-cooperation comes only through solid, incessant constructive work. Non-violent strength comes from construction, not destruction. Hence today the constructive programme is the only thing before the Congress. And in this all parties are at one.

Do not please go away with the idea that there is a rift in the Congress Inte. The Working Committee has worked like members of a happy family. Somebody suggested that Pandit Jawaharlal and I were estranged. It will require much

more than differences of opinion to estrange us. We have had differences from the moment we became co-workers, and yet I have said for some years and say now that not Rajaji but Jawaharlal will be my successor. He says he does not understand my language, and that he speaks a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true. But language is no bar to a union of hearts. And I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language.

Let there be no lack of understanding or zeal among Congressmen. Neither Jawaharlal nor Rajaji will let you be idle. I certainly will not. Lastly, let those who think the constructive programme is insipid know that there is nothing in the Working Committee's resolutions to prevent a Congressman at his own risk from leading civil disobedience—individual or mass. If he succeeds, he will win nothing but praise from all. But let me warn enthusiasts that they will not handle the weapon with any success. They will only damage themselves and the cause by any hasty or ignorant action. And let me say as your expert that those who regard the constructive programme as insipid do not know what non-violence is and how it works.

Some Congressmen are sorry because I have relinquished the leadership of Congress. You have not lost me. You would lose me only if I ceased to be loyal to the Congress, only if I became a visionary, only if I ceased to be a practical man. It is not at Bardoli that I left the Congress; I did so seven years ago at Bombay, and I did so in order to be able to render greater service to the country and the Congress. Colleagues like the Sardar and Rajendra Babu are not happy over the resolution, but I am asking them not to leave the Working Committee. But even if they leave the Congress, the Congress is not going to cease to function. Its work will go on, whether they are there or not. No man, however great, is indispensable to the Congress. Those who built up the Congress like Dadabhai, Pherozeshah and Tilak are no more, but the Congress still functions. For they have left for us an edifice to work upon and expand. And if the passing away of these leaders has not made any difference, why should the withdrawal of other leaders make any?

Pt. Jawaharlal's Speech

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru then moved the following resolution recommended by the Working Committee. The resolution was seconded by Rajagopalachari. The Working Committee resolution with a minor change accepted by the Committee was passed, 19 voting against it. Some members of the Committee remained neutral. All amendments moved were rejected.

POLITICAL SITUATION

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self-destruction. The members of the Committee have met again on their release from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and war approaches the frontiers of India bringing new problems in its train, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder worthily with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world conditions and world freedom. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially, in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endured on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned Nazi and fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and acted upon, in so far as was possible, in the present. If freedom and democracy were those objectives then they must necessarily include the ending of imperialism and the recognition of the independence of India. Subsequent pronouncements made on behalf of the British Government and their reactionary and oppressive policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of

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deliberate insult to Indian nationalism, of a perpetuation of unrestrained authoritarianism and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. Not only has every offer made by the Congress for an honourable compromise been rejected, but public opinion voiced by organisations regarded as moderate has also been flouted.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled, in order to defend the honour and the elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the nationalist movement to request Gandhiji to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi desirous of avoiding embarrassment to his opponent as far as possible, especially during the perils and dangers of war, limited the satyagraha movement which he started to selected individuals who conformed to certain tests he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twenty-five thousand Congressmen have suffered imprisonment while many thousands of others who offered satyagraha in the Frontier Province and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desire to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhiji's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and are of opinion that this has strengthened in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people.

Throughout this period the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has functioned in India as a completely authoritarian government, insulting the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Neither the professions of freedom and democracy, nor the perils and catastrophes that have come in the wake of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance and the circumstances attending it, and official pronouncements made make it clear that it is not connected with any change of policy. Large numbers of detenus, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial and whose only offence seems to be that they are ardent patriots impatient of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, still remain in prison. Recent arrests of prominent persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of Congress must inevitably lie with the peoples who are the subject of aggression from any quarter and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to undertake the defence of the country on a national basis and be of help in the furtherance of the large causes that are emerging from the storm of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government and not even the most far-reaching promise can alter this background nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is indistinguishable from fascist authoritarianism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A.I.C.C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, holds to-day and defines Congress policy still.

Babu Rajendra Prasad's Speech
In the course of the discussion on the resolution Babu Rajendra Prasad made the following statement clarifying the position of those members of the Working Committee who did not entirely agree with the resolution and had therefore remained neutral.

"I seek your permission to make my own position and that of some other members of the Working Committee clear regarding the resolution. This resolution opens the door, however small the opening may be, for armed help in this war particularly for the defence of the country and for the larger causes which are emerging out of it, provided that British Government accepts India's demands. Our belief is that arms have not settled any dispute in the world nor are they ever likely to do so in future. It is the universal experience of all countries that dependence on arms leads from one war to another. The defeated party starts preparing for another war so that it may defeat the victor and in this way one war lays the foundation of another war and nothing gets settled. We, therefore, believe that war has not solved any problem and nothing can be finally settled by the use of arms."

Note: The amendment represented by the words in italics was accepted by the Working Committee.

settled so long as dependence on arms continues. What I am stating here is not a mere theoretical proposition. We are convinced that it is also politically necessary. The happenings in the world even in the course of the present war have shown the futility of armed resistance in the case of many countries which have had warlike traditions and had made tremendous preparations for war. It is politically wrong in our opinion to involve the country in war at this time. Having accepted the path of non-violence the country has made tremendous progress during the last twenty or twenty-two years. The benefit which the country has derived from it is obvious. We do not like to give up this tried principle at this critical time even to a limited extent. We, therefore, consider that the opening that this resolution provides for armed assistance in this war is not in the best interests of the country and we wish that India should not in this war and on the present occasion also in the least relax its hold of the principle of Ahimsa. We realise at the same time that by merely passing the resolution we are not called upon to take up arms today. That can happen only if the British Government makes a declaration in favour of Independence of India and transfers the responsibility of administration to our people. There appears to be no change of that happening today. We have not accordingly thought it necessary to resign from the Working Committee. When the British Government opens the way for armed assistance by the Congress, then will be the time for us to make our choice."

INSTRUCTIONS

The following 'Instructions' recommended by the Working Committee were passed by the A. I. C. C. :-

"This meeting of the A. I. C. C. endorses the following instructions issued by the Working Committee and calls upon all Provincial and other Subordinate Congress Committees to give effect to them within their respective areas. The Provincial Congress Committees are authorised to supplement them wherever necessary. The Committee expects every member of an elective Congress Committee to devote himself actively to the execution of some item of this programme, and to send periodical reports of the work done by him to his committee :-

For text of the instructions see page 274.

A. I. C. C. Circulars

The following circulars were issued by S. J. B. Kripalani, General Secretary to all Provincial and District Congress Committees :-

Circular No. 1.—January 21, 1942

Now that the Bardoli resolution has been accepted by the A. I. C. C. all controversies created in its wake must cease. Congressmen and Congress Committees must forget the remote contingency of an understanding with the authorities, in which the mover of the resolution did not himself believe. They must direct their energies to the task before the country in the present emergency when the war has approached the borders of India. In this connection the Working Committee at Bardoli issued certain instructions for the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees which have since been embodied in a resolution of the A. I. C. C. A copy of these instructions was forwarded to you from our camp office at Bardoli. Copy of the resolution based upon the Bardoli instructions is sent herewith for your information and necessary action thereon.

The resolution rightly points out that the Congress can help and serve the people "only if its organisation is strong and disciplined." For then alone can congressmen command the confidence of the people. We must, therefore, address ourselves immediately "to the task of strengthening the organisation and reviving and maintaining contact with the people in the villages and towns". To this end it is essential that every village "should receive the message of the Congress." But this alone is not enough. The Congress message must be accompanied by concrete day to day activity. The present resolution states that the "constructive programme adopted by the Congress and explained from time to time by Gandhiji is of particular importance at this juncture." Worked in the spirit of its author, it means no harm whatsoever to any legitimate party or interest. In the words of the present resolution "it is meant not only to bring about unity among various groups, to remove disabilities which keep sections of the community backward and depressed, to promote self-reliance and the cooperative spirit among the people, to increase production and have fairer distribution, but it also furnishes the best opportunity and means of contact with the people and service to them which are necessary for winning their confidence." In fact the constructive programme represents duties

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neglected heretofore, the non-performance of which has principally resulted in our present state of helplessness and slavery. In the circumstances existing today, on account of war, when prices of commodities have already risen and are rising, and causing distress and no adequate steps have been so far taken by the authorities to meet the situation "the constructive programme presents unique opportunities not only to steady the people but to serve and organise them." The high prices and scarcity due to dislocation of trade and transport are likely to increase and diminish in the near future, due to the increasing stress of war. At such a time it is not big industry, the target of the war machine, but small decentralised industry carried on in the villages, that is likely to help and serve us.

To secure effective and speedy working of the constructive programme following directions may be noted and carried out as far as possible.

(1) The P. C. Cs should get from all the districts lists of workers with their names and addresses and record of work. Such lists may also be sent to the A. I. C. C. office.

(2) Chief provincial workers should visit various districts and call meetings of workers and explain to them the steps that have to be taken for carrying out the various items of the programme. The names of such workers as consent to participate in any item or items of the programme must be recorded and suitable work organised for them.

(3) A Provincial member-in-charge or a sub-committee for constructive work be appointed. The person in charge or in the case of the committee its members must have full faith in the economic and political efficacy of the programme to be worked out. There may be similar members-in-charge or committees in the districts. Such members-in-charge or committees will keep themselves in constant touch with workers in the district, understand and meet their difficulties, raise funds and do such other work as may be necessary for the efficient working of the programme.

(4) Training centres may be opened, if possible, in every district where workers will receive necessary training in the different departments of work undertaken. The P. C. Cs must also try to have the services of agricultural experts, who would advise village cultivators about the best food crops that can be grown and their substitutes in the present emergency.

(5) Days may be observed throughout the province to popularise different items of the constructive programme. For instance, there may be a Khadi Day, a Hindu-Muslim Unity Day, a Harijan Day, a rural uplift day and the like. These days should not be merely for show. They should serve to focus people's attention on the various aspects of our nation—building activity.

During these times of stress and strain, owing to the great poverty, unemployment and scarcity prevalent in the land, there are possibilities of food riots and consequent looting of grain shops, etc. We have reports of such looting and rioting from several places. Advantage may also be taken by anti-social forces of the prevalent uncertainty and scarcity to create internal confusion. If the constructive programme is worked in the proper spirit the possibilities of looting and rioting will be minimised. To that extent the anti-social forces can also be kept in check. But this may not be enough. Therefore, wherever possible volunteer corps may be formed. They must be principally in rural areas, for self-reliance, mutual cooperation and to face any emergency that may arise. Though a uniform and some sort of drill increase the efficiency of a volunteer corps, yet in the present circumstances, wherever there is any possibility of conflict with authorities or with rival organisations, such aids may be dispensed with. The external help derived from uniform, drill etc. can be more than compensated by the patriotic zeal and enthusiasm of the organisation and its members. Wherever possible the Congress volunteers should cooperate with like organisations of other parties with similar aims. It is needless to remind you that non-violence must be the basic principle of our volunteer organisation.

In short "To the villages" must be slogan of Congressmen. Every member of a Congress executive or of an elective Committee, if not every Primary Member, should make himself responsible for some one or more items of constructive programme. He must keep a careful day to day diary of his work. Such diaries must be inspected by the authorities from time to time and suggestions made and instructions issued in the light of what is recorded.

The A. I. C. C. office must be kept fully informed of the organisation.

tion introduced and the progress of the work undertaken. The head office will always be happy and ready to cooperate in the effort.

Please acknowledge.

Circular No. 2.—January 27, 1942

(1) We are sending you herewith copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee at its last meeting held at Wardha about the enrolment of Primary members.

Those who want to continue their membership have to get themselves enrolled for the current as well as the preceding year and pay a consolidated fee of eight annas. Continuity of membership will entitle them to participate in elections as laid down in Art. VII Sub-clauses (a) and (c). Those who want to enrol themselves for this year have to pay the usual membership fee of four annas.

(2) The office has been receiving enquiries about matters connected with Local bodies. For the guidance of Congressmen and Congress Committees the Congress policy about local bodies is stated here afresh :—

The Congress policy of non-cooperation in war effort still continues. In accordance with that policy Congress parties must withdraw from such local bodies as have participated in the war effort in the past or do so now or in the future. Wherever Congressmen have withdrawn from such bodies they cannot contest bye-elections. An exception to this rule was made only in the case of Madras Corporation. It must be clearly understood that the act of cooperation in war effort is continuous. It lasts at least as long as the particular local body that cooperated in the war effort continues in existence.

In deciding whether Congress Committees should participate in any fresh elections to local bodies regard should be had to the circumstances prevailing in the province or localities concerned. There is no ban against contesting these elections. The Provincial Congress Committees are left free to decide the matter in the light of the effect such contests would have on the policy of non-participation in the war effort and the working of the general programme of the Congress.

Circular No. 3.—February 3, 1942

Several questions regarding the interpretation of the Working Committee resolution on 'refunctioning of Congress Committees' have been referred to us for decision. Since these questions affect a large number of congressmen, the position is made clear here.

A too rigid interpretation of the resolution should be avoided. It should be enough for the purpose of the resolution, if congressmen broadly conformed to the condition laid down therein. For example, those who went to jail once but could not repeat satyagraha on release should be allowed to remain on the elective committees. Also those intending satyagrahis who sent their names to Gandhiji for approval but were not accepted may be allowed to remain on the committees. Those who were arrested before the C. Disobedience movement started or those who were arrested under the Defence of India Rules during the pendency of the movement should be considered qualified for holding offices and remaining members of elective committees. In doubtful cases full advantage of the doubt must be given to the members concerned.

The policy to be followed should be liberal. No party prejudices must be allowed to vitiate a just and equitable decision. If yet there are complicated cases they must be referred to some impartial tribunal.

The expression 'elective committees' occurring in the resolution covers all Committees from the A. I. C. C. and the P. C. C. downward.

The vacancies created should be filled up. In the bye-elections nobody can stand as a candidate who is disqualified in terms of the resolution.

You will please send copy of this circular to your subordinate committees.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Wardha—March 17-18, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Wardha on March 17 and 18, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghose, Asaf Ali, Khan Sabib and J. B. Kripalani.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Jairamdas Daulatram attended the meeting by special invitation. Gandhiji was present at the afternoon sitting of the Committee.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

[WARDHA—

The minutes of the last meeting of the Working Committee held at Wardha on January 13-17, 1942 were confirmed.

MINUTES

LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The Committee passed the following resolution on the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

The Working Committee record their deepest sorrow at the sudden and premature death of their colleague. Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, who for twenty years was a member of the Committee and treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great true servant and a leader and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Srimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

The Working Committee considered the steps taken by the P. C. C. C.'s to carry out the programme of self-protection and self-sufficiency laid down by the A. I. C. C. in January last and the progress made so far. The Committee were of the opinion that while work was being organised in some provinces there was not sufficient stir in others. It decided that (i) the A. I. C. C. office should send out inspectors to the provinces oftener. (ii) The provinces should seek greater co-operation from the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. (iii) The A. I. C. C. office should send further instructions to the P. C. C. C's.

PUNJAB

The President placed before the Committee a letter from the leader of the Congress Assembly Party in the Punjab asking for permission to attend the Assembly. The Committee was of opinion that nothing had happened which called for change in its previous decision. The parliamentary Sub-Committee was free to permit attendance on special occasions for specific purposes.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Delhi—March 29 to April 11, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held in Delhi from March 29 to April 11, 1942. Manlana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. The members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Profulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali, Khan Sahib and J. B. Kripalani. Pattabhi Sitaramayya was present by special invitation. Gandhiji attended the sittings of the Working Committee meetings till April 4th.

DRAFT DECLARATION

The Committee considered the draft declaration issued by Sir Stafford Cripps on behalf of the British Government. The resolution of the Working Committee on this declaration as also the correspondence that passed between the Congress President and Sir Stafford Cripps are given in full in page 224 and following.

NATIONAL WEEK

The Committee passed the following resolution for the observance of the National Week.

"The National week this year has been upon us at a time of great crisis and peril to the nation. It is incumbent upon us all to prepare ourselves in every way to face this crisis and, whatever the larger policies that may be followed in an ever-changing situation, is clear that the present Congress Programme of self-sufficiency and self-protection is the essential foundation of every other policy and activity that might be undertaken. To this programme and to the constructive activities included in it, therefore, Congressmen must address themselves intensively during this week."

TREASURER

The Congress President nominated Sardar Vallabhbhai Patal as treasurer of the A. I. C. C. in the vacancy caused by the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

WORKING COMMITTEE

The President nominated Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya a member of the Working Committee in the vacancy caused on that committee by the death of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj.

Proceedings of the Working Committee

Allahabad—April 27 to May 1, 1942

A meeting of the Working Committee was held at Allahabad from April 27 to May 1, 1942, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presiding. Members present were Sarojini Naidu, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachariar, Shankarrao Deo, Bhulabhai Desai, Govind Ballabh Pant, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Prafulla Chandra Ghosh, Asaf Ali and J. B. Kripalani.

Jairamdas Daulatram, Narendradev, Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Achyut Patwardhan, S. Satyamurti, Vishwanath Das, Gopinath Bardoli, were present by special invitation.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR THE A. I. C. C.

The Committee passed the following draft resolutions for the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolutions see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 291).

The Committee approved of the following Draft resolution on the political situation in the country, to be placed before the A.I.C.C. (For text of the resolution see proceedings of the A.I.C.C. page 293).

THE MADRAS RESOLUTIONS*

The Committee considered the two resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature party under the presidency of Shri Rajagopalachariar. The President observed that the resolutions passed by the Madras Legislature were at variance with the declared policy of the Congress. As a responsible member of the Working Committee Shri Rajagopalachariar should have avoided all association with the two resolutions. If he felt strongly on the subject he should have discussed the matter with his colleagues of the Working Committee before giving expression to his views. In the event of his being unable to carry the Working Committee with him, it was open to him to resign and then propagate his views. Shri Rajagopalachariar admitted that knowing as he did the views of his colleagues of the Working Committee on the subject, he should have first talked the matter over with them before moving the two resolutions at the Congress Assembly Party in Madras. He was, however, unable to withdraw the two resolutions as they represented his considered views. In his letter of resignation addressed to the President, he expressed his regret for publicly ventilating his views on a highly controversial question before consulting the President. Following is the full text of his letter to the President, dated Allahabad, 30th. April 1942 :—
Dear Maulana Sahib,

With reference to your observations on the resolutions passed on my motion by the Madras Congress Legislative Party, I admit that I should have talked the matter over with you and other colleagues of the Working Committee before moving the resolutions, knowing as I did their disagreement on the subject. I write this to express my regret.

I have explained to you already how strongly I feel. I believe that I should be failing in my duty if I do not endeavour to get people to think and act in the direction which my conviction leads to. I feel that in the public interest I should move the resolutions already notified by Mr. Santanam. I desire, therefore, to request you to permit me to resign my place in the Working Committee.

Let me tender my grateful thanks for the unqualified trust and affection bestowed on me by you and the other colleagues during all these many years that I have served in the Committee.

Yours sincerely
C. Rajagopalachariar

The President regretfully accepted the resignation of Shri Rajagopalachariar from the Working Committee.

*Passed on the 23rd. April 1942. For text see Chronicle of Events.

Proceedings of the All India Congress Committee

Allahabad—April 29 to May 2, 1942

A meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held at Allahabad on April 29-30 and May 1-2, 1942 in the special pandal erected for the purpose. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad presided. One hundred and seventy members were present.

The provincewise attendance was as follows :—

| | | | | | |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|
| Ex-Presidents | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Ajmer | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Andhra | ... | ... | ... | ... | 12 |
| Assam | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |
| Bihar | ... | ... | ... | ... | 16 |
| Bengal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 22 |
| Bombay | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Delhi | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Gujrat | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 |
| Karnatak | ... | ... | ... | ... | 0 |
| Kerala | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Mahakoshal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 9 |
| Maharashtra | ... | ... | ... | ... | 8 |
| Nagpur | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| N. W. F. P. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Punjab | ... | ... | ... | ... | 13 |
| Sind | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Tamil Nadu | ... | ... | ... | ... | 10 |
| United Provinces | ... | ... | ... | ... | 36 |
| Utkal | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 |
| Vidarbha | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 |

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MINUTES

The minutes of the last meeting of the A.I.C.C. held at Wardha on January 15-16 were confirmed.

THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT

Commencing the proceedings the *President* traced the course of Congress-Cripps' negotiations. He said that a month and a half back they met at Wardha. At that time it was known that the British Government had decided to make a new approach to the Indian problem. It was announced that Sir Stafford Cripps, a member of the War-Cabinet, would proceed to India with fresh proposals for the settlement of the Indian problem. The Working Committee at Wardha decided that he (the Congress President) should meet him on behalf of the Congress. After meeting him, if he thought necessary, a meeting of the Working Committee may be called.

He had, he said, a series of interviews with Sir Stafford Cripps. He told Sir Stafford Cripps that the draft declaration as he read it was disappointing. It gave nothing. The bulk of it referred to an uncertain future. The proposals about the present were not vague yielded nothing to popular control. Defence was to be the sole responsibility of His Majesty's Government in England. This reservation reduced to nullity the supposed transfer of power from British to Indian hands. In war time defence covered every sphere of civil administration and if defence was reserved everything was reserved.

Sir Stafford in his earlier talks, had assured the Maulana Sahib that what was contemplated in the draft was a national Government. The position of the Viceroy vis-a-vis the government would be the same as that of a constitutional monarch in relation to his Cabinet. Maulana Sahib pointed out that the way the communal and the Indian States' problems were sought to be settled was highly objectionable. In any case these problems should have been left to be settled by Indians themselves. As time passed the picture he (Sir Stafford) had conjured up at the beginning of the negotiations began to fade away. What was left was not worth looking at.

The British attitude, continued the Maulana Sahib, had been helpful ever since the outbreak of War. While the Congress had made it clear to the country and to the world that if ever an accommodating spirit was necessary for a

settlement, it was there in their resolutions. They had gone far to secure a settlement but it was clear that the British Government had no trust in them. The Government was not prepared to entrust defence to Indians. The stand taken up by the Working Committee with regard to the Cripps proposals would have involved them in active participation in the war. It was well known that some members of the Working Committee were with Mahatma Gandhi in their support of out and out non-violence. But he was happy to say that throughout the two weeks of the Delhi negotiations these members viewed every proposal from the point of view of those colleagues of theirs who believed in the defence of their country by other than non-violent means. They made it clear that consistently with their firm belief in non-violence they would do their best to assist any national Government that was formed as a result of the negotiations. The president had nothing but praise for them. Whatever decisions they made were unanimous. It would be wrong to say that they considered the Cripps proposals without having in their minds a clear idea as to the lines on which the communal and other problems should be solved. But so far as Sir Stafford Cripps' mission was concerned the only question they were considering at the time was that of transfer of power from British to Indian hands. He had no doubt that they would have produced a satisfactory solution of the communal problem if the question of transfer of political power had been satisfactorily settled.

It was said in some quarters that the Cripps' mission though it did not produce a settlement had succeeded in changing the attitude of the people towards the war. This was absolutely wrong and misleading. If anything, the mission had done almost irreparable injury. It must be understood that a slave India will have nothing to do with the war. Only a free India can defend itself. Sir Stafford Cripps was now saying that the initiative in dealing with the Indian situation must henceforth lie with the leaders of the Indian people and not the British Government. The Maulana made it plain that the Congress would take no further initiative in the matter.

The Maulana then referred to the imminent peril of invasion by Japan. Only a slave mind could imagine that Japan would give India freedom. National self-respect demanded that they should not think in terms of a change of masters. They would resist the Japanese aggression, their differences with Britain notwithstanding. There could be no welcome for Japan, whether active or passive. Had they been a free country they would have resorted to armed resistance, if any country attacked them. But armed resistance was denied to them. The weapon of non-violence was, however, with them for the last twenty-two years. No one could take away this weapon from them, and they were determined to use it.

Resolutions—LATE SETH JAMNALAL BAJAJ

The following condolence resolution was moved from the chair and passed, all standing :—

The All India Congress Committee recorded their deepest sorrow at the sudden death of their colleague, Seth Jamnalal Bajaj who for twenty years was a member of this Committee, the Working Committee and was also the treasurer of the Congress, and who had set an example of selfless and silent sacrifice for the public good. In particular, he had devoted himself to constructive national activities and built up numerous institutions which are today the living symbols of his great ability, self-sacrifice and capacity for organisation. In his death the country has lost a great and true servant and a leader, and Congressmen have been deprived of a dear comrade whose counsel was always precious, and who was as a brother to the many who worked with him. The Committee send their sincerest sympathy to Srimati Janki Bai Bajaj and to the other members of Seth Jamnalal Bajaj's family.

REJECTION OF CRIPPS' PROPOSALS

Shri Rajendra Prasad then moved the following resolution on the draft proposals of the British government. The resolution was seconded by *Mr. Asaf Ali* :—

"The All India Congress Committee having considered the resolution of the Working Committee in regard to the proposals of the British Government brought by Sir Stafford Cripps and the correspondence between him and the Congress President endorses and approves the decision of the Committee."

from private enterprise and in this connection you cited the policy of his Majesty's Government in regard to a rebate of excess profits tax. As you are aware, the policy of the Government of India in regard to the rates of excess profits tax in this country has been markedly more generous than in some parts of the Empire or in the United Kingdom. For its effect, is to leave to an enterprise in this country, subject of course to income-tax and super-tax one-third of the excess profits, in addition to the whole of the profits of the most favourable standard period or in the case of new concerns, a generous percentage on the invested capital. I venture to think that in the conditions created by a total war the incentive thus left to private enterprise is very real. I would claim indeed that it is as great as could reasonably be expected. And you are aware, gentlemen too, that arrangements exist under which a rebate of excess profits tax to be paid after the war can be obtained by depositing twice the amount of the rebate with Government at two per cent interest for the period of the war and one year after it.

Action on these lines would seem to be a wise precaution on the part of industry and as profitable as wise. I trust sincerely therefore that industrialists will utilise the concession which has been offered. For by doing so, not only will they benefit themselves, they will help to achieve the immobilisation for the period of the war of as much as possible of the excess profits earned during the war, and so to reduce the pressure of enhanced purchasing power of the general price level: and they will in that way make a material contribution to the country's interest.

INFLATION AND SAVINGS

And in that connection, let me refer to the risk of an inflationary rise of prices. That is an issue of vital importance, and one which is continually present to my advisers. It is one in which responsibility lies as heavily on the public as it does on the Government. Few will deny that production must continue at maximum intensity, and must expand wherever possible in the interests of the war effort. But that inevitably means the existence in the country of a great and continually growing volume of purchasing power since payment for everything that is produced must be made in rupees in India, whether the expenditure is incurred on Indian account, or on account of His Majesty's Government, or for the purpose of reciprocal aid to the forces of the United States of America stationed here. The actual allocation of cost has no relevance in this connection and the problem will clearly be with us on a continually growing scale for at least as long as the war lasts.

NEGLECTIBLE AMOUNT OF SAVING

"I would like if I may to emphasise again that for a solution of this difficult and important problem the Government must be able to rely on the utmost assistance, co-operation and support from the non-official world. I look to the leaders of commerce and industry, who have given us such invaluable help in the past, to assist in securing an adequate response to the Government of India's defence loans. But above all I am convinced of the necessity for small savings playing their part. During the three and a quarter years since the war started the small savers' contribution to the return, as savings of a portion of the vast volume of purchasing capacity which the war and supply activities of the country are placing in the hands of the people has—and I say it with regret—been of negligible importance. That is far from a healthy state of affairs. I am sure that personal interest, and active propaganda, can do much to better it. I would appeal to all employers of labour to organise, encourage and assist their employees to save, and to conserve their savings through the various avenues which the Government of India have provided for the purpose. I know that it is only by persistent and unrelenting effort on the part of all employers of labour that can effectively be done. But if that effort is made and maintained, there will be results of immense benefit to all sections in this country and not least to the poorer classes whom the rise in prices most seriously affects.

"I am sure, gentlemen, that where your great authority and influence are concerned I can with confidence look for the fullest help and co-operation in this matter.

HIGH FOOD PRICES

"I listened with close attention, Sir, to your remarks on the all-important question of food supplies. This is a question constantly present to me, and never more so than during recent months. The creation of the new Department of Food, to which you have referred in such friendly terms, will, I trust, before very long effect

some improvement in the situation. Close study of the cause of the present apparent shortages and the high prices which are evident in many centres suggests that though India has, of course, been deprived of its accustomed rice imports from Burma, the difficulties of the present situation are due less to any real deficiency of supplies than to the mental reactions of great sections of the community to the abnormal times in which we are living. I realise fully that the greatly increased calls made on the transport system of this country for defence purposes, reduce its ability to do all that it did in pre-war days for the movement of civil supplies. But since August last, the railways have allowed priority to the transport of food-grains, and I am assured that in this respect there is now considerably less delay and dislocation than were reported to be prevailing five or six months ago. Nevertheless during recent months the supply situation has grown more acute and prices have risen with increased rapidity.

It is sometimes suggested that our present troubles are due to the policy of price and movement control adopted by the Government of India and by various Provincial and States Governments, and that if trade were left free from restriction the interaction of supply and demand would result in commodities finding their way where they were most needed, and in a price level determined by normal forces. That is a plausible contention, and it merits careful scrutiny. But I am myself, after anxious thought, convinced that it is unsound. The control of supplies and prices has been found necessary by practically every administration in the world to-day. No one is more disinclined to embark upon the perilous and difficult task of control than a Government. For Governments know all too well the troubles and anxieties that control brings with it and, in experience, they have recourse to this policy which, and only when, the operation of uncontrolled economic forces has produced a situation which can no longer be permitted to continue unchecked. And to remove controls is not to my mind the solution of the present difficulties. On the contrary the proper course may probably lie in the direction of an extension of control to a wider range of articles, and of a more direct participation by Government themselves in the actual procurement and distribution of supplies.

I will not take up your time, gentlemen, with any detailed narrative of the steps my Government have taken and are taking.

DIFFICULTIES ON CONTROL

The Wheat Control Order, the Regional Price and Supply Boards, the Food-grains Control Order, the Grow More Food Campaign are all evidence of the anxiety of my Government to deal with this most important problem. In the matter of price control, as thorny a question as any, much has been done. More still may have to be attempted. The difficulties of enforcing maximum prices by penal provision are only too familiar to you. And the existence of black markets is well known. But while we may not have had full success in enforcing maximum prices, I am certain that the prescription of such prices had a very real and immediate value, to the extent that it has served to retard the rate of price increase over the whole range of the commodity controlled. And let me say in that connection that I fully agree with what you, Sir, have said about the simplification of the licensing and permit system; and that it will be the aim of the new Department to simplify control operations as much as possible, in the interests alike of administration and of the general public.

But whatever policy is adopted, or whatever measures are put into force, no lasting success can be hoped for without the wholehearted co-operation of the whole body of the community. If the workers in our transport and communication systems, our war industries, and our essential services cannot be provided with the wherewithal to live at a price within their means, the war effort will be crippled and the country itself exposed to grave dangers.

It is more essential now than ever that every citizen should sink his individual interests in the common cause, and realise that, if he concentrates on serving himself alone, he is endangering not only the stability of the whole community but his personal security as well. I would therefore associate myself, sir, most wholeheartedly with your plea for the co-operation of all the interests involved in solving our present difficulties, which are due not so much to shortage of resources as to disturbances of the normal routine. If we secure that co-operation, the difficulties which are now being experienced throughout India will shrink to less menacing proportions. No effort, let me assure you, will be spared to meet a situation the gravity and importance of which my Government so fully realise.

REQUISITIONING OF PROPERTY

You referred, sir, to the difficult questions that arise in connection with the requisitioning of business and residential property. I need not say that my sympathy is very great indeed for those who, whether in their business arrangements or private lives, have had to suffer the grave and serious inconvenience which requisitioning involves. I note with full attention and appreciation the views that you have expressed on this matter, and I will see that they are brought to the notice of my Government who already have the whole matter under active consideration.

When I had the honour of addressing the Associated Chambers on previous occasions since the outbreak of the war, I dealt with the work of this Supply Department. I trust sincerely that you, gentlemen, who are so closely concerned and so familiar with the operations of that Department are satisfied that we are doing our best. I think you will agree with me that we have achieved immense things in the field of supply. Errors and misunderstandings there must always be. It is impossible to avoid them. But, broadly speaking, we can feel that in the field of supply, India has made a contribution of outstanding importance and value and nothing will be left undone to ensure that during the remainder of the war the upward curve of improvement and of development shall be maintained.

INDIAN SUPPLIES

I do not propose to-day to trouble you with any lengthy details of progress under particular heads. But one or two facts and figures I might quote. For the first six months of the war the value of contracts placed was approximately 29 crores. For the six months from April to October 1942, it was 137 crores. Over the whole period to the end of October 1942 it has been no less than 428 crores. And those figures exclude the value of the work done in the ordnance factories, which is, in itself, very considerable. They include only the contracts actually placed through our purchase branch.

During the last year, progress with the Roger Mission projects has been satisfactory. And I hope that the Roger Mission programme as a whole will be getting into production from the early months of 1943 onwards. The preparatory work in India has been ahead of the receipt of plant and equipment from abroad. The flow of munitions components from trade workshops is maintained. The magnitude of India's effort in receipt of munitions and engineering stores is now shown by the tightness of key materials such as steel, of which very considerable imports are expected from the United States. Further important schemes for the expansion of steel production have been approved.

On the general stores side, our measures to double the production of filature-reeled silk are well in hand, and the production of statichutes on a substantial scale is established. The production of web equipment, which was nil before the war, now stands at about 200,000 sets a month and unless the demand decreases it will be doubled in the course of 1943. The possibility of expanding the chemicals industry is under active consideration. Ship construction has been amalgamated with ship repairs, and a new Director-General established at Bombay to deal with both activities.

The year indeed has in the supply field been one of steady progress. We welcomed during its course the visit of the American Technical Mission, which was a very useful stimulant and most helpful to us in every way. The far reaching scheme of industrial expansion recommended by the Mission would, if accepted in full, have involved the earliest supply to India by the United States of large quantities of materials and equipment, and of large numbers of technical personnel.

ASSISTANCE FROM UNITED STATES

The United States Government have found it impossible to implement this programme in full in the present conditions. But they have generously offered to consider any projects which are essential for the war effort, and to which the Government of India attach particular importance; and we are already receiving very significant assistance from the United States in the form of materials, machinery and plant. Let me only add that during the unhappy disturbances of this autumn, labour at most industrial centres remained staunch, and those losses of working time that had to be recorded were due rather to the difficulties to which the workers were subjected than to any desire to go slow on the part of the workers themselves.

I welcome your friendly reference to the work of my Commerce Department. Much of the war work that has fallen to that Department has necessarily involved

H. E. THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS.

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interference, often serious interference, with the normal practices of industry and commerce, and it is perhaps natural that its attitude to individuals. I appreciate the more your remarks about its attitude to individuals. I field of war risk insurance, its anxiety to mitigate the inevitable unpleasantness attached to measures of control will also receive recognition. Let me assure you, gentlemen, that the Government of India are most appreciative of the invaluable assistance which they have received from the War Risk Insurance Advisory Committee, as well as of the co-operation of the insurance companies, which have consented to work as Government agents in return for out-of-pocket expenses only—a notable voluntary contribution to the war effort.

BRITISH TRADE INTEREST IN INDIA.

I have listened, Sir, with close attention and interest to what you said about British trade and commerce in this country. Your anxiety, in your own words, is that British trade should be given a fair deal, and you allowed to conduct its business without discrimination or expropriation; and you touched in your remarks on the history of Britain's contribution to India, whether in the commercial or in the administrative field. I was glad to hear what you said. For there is too great a tendency, and not merely where India is concerned, for Great Britain and the British people, confident as they are in fact in their own record and in their own capacity to show that confidence by self-deprecation, a self-deprecation which is unjustified, and which is very apt to be misunderstood. Whether in this war, or in the past, Great Britain can, with all humility, claim that she has achieved great things, and that her contribution to human progress and happiness, and her record, and that of her citizens, at home or abroad, in commerce, in administration or in the fighting services, is one to be proud of.

And there is no part of the Empire in which we can look back on a greater record of achievement than in India. Law and order, the arts of peace, greatly raised standards of wealth and of prosperity, the elimination, for practical purposes, of grave famine, of disease throughout this sub-continent, that security in which India has been able industrially and politically to reach her present high place among the nations of the world—these are great services rendered. Our achievement in India is one that need not fear comparison with any corresponding work in the world. It is indeed to its magnitude that much of the criticism which you mention is due. For it is easy, indeed it is natural, living in the long settled peace for which Great Britain is responsible, under the unity that Great Britain has achieved that the decades of war and inter-racial strife through which this country had passed before British authority was established on its present basis should be forgotten.

COMMERCIAL BENEFITS OF WORLD SYSTEM

In the specifically commercial field to which you have referred India has derived, and derives to-day, great benefit, as you, Sir, have reminded us, from the British connection. The immense importance to her of her foreign trade, and of the British trading and business community, the significance to India of the position of the empire capital as the centre of a world-wide system, her ability as a unit of the empire to turn that position to special advantage, were not and could not have been created on the basis of a policy of excluding overseas and foreign interests or personnel. And I cannot believe that the significance of that fact, so well established by general experience elsewhere, will be lost on the India of the future. Whatever mistakes may have been made—and who of us, and what country, is there that has not made mistakes—we can, with all humility claim that Great Britain and her citizens have earned for themselves an honoured place in India by the standards they have set and by the benefits which long years of peace and prosperity have brought to this country. I am confident that the assistance of the British Community, and the benefit of the British connection to the upholding of India's business traditions and the maintenance and development of India's post-war position in international trade, will be as readily afforded in the future as they have been in the past.

The year now drawing to a close has been one of very great importance in every way for India. For all of us on whom rests the burden of conducting the affairs of this great country it has been one at times of deep anxiety, whether in terms of the internal or the external situation. When we last met Japan had just entered the war. The early part of this year was marked by the invasion of

Malaya, the Japanese advance into Burma, the very active threat to the shores of India, Japanese naval activity in the Bay of Bengal and elsewhere, attacks on Vizagapatam and Ceylon, and strong pressure from Japan in NE India. We had reason for anxiety, too, because of the news from other parts of the Fighting Front. In attack and in defence, we have worked in those dark times in close association with the gallant forces of China, whose *Generalissimo* and his wife I was so happy to welcome on behalf of India in February; of the U. S., whose reception from all quarters in India has been so sincere; and of the warrior Kingdom of Nepal, to which and to whose Prime Minister we are bound by such close ties.

In India itself I cannot speak too highly of the steps taken by all concerned to perfect our preparations against invasion, to sustain morale, to organize to meet any situation that might arise. H.E. the C-in-C and the defence forces in this country—naval, military or air—have spared no effort. Defence arrangements have been developed on a great scale. Recruitment and training of troops has been pressed on with the utmost vigour. There have been immense strides forward in civil defence. The keen and constant interest shown in that vital matter by my own Department of Civil Defence, has been equally marked throughout India, whether in the Provinces or in the Indian States. We find ourselves today in a happier condition so far as civil defence is concerned than at any earlier period in the war, and the necessity for civil defence, and the organization that has been developed in connexion with it has brought home directly to many whom the war might not in the ordinary way have closely touched the essential importance to India of being able to stand on her own feet, and to repel any attack that may be made from outside.

INTERNAL SITUATION

In the internal field we have, to my keen and deep regret, had to deal since I last addressed you with an uprising, consequent on the programme of the leaders of the Congress Party, of great gravity and great severity. That uprising, which had no support from great sections of the Hindu community, from which the Muslim community and other important parts of the population of India dissociated themselves, which affected only in the smallest degree the Indian States, was perhaps the work of a numerically small but very important section. But that section, carefully organized, and unscrupulous, I am sorry to say it, in the methods it adopted, indifferent to the creed of non-violence to which such prominence has been given, was able to cause immense damage, serious dislocation of communications, much destruction of public and private property, heavy loss to the tax-payer, the deaths of many innocent persons. At a time when the efforts of all of us were directed and necessarily directed to protecting India against Japanese aggression and to building up supplies and stores for our own defence and for the battle against the Axis it resulted in a serious diversion of military forces and an interruption, deeply to be regretted, in the war effort.

To the sorrow of all of us who care for the good name of India, those disturbances were disfigured by very shocking cases of brutality and violence. And a grievous feature of them is the use to which designing men endeavoured to turn, and indeed succeed in many cases in turning, the young enthusiasm, the intelligence and the lack of experience of the student community. Those who diverted those young men, young men of such promise, with their future just opening before them into the dangerous paths of civil tumult and disorder, carry an immense responsibility to India, and to the ardent and generous youth which they have led astray. In restoring order everything possible was done to use the minimum degree of force, and to cause the minimum disturbance. The success of that policy is shown by the very low figures of casualties. The situation is well in hand as I speak to you today, though even now in certain areas it continues to call for the utmost vigilance and care.

I would like to pay a tribute to the admirable work done in restoring order by the services, military and civil alike, and in particular by the police, on whom there fell so heavy a burden. And I would like to say a word of warm and sincere thanks on behalf not only of myself, and of my Government, but on behalf of India, to those solid and sober elements throughout the country who, in times of great difficulty, stood by Government, gave their full co-operation to those whose business it was to maintain law and order, and at great risk to themselves, and sometimes at the cost of grave injury, formed rallying points around which the law-abiding and the loyal citizen could gather, and from which he could get assurance and support.

Since the war began you and I have had heavy anxieties. We have realized how great a burden the war has placed upon the empire and upon India. We have realized, too, as I ventured to say to you in 1939, that the fate of India in the international sphere turns on the success of the Allied arms. We have been heartened and supported in those dark days by India's response, by her generosity in men, money, and materials. As I speak to you to-day the outlook is bright. We are far still from the end of our troubles. There lie ahead of us before final and decisive victory can be won, much hard fighting, inevitable reverses, possibly even serious disasters. All those things are what war is made of. They must be expected. They must be provided against so far as we can hope to make such provision. If things go badly reverses must be borne with a stout heart, with a resolution to amend what was been faulty, and to go ahead with confidence and courage, and with the certainty that we have right behind us, and that victory is ours in the end. But you and I, whether in our private lives or in public affairs, are all of us conscious today of the improvement that has taken place, of the immense difference made by the brilliant campaigns that have been waged last year and this year by our Russian allies; by the successes of the Allied Arms in Africa, and by the great battle that even as I speak the forces of the U. S. and those of the Commonwealth of Australia are fighting in the Far East. It is too early yet for optimism. But we can feel that our earlier confidence in the successful outcome of the struggle, however dark at times things may have seemed, has been justified, and that, while no effort can be relaxed, we can look forward with an easier mind to the concluding stages of the war.

CONSTITUTIONAL FIELD

I listened with deep satisfaction to the remarks which you were kind enough to make about the Governor-General's Executive Council, and the tribute which you were good enough to pay to its work. Since we last met, that Council has undergone a material expansion. Working in the closest of contact with its Members and with the Council as a whole, I can, from my own knowledge and experience, speak of its capacity, its courage, its unity, its devotion to the interests of India. I need not tell you how great is the value to the Governor-General of colleagues such as those with whom it is now my good fortune to work in the Executive Council.

I turn now with your permission to the position in the constitutional field. I came here in 1936 with the hope that before I handed over I might see in full operation the Act of 1935, an Act often criticized, but the result of years of patient work by the best minds of India and Britain. That Act provided, as you will remember, for extensive autonomy in the provincial sphere and for a federation of India at the Centre.

The scheme of provincial autonomy came into being in April 1937, and it has been in operation since that date. The Congress Party who at first were critical of the scheme decided in July 1937, to take advantage of it, and in those provinces in which there was a Congress majority in the legislature Congress Government remained in power till October 1939. They then decided that they could no longer carry the responsibilities which fell upon them, and withdrew from office. In the absence of a majority government, those provinces have since that date been governed under the special provisions of the Act. In the remaining Provinces autonomous governments have throughout (save for a brief period in Assam and in Orissa) been in control of the affairs of their provinces, and are in control today. In the provincial field let me say at once that I am perfectly satisfied, after the experience of the 6 years since 1937, with the essential soundness of the scheme of provincial autonomy. It has worked with success, in all the Provinces. As I speak, it is working smoothly in Bengal, the Punjab, Assam, Sind and Orissa. It would work equally well in the remaining Provinces, as in fact it did, were those for whom the scheme is designed but ready to work it. That we have had to resort to the emergency provisions of the Act is due to no flaw in the scheme. It is the result of a political decision by the majority party not to carry their responsibilities.

In the Centre the position is different. The Act of 1935 provided for a Federation of India—a federal scheme of 1935 designed to bring together the Provinces of British India and the Indian States, with a Central Legislature based on a substantial franchise with solid foundation

in the country representative of the Indian States and British India alike. The scheme of the Act would have transferred power to Ministers at the Centre drawing their support from the legislature. It would have brought together British India and the Indian States. It would have produced in the Centre a scheme of government representative of all parties, communities and interests.

When the war broke out, the preparations for bringing the federation into being though far advanced were not yet complete, and, in the immense strain that fell upon us in the opening days of the war, there was nothing for it but to concentrate on the winning of the war and to suspend those preparations. The Government of India continues therefore to be based on the same principles as before the Act of 1935—the Governor-General and his Executive Council responsible to the Secretary of State and to Parliament.

While as I have said, work on federation has been suspended, I have never coucealed from you my own sincere and firm belief in the value of the federal scheme, representing as it did the maximum of agreement between the great communities, the political parties, British India and the States, that could be obtained at the time when the Act was framed. The federal scheme has its imperfections. It can be attacked as it was attacked, on various grounds, and with plausibility. But whatever its imperfections, it would have made an immense contribution to Indian political advance. It would have solved the great bulk of the problems in the constitutional field that we have heard so much of over these last few years. It would have welded together with the consent of all concerned in a common partnership, and for common objects, British India and the Indian States. And it would have provided (and that is what I regard as so very important) a government representative, authoritative, covering the whole, or almost the whole of India composed of persons of the highest standing in this country able to speak with authority, and with general support, on behalf of this sub-continent.

THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Since I felt at the time that with the postponement of the federal scheme it was of great importance to broaden the basis, and to introduce certain changes in the character, of the Governor-General's Executive Council, I was anxious to get the support of the great political parties and to produce at the Centre as representative a government as could be found. I will not weary you with the details of the discussions, the negotiations, the public statements, that have been made over the last 3 years. You are familiar with their general outline. Suffice it to say this.

On the one hand during that time my Council has been changed from a body with a European and an official majority and with total strength of 7 in addition to the Governor-General into a body 15, of whom 2 only are officials, and 3 only in addition to the C-in-C and myself, Europeans. The remaining portfolios are held by men of the highest character and distinction in the Indian political field, men with long records of service to India behind them; many of the men who have held office in provincial Governments in the past.

In a different field I have been at pains to try to associate popular opinion in the provinces with the work which the Centre has been doing, and in particular with the work which it has been doing in connexion with the war. The establishment of a National Defence Council, some members of which I am glad to see here today, has resulted in periodic meetings of a very highly qualified body, representative of all the provinces of British India as well as of the Indian States, a body that has been taken into the fullest confidence and from which there are no secrets, a body well able to supplement the changed characters of my Executive Council by firsthand knowledge of provincial feeling and provincial views.

Taking the various stages which I have just mentioned together we can thus claim despite the decision as to the federal scheme, to have made a very material and a very real advance during the last 3 years in the association of non-official Indians with government in this country.

That is something. But it is not all one could have wished for. As you know so well, my efforts have been directed during all this period to getting the parties together, the bringing about with any help that I could give that measure of agreement which is so essential if we are to have a workable scheme. One difficulty after another has been brought forward. One attempt after another has been made by H. M.'s Government, the Secretary of State and myself to deal with such difficulties. My own anxiety to see an end of those difficulties, to see India united

in agreement, has 'throughout' been as deep and as sincere as it is today. And that is true equally of the Secretary of State and of H. M.'s Government.

I am the more disappointed in those circumstances that none of the efforts so sincerely made should have achieved the object at which we aimed and at which we aim today. Indeed it sometimes seem that our very endeavours to dissipate misconceptions and misunderstandings have tended to widen the gulf between those whom we desire to unite rather than to narrow it. The attitude of H. M.'s Government, their anxiety to see India self-governing under a scheme devised in full freedom by the principal elements in India's national life, their readiness to leave this matter to a body composed of Indians themselves have been declared in the most emphatic and in the most solemn manner. The mission of Sir Stafford Cripps to this country in the spring of this year was but the latest evidence of the sincerity of H. M.'s Government in this matter. And as you will all of you remember when the proposal carried by Sir Stafford were made public, the verdict of world opinion was that those were reasonable proposals, and proposals the genuineness and the profound importance of which could not be questioned. But those proposals, too, failed to secure agreement. The reasons for which they proved unacceptable to the various parties were, as has been the case throughout the melancholy history of this question, mutually destructive. And to day I see with deep regret little to encourage me to hope that the conflicting claims (and I do not question for a moment the sincerity with which those claims are advanced and pressed) of the great parties and communities in this country are likely in any degree to be abated. Yet for all that, I would like to feel that the problem is not beyond the genius of Indian leadership, and that it may yet be possible for the various parties to come together and co-operate in forming the executive government of this country.

UNITY OF INDIA

I have spoken often to you in my earlier addresses of the importance of unity in this country. Geographically India, for practical purposes, is one. I would judge it to be as important as it ever was in the past, nay more important, that we should seek to conserve that unity in so far as it may be built up consistently with full justice for the rights and the legitimate claims of the minorities, whether those minorities be great or small. That that would be a desirable aim no one can doubt who tests that proposition in terms of foreign policy, of tariff policy, of defence policy, of industrial development. Can India speak with the authority that she is entitled to claim? Can she play her part effectively at international discussions, at discussions with the other parts of the Empire, if she is to speak with 2 voices? Indian unity, subject as I have said to full and sufficient provision for the minorities, accepted as such by those minorities, is of great and real importance if India is to carry the weight which she ought to carry in the councils of the Empire and of the world.

But there are hard practical issues that have got to be faced before any true solution can be found. Political opinion in all responsible quarters must discover a middle road along which all men of goodwill may march. That indeed is the difficult but essential task which must be performed if India is to achieve the great position we all desire for her. The policy of H. M.'s Government in respect of the future status of India is clear beyond any question. But the achievement of a particular status carries with it heavy obligations. In the modern world, whether we like it or not, a readiness to accept heavy financial burdens, to accept liability for defence on whatever scale one's geographical position demands at whatever cost; all those are essential. So many today found their hopes and their plans on the confident assurance that the post-war world will be a safe world. I sincerely hope that it will be so. But if that end is to be achieved, and maintained, constant vigilance, constant effort, constant forethought, will be needed. And all that is relevant to what I have just said about the unity of India. A divided people cannot carry the weight that it ought to carry or make its way in the world with the same confident expectation of success.

But equally, mere artificial unity, without genuine agreement between the component parts, may well be a danger rather than an advantage. For fissures that reveal themselves under pressure from outside are more dangerous than fissures the existence of which is well known and can be provided against. It is only by understanding between party and party, between community and community, understanding that begets trust and confidence, that is based on a liberal acceptance by the parties to it of the historic traditions, the legitimate claims, of the other to a

place in the scheme of things that there comes that truly welded result which is able to stand shocks from whatever corner of the compass. Is not that result worth working for? Is it not worth some sacrifice, if some sacrifice must be its price.

Britain's help is always available and has been freely offered. In the time that have been in this country one proposition after another has been advanced by H.M.'s Government and by myself in the hope of producing a generally acceptable solution. I can myself claim to have brought together Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Gandhi, though unhappily without result. I have worked very hard, if unsuccessfully, to bridge the gulf between parties, interests and communities. Let me say one thing only before I pass from this subject. We are familiar with the suggestion that the troubles of India are due to Britain's refusal to part with power. I could say exactly the contrary. Those troubles are due to Britain's expressed readiness to part with power. It is because agreement cannot be reached between the conflicting interests in this country as to who is to take over the responsibilities which Britain is only too ready to transfer to Indian hands, that the deadlock has arisen. It is from no reluctance on our part to transfer them.

The further period for which His Majesty has been pleased to ask me to serve in my present office is a short one now. In 10 months time or so I shall hand over to the new Viceroy. Believe me when I say that if in that time I can help to bridge these gulfs which I have spoken of, I shall leave India a happy man. India, and all of us have had to face grave and exacting problems during this time of war—very great dangers, heavy responsibilities, much waste of life, much pouring out of resources that could have been turned to such advantage in the arts of peace. The end of the war, so eagerly hoped for by all of us, is not the end of our troubles. When the war ends, we shall be faced by problems that will tax our public spirit, our courage, our resources of body and mind to the maximum. The problems of demobilization, of reconstruction, of the resettlement of these great armies of the adjustment of India to post-war world economic conditions, will be immense. In discharge of the commitment of H.M.'s Government it will be for the principal elements in India's national life to devise their own proposals for the future government of this country, and to reach on those proposals that agreement that is, as I have already said, so essential if any workable and permanent scheme is to be devised. That by itself would be a heavy task. But though it may be the most important task, it will be one only of those that will fall to India on the conclusion of the war. If before I leave this country I could see that understanding and agreement between the great Indian parties that is a prerequisite of internal contentment and of progress, I would leave India well satisfied that while progress in these matters, whether in India or elsewhere, must be a business of trial and error, and may be slower than many of us could wish, still that all was set for the consummation of those ideals that have been so close to the heart of those of us who have worked for India's future and for the raising of her stature in the comity of nations.

At the conclusion of his Excellency's speech, Mr. J. Nuttall (Madras Chamber of Commerce), proposed a vote of thanks to Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Governor of Bengal, who was also present.

Proceedings & Resolutions

INCOME-TAX BY STATES ON COMPANIES

The meeting then took up consideration of business on the agenda and adopted a resolution inviting the attention of the General Board of Revenue to the demands for returns of income made by certain of the Indian States upon companies which established in British India and which did not transact business in these States. It urges the Government of India to take such steps as were possible to induce each of such States to publish, so that exporters to the States would be in a position to know their liabilities; an instruction stating clearly what incomes were liable to be assessed under the sections of each tax act similar to Section 42 of the Indian Act.

PAPER SHORTAGE

Mr. R. W. Mellor (Bengal Chamber of Commerce) moved a resolution on 'paper shortage' which ran as follows: 'In connection with the Defence of India Rules order dated the 5th November, served on paper mills in India by the Controller of Printing and Stationery, India, that the total quantity of paper sold,

agreed to be sold or otherwise disposed of to persons other than the Central Government and Provincial Governments or to the Government of an Indian State, during any calendar month (including November 1942) shall not, except with my permission in writing, exceed ten per cent of the total quantity of paper manufactured during the preceding calendar month." This Association draws attention to the disproportionate reservation made for Government purposes and the entirely inadequate provision for civilian consumption, in particular for the essential war requirements of commerce and industry, and urges the Government to allow at least 30 per cent of the mills' total production to be supplied to the general market."

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

IMPORT TRADE CONTROL

The meeting then discussed and adopted the following resolution on "Import Trade Control", which was moved by Mr. J. Nuttall. The resolution stated that "while recognising the imperative need for the control of imports into India as a means of conserving shipping space and for other reasons, this Association is of opinion that the present system of control in India, and more particularly its administration, calls for early investigation and overhaul, with a view to the removal of the serious impediments to legitimate and essential business to which the system gives rise."

The mover suggested the following methods for improvement of the present system of working, (1) that Import Trade Controllers be appointed in Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi, Cochin and Madras, with authority equivalent to that now exercised by the Chief Controller in Simla; (2) that each Import Trade Controller be given a quota with which he would be allowed to sanction licences without reference to a central authority and (3) that a local representative of the Steel Controller should work in collaboration with the Import Trade Controller in order that licences could be issued for goods which were at present under the Steel Controller's jurisdiction.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

The Association urged the "Government of India to give early and careful consideration to post-war reconstruction problems and to formulate long term trade and industrial policies to be placed before the Post-War Reconstruction Committee." The Association pointed out that special consideration should be given to the proposals made for the control of international trade in the report of the London Chamber of Commerce provided that any such proposals were not allowed to interfere with the primary task of the Government to prosecute the war.

Moving the resolution, Sir Tracy Gavin Jones said that he felt that they in India were not taking this war seriously enough. There was too much of the "business as usual" attitude coupled with the belief that as far as India was concerned things would remain very much as they were before the war. But the war was something more than a series of military operations—it was a social, economic and moral revolution in western civilisation and its outcome would greatly affect India, especially in the general price level after the war, which was so vital to India's export and import trade and the welfare of the agricultural masses. Sir Tracy maintained that the Lease-Lend principle would have to be extended indefinitely after the war and that all nations would have to adopt some such principle to facilitate international trade and avoid mass unemployment.

Mr. Nuttall seconded the resolution. The annual meeting then terminated.

Indian Debate in Parliament

House of Commons—London—10th. September 1942

Mr. Churchill's Trade Against Congress

Mr. Winston Churchill made a statement on the 10th. September 1942 in the House of Commons about India. Mr. Churchill added that the Congress Party did not represent all India. It might well be that the recent Congress activities had been aided by Japanese fifth column works on a widely extended scale with special attention to strategic points. Mr. Gandhi and his followers would be kept out of harm's way until troubles subsided. Less than 500 people had been killed in the vast territory of India since the disturbances started. Large reinforcements had reached India and the number of soldiers now there was larger than at any time in the British connection.

Mr. Churchill said: "The course of events in India has been improving and is on the whole reassuring. The broad principles of the declaration made by the British Government which formed the basis of the mission of the Lord Privy Seal, Sir Stafford Cripps to India, must be taken as representing the settled policy of the British Crown and Parliament. These principles stand in their full scope and integrity. No one can add to them and no one can take anything away.

The good offices of Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected by the Indian Congress Party. This however does not end the matter. The Indian Congress Party does not represent all India (cheers). It does not represent the majority of the people of India (cheers). It does not even represent the Hindu masses (cheers). It is a political organisation built around a party machine and sustained by certain manufacturing and financial interests (cheers and laughter).

"Outside that Party and fundamentally opposed to it are 90 million Muslims in British India (here a member interjected "nonsense" and there were cries of "order") who have their rights of self-expression, 50 million depressed classes or untouchables as they are called because they are supposed to defile their Hindu co-religionists by their presence or by their shadow, and 95 million subjects of the Princes of India with whom we are bound by treaty. In all there are 235 millions in these three large groupings alone out of 390 millions in all-India. This takes no account of the large elements among Hindus, Sikhs and Christians in British India who deplore the present policy of the Congress Party. It is necessary that these main facts should not be overlooked here or abroad because no appreciation of the Indian problem or of the relations between India and Britain is possible without a recognition of these basic data.

"The Congress Party has now abandoned the policy in many respects of non-violence which Gandhi has so long inculcated in theory and has come into the open as a revolutionary movement designed to paralyse communications by rail and telegraph and generally to promote disorder, looting of shops and sporadic attacks upon the Indian police, accompanied from time to time by revolting atrocities—the whole having the intention or at any rate the effect of hampering the defence of India against the Japanese invader who stands on the frontiers of Assam and also upon the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal.

ALLEGATIONS OF FIFTH COLUMN AID

"It may well be that these activities by the Congress Party have been aided by Japanese fifth column work on a widely extended scale and with special direction to strategic points. It is noteworthy for instance that communications of the Indian forces defending Bengal on the Assam frontier have been specially attacked. In these circumstances, the Viceroy and the Government of India, with the unanimous support of the Viceroy's Council, the great majority of which are Indians—patriotic and wise men—have felt it necessary to proclaim and suppress the central and provincial organs of this association which has become committed to hostile and criminal courses.

Mr. Gandhi and other principal leaders have been interned under conditions of the highest comfort and consideration and will be kept out of harm's way until the troubles subside.

"It is fortunate, indeed, that the Congress Party has no influence whatever with the martial races on whom the defence of India, apart from the British

forces, largely depends. Many of these races are divided by unbridgeable religious gulfs from the Hindu Congress and would never consent to be ruled by them nor shall they ever be against their will so subjugated" (prolonged cheers). Mr. Churchill resumed: "There is no compulsory service in India but upwards of one million Indians have volunteered to serve the cause of the United Nations in this world struggle. The bravery of Indian troops has been distinguished in many theatres of war and it is satisfactory to note that in these last two months when the Congress has been measuring its strength against the Government of India over 140,000 new volunteers for the army have come forward in loyal allegiance to the King-Emperor thus surpassing all records in order to defend their native land.

CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN ARMY

"So far as matters have gone up to the present, they have revealed the impotence of the Congress Party either to seduce or even sway the Indian army, to draw from their duty the enormous body of Indian officials or, still less, stir the vast Indian masses.

"India is a continent almost as large and actually more populous than Europe and divided by racial and above all by religious differences far deeper than any that have separated the Europeans. The whole administration of the Government of 390 millions who live in India is carried on by Indians, there being under 600 British members of the Indian Civil Service. All public services are working. In five provinces including two of the greatest and comprising 110 million people, provincial Ministers responsible to their legislatures stand at their posts. In many places both in town and country, the population has rallied to the support of the civil power. The Congress conspiracy against communications is breaking down, Acts of pillage and arson are being repressed and punished with an incredibly small loss of life. Less than 500 persons have been killed over this mighty area of territory and population and it has only been necessary to move a few brigades of British troops here and there in support of the civil power. In most cases, rioters have been successfully dealt with by the Indian Police. I am sure the House would wish me to pay a tribute to the loyalty and steadfastness of the brave Indian Police as well as the Indian official class generally, whose behaviour has been deserving of the highest praise.

"To sum up, the outstanding fact which has so far emerged from the violent action of the Congress Party has been its non-representative character and powerlessness to throw into confusion the normal peaceful life of India. It is the intention of Government to give all necessary support to the Viceroy and his executive in the firm but tempered measures by which they are protecting the life of the Indian communities and leaving the British and Indian armies free to defend the soil of India against the Japanese.

BRITISH TROOPS REINFORCED

"I may add that large reinforcements have reached India and that the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small, compared to its size and population, are larger than at any time in the British connection. I therefore feel entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondency or alarm."

Following this, the Prime Minister answered many questions.

Statement in Lords

The under-Secretary of State, the Duke of Devonshire, made a statement on India in the House of Lords on the 10th. September similar to that made by Mr. Churchill in the Commons.

House of Commons—London—11th. September 1942

Amery accuses Congress of sabotage

The Leader of the Labour Party and the former War Cabinet Minister, Mr. Arthur Greenwood opened the debate on India in the Commons on the 11th. September 1942. Pointing out that Parliament would be going into recess at the conclusion of the present sitting, Mr. Greenwood said that it seemed to him peculiar for the Commons to let the statement made by Mr. Churchill yesterday stand unchallenged for several weeks.

Amid cheers and cries of "No" Mr. Greenwood said: Mr. Churchill's speech was couched in language not calculated to improve Anglo-Indian relations.

"That is my view. The majority of the members yesterday expressed an entirely different view, but it was at least clear that there was a wide difference of opinion on the Indian situation, which I do not wish to stoke up to-day. I can not think Mr. Churchill's statement will have a good effect in the United States or anything but the most unfortunate effect in India. I would rather ally myself with Untouchables than with the Congress, but although this crisis was created by the Congress, I think it unfortunate that the Prime Minister should have said the things he did yesterday. I should have thought it was an element of statesmanship in such circumstances to try to help and not to embitter existing feelings."

After recalling the Labour Party's earlier declaration on India, Mr. Greenwood said: "The Government cannot weaken in its determination to prevent the spread of disobedience which might cause a riot in India, imperil the war effort in the Middle East apart from disaster which might befall but so long as a chink of light comes through the door, it is a very heavy responsibility for any man to put his foot to the door and bang it. We did not need Mr. Churchill's kindergarten lecture yesterday to understand how complicated is the situation in India."

"LEADERS IN LUXURIOUS CONDITIONS"

"There are nations who do not look kindly on our attitude towards subject peoples," added Mr. Greenwood. "I feel that Americans do not yet understand the difference between a Dominion and a Colony. There is also the view that we have a somewhat murky past in our relation with the coloured races. It would not be right for us to concede everything that one element of Indian opinion desire but in the last two or three weeks, men of diverse views have expressed a deep desire to find solution and if there is but a single gleam of hope a heavy responsibility rests on Britain for its own standing in the world to keep that gleam alight. It is impossible to resume discussion with leaders now enjoying luxurious conditions—I would not call it prison—but deprived of their liberty. We urge the Government to make it clear that free and friendly discussions will be resumed on the abandonment of civil disobedience. That does not mean that Indians are not called upon to do something. There is a duty on their leaders to be somewhat more forthcoming in this desperate situation. There must be co-operation on both sides. Let us while there is the faintest shadow of an understanding, show generosity of mind and spirit and continue our efforts."

Mr. Scrymgeour-Wedderburn (Conservative), who will be a member of the forthcoming military mission to Chungking, said he listened yesterday to Mr. Churchill's short, concrete statement with great relief. No Government, however democratic, could allow one section of its subjects to engage in activities calculated to open the door to foreign invasion. The Government of India had acted with the greatest patience and extreme forbearance. Those who criticised the Government should consider the consequences in India if any substantial number of people in Britain connived at or excused the civil disobedience campaign, whose only effect could be to the military advantage of the Axis. The forbearance of the Government of India had been far greater than that exercised by the British or any other Government. However foolishly any party may be led it ought to be tolerated but the political tactics of the Congress form the greatest obstacle to the speedy realisation of India's Home Rule. It is time that action should be taken."

"REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN BRITISH POLICY"

Mr. George Ridley (Labour) said he wanted to underline Mr. Greenwood's appeal with full recognition of the heavy responsibility resting upon the Government at home and the Government in India. "Nobody who takes the trouble to read the white paper can doubt that the right of the Indian peoples to decide their own destiny has now been explicitly recognised by the British Government and public."

"If the proposals in the white paper were now accepted by the Indian communities India would have in the postwar world a position of equality with ourselves and the rest of the free Dominions with the right of secession and with the same complete equality. I most earnestly hope that it is clear to Indian opinion and to world opinion as a whole but I strongly doubt whether the world really recognises the importance and magnitude of the step which has been taken in this matter. I ask Mr. Amery to tell the House exactly what steps the Government are taking to make Indian opinion, as far as it can be reached, and world opinion, as a whole, understand the size and magnitude of the offer in the white paper. For anybody, who looked back over the developments of British

policy in relation to India in the last 30 years it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there has been altogether a revolutionary change. Thirty years ago we dominated India in the old-fashioned imperialist way and desired to continue it, but to-day we no longer desire to continue that domination. On the contrary, we offer India complete freedom and I wish most fervently that they could be even now persuaded to take it. It is our duty to make it plain to the world that the proposals in the White Paper were not proposals and that the responsibility for refusing them is in India and not here. I believe that even now, difficult as the situation is, formal acceptance by the Indian communities of the post-war proposals in the White Paper would, in itself, make a great contribution to easing, if not to the solution of the immediate difficulties."

MR. CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT DISCONCERTING

Mr. Ridley, continuing, said that the Labour Party had declared that mere contemplation of civil disobedience was itself evidence of critical irresponsibility and had further declared, when the arrests had been made, that they were timely and unavoidably precautions. We would not be fair to the men and women on the spot—mainly Indians—carrying the great responsibilities for the maintenance of law and order, if we did not give them all support they have again to expect from us. Leadership in India had not enhanced its prestige in the last few months. There might be millions in India, tired of internal bickering and tired also of the curious mental operations of Mr. Gandhi and anxious for a new leadership towards freedom and reality. The Prime Minister's statement yesterday was disconcerting to many members, but, on reflecting, he thought that bluntness was better than evasion. He hoped that the Government would make it clear that the White Paper proposals still stood and could still be discussed and on the withdrawal of the civil disobedience movement, negotiations could be reopened. It should also be made clear that the possibility of implementing these proposals depended entirely on the success of the United Nations.

Mr. Gerald Palmer, (Conservative), who was with Sir Stafford Cripps in India, said that he was speaking to-day on his own responsibility. "There certainly are responsible elements among leaders of the Congress trying to seek an agreement. The events of the last few months are really nothing more than a determined attempt by Mr. Gandhi to regain his lost power and prestige."

Mr. Wilfred Roberts (Liberal), said that the first sentence of Mr. Churchill's statement was the most vital thing in it, namely that the proposals recently made by Sir Stafford Cripps still stood. He would need much convincing that Mr. Gandhi was a pro-Japanese. Mr. Gandhi was merely a pacifist and pacifists often found themselves in difficulties during a war. He thought it a deplorable necessity to imprison leaders like Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Mr. Gandhi. It was a sad failure of statesmanship that such a situation should have arisen. "While we have bred in India a belief in Western Democracy, the leader of Indian opinion have also looked to America and other countries for inspiration. This conflict, therefore, affects all United Nations. It has been said that the victory of the United Nations is a guarantee of the eventual independence of India. Cannot that guarantee be made more practical by freely admitting that we are not alone in this problem that the representatives of other countries, who stand to be affected just as seriously by the development of this problem, such as the Chinese, the Americans, and the Russians, be brought in? Before the war we used to advocate submission of an international dispute to a third party judgment. This is an occasion, perhaps, when such a policy might bring confidence to the Indians and strengthen our position in the whole world in solving an admittedly most difficult problem."

Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes (Conservative), former Governor of Bombay, said that conditions although so difficult in India were, he felt, slowly and steadily improving. "We want to leave the door open for negotiations whenever these are practicable or show the slightest hope of success. We ought also to congratulate the Government of India on the very courageous way in which they have tackled this grave situation. Nothing could have been more deplorable than the use of the difficulties of the Allies as a weapon to throw off all British connection with India. There must be no other reply to such a challenge than the action taken by the Viceroy. Further negotiations at this moment are impossible until the Congress leaders abandon their demand for the withdrawal of the British from India, otherwise there will be civil war. The Indian Government's action in arresting Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders was neither proposed nor initiated by Mr. Amery or by the British Government. It is unfortunate that some countries

among the United Nations still think the Congress represents Indian opinion as a whole. Nothing could be farther from the truth. We want negotiations at the earliest opportunity on reasonable grounds, but the withdrawal of the British and American troops would only lay India open to all horrors experienced in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines and will be a betrayal of our Allies, especially China, whose heroic struggles and sufferings have been the admiration of civilisation. To-day India's troops are largely commanded by Indian officers and recruits are daily pouring in and their deeds on the battle-field have won the unstinted praise of everybody who has seen them. To weaken that war effort would be a betrayal of India and to delay that self-government we all want."

Mr. James Maxton, one of the three members constituting the Independent Labour Party, complained that the Government had waited until Parliament went into recess to make a complete change of policy, suddenly adopting the iron hand, sweeping on and imprisoning the Congress leaders. He claimed that the Indian electorate, when tested on the widest franchise ever available to them, gave the Congress an overwhelming majority and that mandate was as good as Mr. Churchill's or the Conservative party here. We could not establish a full working constitution in the middle of the war but could give India the essence of its constitution working out the details later.

Sir Stanley Reed, for many years Editor of *The Times of India*, said that the debate was mistimed and calculated to do more harm than good. Mr. Maxton had spoken on the spur of the moment on an immensely complicated subject. For forty years he had been an unrepentant supporter of home rule but the Government must be one assuring the welfare of India. The Provincial Governments in India ceased to function without any consultation with the electorate on the orders of the Congress junta. That was not democracy. "As to Mr. Maxton's sinister implications regarding the date on which the Government of India took action, the fact was that the action followed the discovery of evidence on secret documents which have just been seized. There have been more attacks on Indian property and Indian officer than on the British. The Government could not possibly wait while the revolutionary movement gathered force. There was no question of a gleam of light as one member said. The door is wide open. The moment Indians can make up their minds as to the actual condition, an Indian Government can be set up".

"REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT"

Sir Stanley Reed said that it was painfully true that large numbers of the people here and in America did not realise the magnitude of the offer Sir Stafford Cripps took to India. It was an offer of complete independence—we hope within the Commonwealth, but outside the Commonwealth, if India preferred it. The British could not dare to agree to the Congress counter-proposition that the entire responsibility should pass to a non-existent Parliament and a non-existent organisation undefined and nebulous. The Government had to deal with immediate facts—an open revolutionary movement led by a man, who said clearly that the moment power was secured he would negotiate with Japan and ask Japan to be kind to the Chinese—kind after five years brutal bloody aggression. "We sometimes speak of defending British interests in India but for every British interest affected in India, one thousand Indian interests are affected. For every British life endangered, one thousand Indian lives are endangered." After a tribute to the calm resolute, courage of the Indian Police to-day, Sir S. Reed concluded: "There are hard days for those of us who have lived and worked in India and looked forward confidently to the full independence of India. We see this movement turned back and feel acutely that all we hoped for is in the melting pot, but dare not close our eyes to the fact that there is a revolutionary movement directed against peace and order in India. Those responsible for Government deserve sympathetic support and generous appreciation."

Three Labour members then followed, criticising Mr. Churchill's statement. Mr. Sorensen said that the statement was provocative while Mr. Ammon described it as "truculent. Swashbuckling and damn-your-eyes in tone" and Mr. S. O. Davies called it "irresponsible and disastrous." The Independent Mr. Tom Driberg suggested that the only way negotiations could be reopened without too much mutual suspicion was by enlisting the advice and co-operation of the United Nations and especially of China and Russia.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S REPLY

The Secretary of State for India, Mr. Amery, replying to the debate said: "I

think that we can most of us agree with *Ms. Allen's* remark to the effect that this exploratory debate which we have just been holding has been worth while. If there is one thing, indeed a relatively small matter, which I would have deprecated is the somewhat heavy weather, which both *Mr. Allen* and *Mr. Greenwood* in his most thoughtful and helpful speech indulged in, namely their criticisms of the Prime Minister's statement as being in some sense provocative, truculent, not helpful and shocking to millions, as *Mr. Shinwell* said yesterday. Really let us look at that statement and ask ourselves whether there is any justification for it.

"The statement begun by putting in the very forefront the basic policy upon which the whole of this House is agreed and which has won the approval of the whole world—this policy, if I may quote the Prime Minister, that 'India's destiny is to be determined at the end of hostilities by Indians themselves' and he added 'truly never in human history has such an offer been made?' *Mr. Ridley*, in what struck me as a most statesmanlike speech, laid emphasis on the desirability that that admirable declaration should be made prominent and public as possible. For my part, we have endeavoured in America and here and wherever our voices have reached to emphasise the character of that statement and at any rate, the Prime Minister put it in the forefront of his statement yesterday. What is there provocative in it? The Prime Minister followed with certain figures drawn from that entirely unprovocative source, the Interim Report of 1941 Census for India, to show why the Congress could not claim to command the majority of all India.

Interrupting, *Mr. Davies* (Labour) said: "Who has compiled the reports?"

CENSUS FIGURES OF CONGRESS STRENGTH

"The Census Authorities can certainly not have compiled the report for a provocative purpose and the Prime Minister has used these figures as indicating all broad elements of community in India. It is perfectly true that, at the elections held some six years ago, a considerable number of Muslims voted for the Congress. After the experiences of the Congress Government in the following years, the whole position of the Muslim community has changed entirely (some cries of 'No'). I venture to say that the proportion of Muslims and Depressed Classes who are with the Congress is smaller than the proportion of Hindus who are with the Mahasabha and other parties which are not in support of the Congress or who deplore the course it adopts at present. Those figures gave a broad and true picture which may undoubtedly have come as a shock and surprise to many people not only in this country but in the United States and which were well worth quoting in order to refute the claim, so persistently put forward, that the Congress is India and what the Congress Party now demands is giving to India what she demands. The whole problem is that India contains many elements, among which the Congress has not even a clear majority and which are not agreed as to what India demands. What else was there in the statement? Was the Prime Minister's statement of what took place in the actual disturbances exaggerated? I could draw a much more lurid picture. *Sir Stanley Reed*, very rightly from his experience, said something on what a breakdown of law and order in India could mean and what it has been meaning in the last month in India. There is no exaggeration in the Prime Minister's statement about that. Was it provocative to pay a tribute to the Executive Government of India or to the civil service or to that admirable body of brave men—the Indian Police (cheers) or to the valour of Indian troops and their loyalty?

"I am glad that after some of the speeches, an honourable member, just back from the Middle East, has paid a tribute to the valour of these troops. I am glad to see amongst us as representative of India at the War Cabinet, a distinguished Prince who in his time, served in a regiment—the Rajputana Rifles—which have an unequalled record for gallantry in this war. What else is there to criticise? I am told: 'It is not the words themselves; it is the tone that is swashbuckling or truculent or provocative.' Well, really does the House expect the Prime Minister at a moment when India—and not India alone but our whole position in the Middle East, our loyal ally, China and the whole of the Allied cause—has been saved from grave peril by the successful and firm attitude of the Government of India, to exchange those ringing confident notes which have so often sustained this House of Commons in dark hours—exchange them for a muffled apology in a minor key? I venture to say that even *Mr. Shinwell* if he had been through what his Majesty's Government and the Government of India have been through these last few weeks and emerged successfully, might have allowed some degree of tempered satisfaction to penetrate the querulous gloom that usually hangs over his speeches (laughter).

But let me turn from his minor storm which has blown up over the alleged tone of the Prime Minister to the real storm which is blowing in the world to-day."

WAR CABINET AND PREMIER'S STATEMENT

Mr. *Shinwell* (Labour) interjecting: "Mr. *Amery* has attacked me quite unnecessarily and I am an unoffending victim of his attack, and since he is now defending the tone apart from the substance of the Prime Minister's statement, may I ask whether the tone and substance of the statement were approved by every member of the War Cabinet?"

Mr. *Amery*: (smiling), "You cannot prejudge the tone (laughter). I was contrasting the natural tone with which the Prime Minister so often sustains this House in the somewhat different tone in which the honourable member so often indulges."

Mr. *Shinwell*, interjecting: "Mr. *Amery* is not answering my question."

Mr. *Amery*: "The question was answered directly by the Prime Minister yesterday. He answered the same challenge."

Mr. *Shinwell*: "It was not approved and you know it was not approved."

ATTACK ON GANDHI

Mr. *Amery*: "The Prime Minister has answered that himself. Let us now turn to the real storm in the world to-day to the danger through which India is passing and through which the whole cause of human freedom is passing. I suggest to the House that we must judge of the action of the Congress and of the action of the Government of India in the light of that situation and primarily in the light of that. I may have to say something in a moment about political motives underlying the actions of the Congress. But putting that question entirely on one side and judging simply by the issue of our existence in this war, let us ask what was the duty of the Government of India when it was confronted by the situation which did confront it during the summer months of this year. Very soon after Sir *Stafford Cripps* left India, it became clear that under Mr. *Gandhi's* inspiration, the Congress was steadily swinging towards a policy of direct defiance aimed at paralysing the existing Government of India. We have had an experience of some of the movements before, but Mr. *Gandhi* made it clear that this was going to be something more serious than any of his previous movements. 'This,' Mr. *Gandhi* said in July, 'will be the bitterest struggle of my life.' He spoke of it as a struggle to be made as short and swift as possible. He was reported by his Secretary, Mr. *Desai*, in June as saying 'My attitude has undergone a change. I cannot afford to wait. I must even at obvious risks ask the people to resist slavery'. And again in this decisive struggle, Mr. *Gandhi* declared that for national independence they might have to face bombs, bullets and shells. Does this look like a purely non-violent movement? Indeed when on July 10, the Congress Working Committee issued the resolution urging the people of India to resist ordinary requisition—compensated requisition of boats, vehicles or land—Mr. *Gandhi* added, as to the method of resistance, 'No doubt the non-violent way is the best, but where that does not come naturally—it does not always come naturally to most people—'violent way is both necessary and honourable and inaction here is rank cowardice and unmanly'. Increasing information was coming in all the time as to the strength of the movement."

Mr. *Maxton* (Independent Labour), interjecting, "Was that said by Mr. *Gandhi*?"

Mr. *Amery*: "It was written by Mr. *Gandhi* in his journal. The resolution by the Working Committee of the Congress on July 10 would have been ample justification for internment of the members of the Congress Party, in the course of July, among much other evidence not suitable for publication, the Government of Madras came across instructions which were being issued by the Provincial Committee in that Province. I need not read the whole of these instructions. They urge Government officers to resign their jobs and arrange labour strikes, picketing of shops, stopping of trains by pulling chains, travelling without tickets, cutting telegraph and telephone wires. They say that rails should not be moved and that there should be no danger to life. That certainly has not been followed since."

Mr. *Davies* (Labour) asked, "Was the Congress responsible for issuing these instructions?"

Mr. *Amery*: "The Provincial Committee of the Madras province. There was quite enough evidence confronting the Government of India to make action highly necessary at an early time. The Government of India showed remarkable patience

all through July. It took no action as long as there was a possibility of the All-India Congress Committee not endorsing the sinister designs of the Working Committee, influenced by Mr. Gandhi. On August 8, the All-India Working Committee, by an overwhelming majority, endorsed these designs and thereupon the Government of India, upon its own initiative without reference to this country and by the unanimous decision of that body, consisting of 11 Indians and one European, took the only action which a self-respecting Government could take in that situation and there is no ground for the suggestion that this action was deliberately postponed until the House of Commons went into recess." It was entirely determined by the action of the All-India Congress Committee and the Government of India."

Mr. Maxton, interjecting: "Did Mr. Amery have no previous warning that this action was in contemplation and did it come as a surprise to him as it came to me?"

Mr. Amery: "I did not say that. Naturally the Government of India and His Majesty's Government are in communication on the general situation, but in a matter, directly affecting the primary responsibility of the government of India for peace and order within its broad confines, the Government of India take immediate action without waiting or asking the permission of the Government of this country. I would add to the tribute which the Prime Minister paid—(at this moment Mr. Maxton rose again and for some time Mr. Amery refused to give way, but finally did so).

"A REVERSAL OF THE PREVIOUS POLICY"

Mr. Maxton: "I went to press Mr. Amery on this point. It is a most extraordinary state of affairs that the Indian Government on their own, without consultation with the Home Government, should take an action which is not merely a local demonstration, but a reversal of the previous policy."

Mr. Amery: "The Government of India knew quite well that in maintaining the peace of India, it could reckon confidently on the support of His Majesty's Government in a matter which required instant action to prevent the policy of sabotage decided upon being carried out. The Government of India rightly did its duty by acting immediately. That dispenses with the suggestion that the action of the Government of India was carefully tuned for a time when the House of Commons would not be sitting.

Quoting the Labour Party resolution, "That the action taken was a timely and unavoidable precaution", Mr. Amery said, "It might be put more simply in the language of Mr. Jinnah that "the Government instead of waiting to be hit, hit first." By doing so, I venture to say, it preserved India from a grave disaster."

Mr. Amery emphasised this sentence by repeating it. "I was delighted with Mr. Churchill's statement which set the problem out for all the world to see exactly what it consisted of. I hope that the Congress will play some part in the future shaping of India's destiny but, if that is to be the case, a change of heart must take place amongst the leaders of the Congress themselves."

The proposals made by Sir Stafford Cripps were rejected mainly and indeed almost solely because of the uncompromising desire of the Congress leaders for unlimited power. It was in fact the real obstacle. Even then it was not possible to get the leaders of the different parties to meet one another. "We must be ready to welcome any signs of genuine change of heart. Meanwhile, in the last few days, we have welcomed the safe arrival of the Indian representatives of the War Cabinet and the Pacific Council (Cheers). All members extend to them the very best wishes for the part they will undoubtedly play in helping to organise victory which alone will secure India's future freedom."

"CAREFULLY PLANNED ATTACK"

Continuing, Mr. Amery said, "The rapid reaction to the news of the arrest was undoubtedly a series of noisy hooligan demonstrations of a very widespread character. These were very rapidly disposed of. What was very much more serious was the concentration of effort on sabotage in certain directions and in certain parts of India—concentration of attacks on the whole system of communications, postal and telegraph services and railway communications by their interruption and destruction of stations and rollingstock and attacks upon aerodromes. Attention was specially paid to the destruction of signalling and control instruments and damage to bridges and roads, indicating a carefully planned scheme of attack not only upon the daily life but indeed on the safety of India. It mainly concentrated on the vital strategic area lying between Eastern India now exposed to Japanese

attack and the main body of India as well as the area which would most prejudice the carrying of coal from the mines to the ammunition factories of India."

VIOLENCE IN BIHAR

Mr. Cove (Labour) interjected : "If the charge was so vital why have you simply locked them up in a concentration camp ?"

"Mr. Amery : "The charges are that this attack was specifically planned and in accordance with general directives given by the Congress and in accordance with the directives of a particular provincial committee. Something like 300 railway stations were attacked and at least 24 cases of derailment were reported. The disturbance was particularly violent in Bihar, a vitally strategic area. In that province something like 65 police stations were attacked and 40 destroyed. At another place in the Central Provinces, a magistrate and police officer were done to death after refusing the offer of their lives if they resigned from Government and joined the Congress party."

"INSPIRED BY CONGRESS LEADERS"

At another place, two officers were burnt alive in kerosene, while another officer suffered a similar fate elsewhere. "It is perfectly clear that we were confronted with a movement that was something a good deal more than ordinary student and hooligan rioting. We were confronted with something very serious and if the organisation of that movement had been allowed to develop for several weeks while a smokescreen of discussion as to whether the British would leave India was going on, the result might have been disastrous. This action alone would have provoked a situation which would have paralysed the Indian war effort. It would have made it impossible to defend India or relieve China by the reoccupation of Burma and it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this movement was in its main outline deliberately organised and intended by those who unfortunately succeed in establishing control over the Congress movement. All the evidence that is coming to us makes it clear that this whole campaign of disorder and revolt is the outcome of the application by local leaders of the general guidance which the Congress leaders inspired."

WHIPPING

There are one or two questions raised by Mr. Sorensen. He raised the question of whipping. The cane is a light rattan cane half an inch in diameter and employed in this country for crimes of brutal violence and I gave him a full answer yesterday or the day before. He also raised the question of prison riots at Dacca and Bhagalpur. In each case there was a prison mutiny, no doubt stimulated by the atmosphere outside. Dacca was entirely within the authority of the Bengal Ministry, while the prison at Bhagalpur was entirely confined to habitual convicts not concerned with the position except in so far as the generally disturbed state might have caused these effects. Broadly speaking, we can say with the Prime Minister that we have emerged from a situation of grave danger and one on which we can look with a reasonable mark of confidence. At the same time the disturbances are by no means wholly over and we should be well not to suggest that we are out of the wood yet.

I should like to turn to the political issues that underlie this problem. We are in this matter confronted by fundamental divergences of policy and outlook. The whole policy of the Congress might have grown up naturally over years. The policy of the inner body which dominates the Congress is based on the assumption that the Congress is entitled to step into the shoes of the British Government and take over the control of the whole of India.

This is the fundamental assumption on which all their policy is based. The policy of His Majesty's Government as set forth first of all in August 1940 and again far more frankly and clearly by Sir Stafford Cripps on his mission to India is that they intend with the minimum delay after the war to extend to India the same freedom as enjoyed by the great dominions or for that matter enjoyed by ourselves, the same freedom to control her own destiny among the nations of the Commonwealth and the world on the basis of a constitution arrived at by agreement and co-operation between the different elements within India. On no other basis is constitutional settlement possible.

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It is not possible in any other federation whether the United States, the British Dominions or other countries, for a composite structure to exist which embraces many divergencies—and no where are fundamental divergences greater than in India—unless the constitution effects in substantial measure a wide agreement based on discussion and compromise between elements that have got to live together within a single political framework. That condition inevitably led to another. It was an inevitable consequence of the conclusion that India's future could only be settled by Indians by agreement among themselves. But you cannot do anything to-day which would prejudice that issue which would throw the control of the future into the hands of dozen or so irresponsible people. On purely military considerations, there is an immensely powerful case, while the war is on, for retaining the ultimate control of Indian policy in the hands of His Majesty's Government. For there is the fact that the defence of India, Ceylon, the Middle East and Burma are all inseparably connected and every Department in the Government of India depends upon that. But quite apart from that consideration there is the constitutional consideration, that you cannot, in complete absence of agreement, hand over unqualified and unlimited power to any particular group of individuals. (Cheers.)

The Government were prepared to deal through Sir *Stafford Cripps* who as was said by Mr. Palmer, interpreted the policy of His Majesty's Government, with the utmost patience and ability but also in the very widest and most generous spirit. All this was subject to that one consideration, that the measure of power we give now to the Government of Indian political leaders must be subject in the last resource to ultimate control by this Parliament. We know how very real is the power enjoyed by the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive. Sir *Feroz Khan Noon*, in a speech the other day, drew attention to the fact that, for the eleven months when he had been a member of the Viceroy's Council, he did not know of one case where the Viceroy had not given way to the wishes of the Executive Council. The demand which the Congress put forward at the last moment meant that the Viceroy's ultimate power should be abolished and that the whole power given to a self-constituted group of individuals. Such a course would at once have precipitated chaos and confusion in India and would not have been accepted by His Majesty's Government and would not have been accepted by India as a whole.

CRIPPS MISSION

In this connection, I should like to take the opportunity of dealing with rumour which has had widespread currency in this country and I believe even more in the United States that Sir *Stafford Cripps*, in the course of his mission, could have gone beyond the definite instructions of the Cabinet in this matter—because they were not only instructions, they were an inherent part of our policy—and having so, he was suddenly called back and prevented from making a settlement by most immediate instructions from the War Cabinet or the Prime Minister. I venture to give a categorical denial to each and every form of rumour which was put forward. Sir *Stafford Cripps* safely carried out his mission, interpreting in the most generous sense the instructions he was given and in no respect departing from the essentials of that policy.

Mr. *Davies* (Labour) interjecting: "Can we at long last get the inner history to which Mr. *Amery* is referring? What was then responsible for the unexpected and totally unlooked for collapse in these instructions about July 8 (?) and can we get the true tale?"

Sir *Stafford Cripps*: "Perhaps I may answer. The change which occurred took place on the intervention of Mr. *Gandhi*. The Congress Working Committee

had passed a resolution accepting the proposals. Mr. Gandhi intervened and subsequently the resolution was reversed."

Mr. Davies: "Was that resolution passed by the Congress on April 2 which was not divulged until April 10?"

Sir Stafford Cripps: "The Honourable Member was not there. I was. He is asking me what happened. I am not suggesting that the first resolution was published or bound the Congress or anything else. It constantly happens in the course of negotiations you get a resolution and after further consideration, it is reversed and there is a narrow majority one way or the other."

Mr. Davies: "The leader of the Congress, Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru, stated in public on April 10 when that resolution was made public, the position about the resolution, but nothing has been known until now that Mr. Gandhi intervened and in some way or other that altered the resolution. Extraordinary!"

MR. AMERY'S VERSION OF THE BREAKDOWN

Mr. Amery: "Sir Stafford Cripps has thrown light from his direct knowledge on the history of this matter. I think it will be clear, whatever the inner history, that from the fact that the Congress put up a demand which was fundamentally inconsistent with the whole principle of the efforts made by His Majesty's Government, namely a demand without qualification or limitation that the whole Government of India should be put into their hands, that is really the reason why the mission broke down. Having broken down, there was not only grave disappointment among the members of the Congress Working Committee but among all thoughtful people in India and it lies with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Party for the line they have taken. In these circumstances, Mr. Gandhi and the Congress majority that then went with him determined upon the policy of mass disobedience. In circumstances of difficulty, the people naturally revert to the technique with which they have been most familiar and in Mr. Gandhi's case, it was the technique of mass disobedience, only to be used on this occasion by Mr. Gandhi's influence for a deliberate trial of strength. I have heard it said that all constructive proposals with regard to this Indian problem in recent years have come from here and action on the part of Mr. Gandhi in this particular connection has been wrecking and deliberately coercive. They were encouraged by the mildness of the Government of India in the face of much provocation and thought that, within a week or so of the campaign, the Government of India would give way. It did not! That was the real decision and that was the response to Sir Stafford Cripps!"

Mr. Amery then quoted extracts from Mr. Gandhi's writings in the *Harijan* regarding the coming into existence of a provisional Government.

"At one moment he says that the British rule must come to an end at once, that the army must be disbanded, and India left to anarchy and that the first step probably would be to start negotiations with Japan against whom India felt no ill-will at all. When it was suggested that was not good propaganda in this country or in the United States, Mr. Gandhi cheerfully turned it round and said that the object was not anarchy but an ordered stable provisional Government and the maximum of assistance to the Allied cause. Well really, I think, we can be quite clear on this issue—that these resolutions mean nothing in themselves and that any conversation that Mr. Gandhi might have wanted to indulge in if the resolutions were sanctioned by the All-India Working Committee were merely meant to gain time for the perfection of the organisation to sabotage the independence and freedom of India.

"I think I can very well sum up that situation by quoting the words of a member, Sir Firoz Khan Noon, to whom I referred just now, when he said: "This lawlessness will soon subside and the Congress policy of force fail. Thank God and the police and the army for that. Thereafter we have only a second alternative left to us for winning our freedom—compromise and unity." That is the only alternative by which India can have freedom and will win her freedom. As to the immediate future, we have to deal with the position as it stands. I entirely agree with those who say that a problem like the political problem in India cannot be settled merely by staying out and enforcing law and order.

"But there are also moments—not the least in the middle of a struggle for existence and not the least when there is no beginning of a sign of the really powerful organisations coming together—at a moment like that, there can be no alternative for the time to enforcing ordinary law and order and good government. Negotiation is always desirable. At the same time, there can be no bigger mistake—and

everybody recognises that in international affairs—than negotiations when there is not the slightest chance of success or negotiations with those who are not in a position to deliver the goods. As I said in answer to a question earlier to-day, His Majesty's Government welcome every effort made by statesmen of goodwill in India to bring the different elements together. But goodwill on the part of statesmen who cannot control their organisations, though desirable in itself, is not sufficient. You have got to bring the men together or rather they have got to come together and show at any rate sufficient willingness to come together to enable something to be done. My Right Honourable Lord *Priy Seal* went out in the faith and hope that there was a possibility of the men coming together. I am sorry to say that, while he travelled many thousands of miles to meet them, the different parties in India were not prepared to cross a street to meet each other or discuss among themselves or with him a further settlement of the Indian constitution."

Mr. *Shinwell*: "That is not a true statement of the position."

Mr. *Amery*: Therefore we have got to wait so far as any rate as Congress leaders are concerned for a change of front. Meanwhile, we naturally welcome every proposal which, within the broad general framework of our considered policy, is possible. As I pointed out, it was not a bargaining policy which he took with him. It is a considered policy which is the only policy—and I am talking of broad outline and not of details—under which the final solution and a permanent solution of the Indian problem can be achieved. Within the broad framework we are only too glad to welcome any practical proposals that are brought forward with any reasonable hope of agreement among the main parties in India itself.

Meanwhile the Government of India to-day is in the hands of an executive consisting of members, who are not only men of high ability and just as good Indian nationalists as the leaders of the great organised parties but who also by experience are as receptive as any body of men you could get together in India to-day. It is to them, with the courage they have shown in this difficult situation that we and the Indians must look in the main for immediate control of India's problems and for her conduct of war. Meanwhile, there is nothing in the world to prevent men of goodwill in India coming together and hastening on the future, provided some agreement could be found on the nature of the future constitution and on the methods by which it was going to be arrived at. All that is and has been throughout perfectly open and whatever is done in that line will certainly meet with the wholehearted approval of His Majesty's Government.

"SITUATION IN INDIA IMMENSELY COMPLICATED"

I want to close on a note of optimism. The situation in India is immensely complicated and difficult. It has elements in it which, in some respects, are more difficult than those in Europe, Ireland or Palestine. On the other hand, there are elements of unity. There is not only unity of administration, of law, of trade, that Britain had created during the last 200 years—a system of unity of which we have every reason to be proud. It and the long peace which India has enjoyed and the interlocking of interests throughout India from end to end still bind the Indians not only the Congress Party, but Moslems and Princes, who must not only by virtue of treaty obligation but by their geographical position, play an immensely important part in the future. In this country, we want India to be free. We want India to take her place as a freely associating member of the wonderful partnership of nations which we call the British Commonwealth—a partnership which, I believe, is destined to play an even greater part in future years than in the past. It is the policy to which we are committed in this House, to which the Prime Minister committed himself in the opening and vital sentence of his statement yesterday, a policy which all patriotic Indians equally believe in. With that substratum of unity, I think it is not beyond reason to hope that under some constitutional form or other, at some time or other, and I hope at a not too distant time, Indians may be able to agree on the constitution under which they can not only attain political freedom but develop to the full the wonderful natural resources of India and the greatest gifts of her people. (Cheers.)

House of Commons—London—8th. October 1942

Amery Repeats old charges

Mr. *Amery*, moving for the second reading of the India and Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous Bill, in the House of Commons on the 8th. October 1942, said—

"The first main clause of the Bill to which I invite second reading raises the whole issue of our policy in India. At the same time, the Bill contains certain

INDIAN DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

other clauses added to it for the sake of convenience which can more conveniently be discussed in committee later. But the House may wish me just to indicate what the purpose of those other clauses is.

The second section deals with emergency courts which Provincial Governments have been empowered to set up in the event of invasion or imminent invasion in order to deal with looting, sabotage or other fifth column activity. The sentences of these emergency courts will be subject to review by a judge of the High Court. In the case of death sentences, petitions on grounds of mercy will, as hitherto, continue to go to the Viceroy and what the clause does is to suspend the right exercised in cases in the ordinary courts and which will still continue to be exercised to petition the Privy Council for leave for special appeal against a sentence.

These petitions are in practice never granted and it is very undesirable for simply postponing a decision. That kind of postponement is obviously most undesirable in the case of an emergency situation arising from the fact that the Central point. Clause three covers the omission arising from the fact that the Central Legislature under the Act of 1935 has not yet come into operation."

"In that Act, both the Central and Provincial Legislatures were empowered to declare that holding of office under the Crown did not necessarily invalidate a member's seat. That is in effect in the case of Provincial legislatures, and in the case of the Central Legislature it has not come into effect and the provisions of the older statute still apply, debarring the holding of such offices of profit.

"Under war conditions, it is found that this directly embarrasses the war effort by making it impossible for, say, reserve officers to take up their commissions or army recruiting officers to function and the clause disposes of that. Section four is a purely defining clause giving more careful definition to provisions which protect peasants in provinces like Punjab or aboriginal tribes in provinces like the Central Provinces from alienating their land to moneylenders and to prevent these provisions being in fact nullified by fictitious transactions.

"Clause five arises from the fact that there is at the moment the Burma Government functioning on the soil of India engaged in the reorganisation of the Burma Army and there are also certain number of cases pending before the Burma Court which it is desirable to have settled. The clause provides for these duties of the Burma Government to be exercised on the Indian soil and for these special cases already before courts to be concluded before Indian courts.

PLEDGE OF FREEDOM

"I now turn to the main clause of the Bill which raises directly the whole issue of the present political deadlock in India. The origin, its provisions and necessity for its continuance are indeed only intelligible in the light of the fundamental difference between the Congress Party on the one hand and the rest of India and His Majesty's Government on the other, as to the method by which India's freedom is to be attained. It is, I repeat, a difference—divergence as to the methods to be pursued and not as to the aim in view. Indian nationalism's desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands, free of external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all. To that aim, we, in this country, have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and before the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, the aim is one which enlists our spontaneous and wholehearted sympathy. It does so for the sufficient reason that its fulfilment represents the natural and rightful crown and consummation of our past achievement for that achievement (cheers). I say with confidence that never in human history has external influence contributed to the welfare and happiness of so vast a volume of humanity.

"NOT QUITTING INDIA UNDER ANYONE'S ORDERS"

"We have never regarded our contribution to India as a claim to permanent domination. On the contrary, our highest claims in our eyes and in those of history will be to have given India a sound foundation on which she can build by herself and for herself a stable and prosperous future. The policy to which we are committed is not one of reluctant retreat but of willing advance, not one of enforced abdication but free and proper partnership in freedom. We are not quitting India under anyone's orders (cheers). It is we, who wish India to go forward with our good will to build her future under her own leadership."

Mr. Silverman, interjecting: Is that the Prime Minister's view?
Mr. Amery, continuing, said: "To go forward not to fly apart, to build, not to

break up. It is to that end that our policy has been consistently directed. Our conviction is that India can only be truly free, truly secure against external aggression and truly prosperous, if she is at peace within her own borders and the can only enjoy that peace under a constitution which gives due regard to the profound differences of religion and culture, in history and tradition and local history and sentiments which make up the complex life of that vast country—I would rather say vast continent.

MUSLIMS, PRINCES AND DEPRESSED CLASSES

"You cannot dispose of the great Moslem community of 95 millions—(Cheers), with its passionate sense of duty, its distinctiveness in a spiritually alien world and with its memories of past domination as a mere numerical minority. You cannot dispose of the Princes of India, rulers of nearly half of India and over nearly a quarter of her population bound to the Crown by mutual loyalty based on treaties faithfully observed on both sides, as negligible excrescences of British India.

"You cannot ignore 30 millions of Depressed Classes outside the pale of the Hindu caste, not to speak of other lesser but still important elements. No simple arithmetical formula of unitary constitutions can ever reconcile the natural claims of these various elements to be free to express each its own character and defend its own particular ways and interests. Only a constitution based on balance and compromise can harmonise these claims. Such a constitution this House attempted to devise for India in the Act of 1935. We have since come to the conclusion that no constitution imposed from without, can meet the case. It is for those who have to live under the constitution to find a compromise and concession which will enable it to work. It is for those who frame the constitution to secure goodwill, without which it can never succeed. It is on that principle that His Majesty's Government based the broad declaration of policy which Sir Stafford took to India to discuss with Indian political leaders. The declaration offered India complete and unqualified freedom, the very freedom enjoyed by the Dominions or for that matter by ourselves—the same control over her destinies within the partnership of the British Commonwealth or without the partnership, if she preferred to forgo this partnership, at the earliest possible moment after the war, under a constitution arrived at through agreement and subject to a treaty relating to our honourable obligations.

LIMITATIONS ON INTERIM GOVT. DUE TO WAR

"What more could have been offered? That offer stands. What more can we offer to-day? What better plan has any-one suggested? In the meantime, we have invited the Indian political leaders to share responsibility during the war to the fullest extent compatible with the existing constitution. That is to say, subject to the ultimate responsibility through the Viceroy to Parliament here. These were and are two inter-connected and inseparable parts of the same policy. The limitation on any interim Government to the framework of the existing constitution was in any case a necessity so long as the final responsibility for waging war rested with His Majesty's Government. For it is upon the whole machinery of the Government and not merely upon the Commander-in-Chief's Department that India's war effort depends. But there is more to it than that. Unqualified abdication of all that responsibility before an agreed constitution has been arrived at, would have meant the abandonment, to a wholly irresponsible body, of power to decide whether there would have been an agreed constitution. It would have meant for the minorities a sacrifice of guarantees for their future rights to have an effective say in deciding the form of government under which they were to live and work.

CONGRESS "WRECKED" CRIPPS NEGOTIATIONS

"For their representatives to enter the interim Government on such a footing was, as Mr. Jinnah shrewdly remarked, to invite the fly to walk into the spider's parlour. But it is not Sir S. Cripps' rejection of the demand for unqualified and unlimited power that wrecked a settlement, for if he had accepted the demand, its acceptance would equally have wrecked a settlement, for it would have immediately been repudiated by Moslem India. It was the demand and not his rejection of it that wrecked the negotiations. To understand why the Congress Party executive under Mr. Gandhi's influence—

Mr. Maxton (I. L. P.): May I interrupt? The Minister said not only 'wreck negotiations' but that they 'meant to wreck them'. Will the Minister tell me how he asserts?"

GANDHIJI—A REVOLUTIONARY

Mr. Amery, continuing, said: "I was just preparing to give my reasons to form that conclusion. To understand why the Congress Party, under Mr. Gandhi's influence, was determined to wreck any settlement, however generous to India, I must ask the House to go back for the moment to the whole course of the Congress policy in recent years. Originally a constitutional party, with the programme of evolution towards complete self-government, the Congress has in the last generation and, especially since it came under Mr. Gandhi's autocratic influence, become a party of revolution. That Mr. Gandhi has always conceived that revolution as non-violent does not alter its essential character. His consistent aim and that of his followers has been, not progressive transformation of British rule in India to Indian rule, but its direct supersession at some given moment by the Congress as a result of some upheaval, to which the existing Government of India and the Parliament here, should surrender. To that end the organisation of the Congress has been steadily strengthened and evermore rigidly centralised. There is no more interesting or more dangerous modern political symptom than that of a revolutionary leader, who by his direct personal appeal to masses, is not only able to control an immensely powerful political organisation, but can make impossible all resistance to his arbitrary wishes on the part of his associates. The appeal may be to the German passion for brute force, or it may be to the Hindu mysticism and reverence for an ascetic, but the same type of dictatorship emerges. In the case of India, it has been steadily used to build up power for an eventual trial of strength, while rejecting all compromise, either with the British Government or other elements in India. When the Congress High Command allowed the Congress Ministers to take office in the Provinces where its organisation secured majorities, it did so avowedly to wreck the constitution at its chosen moment and meanwhile to increase its hold on the whole machinery of the provincial administration."

CONGRESS RULE IN PROVINCES

Mr. S. O. Davies (Lab.), interrupting, said: "On that very important point, did India itself or this Government at any time criticise the administration and the Congress Ministers in the Provinces at the time they were there in existence? Is it not a fact that by representatives of this Government they were complimented over and over again. I can quote for that. Is it not a fact also that it was not until the Congress Ministries had been compelled to give up their work that criticism started by this Government?"

Mr. Amery said: "I am not concerned to criticise the Congress Government's administration, but the policy the Congress High Command, which at the end of 1939, ordered out its Ministries and stopped the good work they were doing and compelled the Provincial Governors to take over that direct control under Section 93, of the India Act for whose continuance provision is made in the present Act. It did so under the mistaken impression that the Government would be seriously embarrassed. What it overlooked was the general antagonism which it created by its autocratic methods, above all among the Moslem community. For the Moslems, the Congress rule, and even more perhaps, the manner of its termination was a revelation of what they might expect from Congress rule in the Centre. It made Mr. Jinnah for the first time the undoubted leader of the Moslem masses. At the 1937 elections, the Moslem League was only one of a number of Moslem parties. Since January, 1938, the League or the coalition supported by it, have won 46 out of 56 by-elections in the Moslem constituencies, while the Congress has only won three."

"But so far from realising the strength of resistance which it had created for itself, the Congress Executive only became more firmly set in its claims that it was entitled to regard itself as the one and only legitimate mouth-piece of Indian nationalism and the natural heir to the existing Government of India."

WHY CONGRESS REJECTED CRIPPS PROPOSALS

"The proposals brought to India by Sir Stafford Cripps placed the Working Committee in a real quandary. Some of its members realised the difficulty in rejecting so general an offer. But the majority swayed by Mr. Gandhi must have seen in the acceptance, not only the abandonment of non-violence in the face of what they thought might well be a coming Axis victory, but ever worse, the abandonment of the whole Congress claim to settle the destiny of India. So they decided on rejection and put up the demand for immediate and unqualified power, which they knew could not be granted. What I want to make

clear to the House is that the movement to counteract the effect of the rejection upon public opinion in India and abroad and to rally the Congress on to the emotional plane as the champions of India against British tyranny and repression, that this rebellion, to use Mr. Gandhi's own words, that criminal plan to paralyse ordinary life in India and sabotage India's capacity for defence, was deliberately resolved upon in order to defeat the generous policy put forward by His Majesty's Government. The various series of resolutions, whether based on the assumption of negotiations with Japan or professing to advocate maximum help to the Allied cause, were a mere smokescreen to cover a pre-determined policy."

Mr. Haden Guest (Labour), intervening said: "This is a very vital question."

The Speaker: "It would be more convenient if the Minister could make his statement."

Mr. Haden Guest repeated "this is a vital question" and asked, "On what evidence the minister was making the charges. On what did he base his statement on the Congress policy and did he propose to publish documents in support of that statement, because they were certainly unknown to the House."

Mr. Amery: "I was only expressing conclusions I have arrived at after such study as I have been able to give to the situation, both now and in recent years and the impression I have arrived at. I will justify to such extent as the limits of the present debate allow. I venture to suggest that the House will allow me to continue. I am endeavouring to present my reasoned conclusions and I hope to be able to be allowed to develop them."

Mr. Silverman (Labour): "This is a very important part of his speech. Did the Lord Privy Seal, when he came back from India, share the view Mr. Amery is now expressing, that in putting forward this demand the Indian National Congress intended to wreck the negotiations, and if he did share that view, what did he mean by saying that the negotiations had been extremely useful and had cleared the air and paved the way for further understanding?"

As other members showed a disposition to ask questions too at this point, Sir Stanley Reed (Conservative) rose and said: "There are many of us who are anxious to hear the Secretary of State." But the remainder of his statement was drowned in interruption,

ARREST OF LEADERS JUSTIFIED

Mr. Amery continued: "In answer to that question Sir Stafford Cripps expressed his view very clearly by his intervention during the last debate. What I want to say is that it is idle to suggest that anything could possibly result from negotiations with Mr. Gandhi after the passing of the All-India Congress Committee's resolution except more complete organisation of plans for dislocating communications and making the rebellion effective. The Government of India, unless it wished to shirk the first duty of any Government, had no option except to take action. Prompt and firm action might well have saved India and, indeed, the Allied cause from grave disaster. (Cheers). I need not repeat to-day the account I gave in the last debate of the actual course of the outbreak which followed. Enough to say that the firmness of Government, loyally supported by the civil services, police and, whenever it became necessary, the Army, has broken the back of the movement, which even if it was prevented from perfecting its preparations, was still very formidable—a movement which for a while seriously interrupted communications in what is strategically the most vital area in India and caused widespread destruction of property and deplorable loss of life. It would be rash to say that we are yet out of the wood. Sporadic disturbances are still reported daily. The forces of law and order will, for months to come, have to be unceasingly vigilant and will need all the support that the Government of India and this House can give them. (Cheers.)

"But those forces have at any rate won the first, and we can only hope, a decisive round. For all this tragic business the responsibility, and the whole responsibility, must rest with Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders. The precise extent to which on any one occasion or at any particular place other elements ranging from mere hooliganism to more sinister revolutionary and fifth column activities may have co-operated may perhaps never be determined. Nor will it ever be easy to trace all the channels by which the general directive for revolutionary action and in particular systematic and obviously planned dislocations of communications were distributed, whether in actual printed instructions such as those of the Andhra Provincial Committee, which I quoted in the last debate or in shorter leaflets or conveyed verbally by subordinate Congress leaders or by students who played so large a part in this business, I do not know. In any case

you cannot preach the overthrow of Government, you cannot avow you are in open rebellion, declare your willingness to risk the anarchy that may follow an appeal to the masses to resist slavery and then disclaim responsibility for the consequences.

"It is significant that the Congress is essentially a Hindu organisation, though by no means only a Hindu organisation. And ~~more~~ particularly in view of Mr. Gandhi's influence over uneducated Hindu masses; the Muslim population in the towns and villages, as well as Muslim students at the universities, have kept resolutely aloof from the disturbances and have given help and support to the authorities. On this issue, they received a straightforward lead from Mr. Jinnah who has left no doubt as to his opinion of the Congress attack, professedly aimed against British rule, as being in fact a direct attack on the rest of India and upon Muslim India in particular.

"Large elements of the Hindu population have also made clear repudiation of the outbreak and in many cases co-operated loyally with the authorities.

NO "APPEASEMENT" OF CONGRESS

"So much for the past. The House will naturally wish to know what is the policy of His Majesty's Government and the Government of India in relation to the present position and immediate future. As far as the Congress is concerned its leaders by their own actions have put themselves out of court. There can be no question of the Government of India entering upon negotiations or allowing others to do so, so long as there is any danger of the recrudescence of the trouble for which they have been responsible or until they have had made it clear to the authorities that they have abandoned the whole policy of securing control of India by illegal and revolutionary methods and are prepared to come to an agreed settlement with the rest of their fellow-countrymen. There is no hope of improving the situation or easing the present deadlock by attempting an appeasement of the Congress in its present mood and outlook. To do so would only create even greater difficulties with the Muslims and the other parties. Above all, it would be regarded as a direct betrayal by the Army, police and the civil services who have played so steadfast a part in these troubles and upon whom the whole safety of India and fate of the Allied cause so largely depends (cheers).

NO COMPLETE TRANSFER OF POWER

"The question is whether any immediate interim solution can be found apart from Congress. The door remains open, and it has been repeatedly made clear, for the favourable consideration of any proposals agreed to by the leaders of the other main parties within the framework of our declaration, in other words, subject to the retention of the ultimate responsibility of the Viceroy and Parliament pending the framing of an agreed constitution.

"That, as I have already explained, is inevitable not only because of our responsibility for seeing the war to a successful conclusion but also because it is the only guarantee to those concerned that the constitutional future will not be prejudged to their detriment.

PROSPECTS OF AGREEMENT

"What prospect is there to such an agreement be prejudged to their detriment. There is—and we should welcome the fact—much wider recognition of the need for an agreement. I fear it would be premature to suggest that so far that recognition has involved any great readiness to compromise in order to secure it. The Muslim League is prepared to enter a National Government provided always that the rights of the Muslims to an entirely separate national existence is guaranteed beforehand. The Mahasabha—the leading Hindu party outside the Congress—are equally prepared, but only on the basis of an United India in which the Hindus will dominate in virtue of their numerical preponderance. In those conditions, agreement on the desirability of a National Government brings us no nearer to a solution. One obvious method of getting nearer an agreement is a serious discussion of the actual problem of finding a constitution under which the interests of the different elements can be reconciled. That line of progress need not wait for the setting up of any formal constitutional convention. It has been opened ever since we announced it two years ago, that India should be free to frame her own constitution. It is open to-day. Is it too much to hope that, failing an agreement upon any immediate solution, Indian statesmen and students of affairs might still come together with mutual goodwill to deal with that problem? For, it is only in the light of the future constitutional settlement that any real progress can be made towards the solution of the present deadlock

which, it cannot be said too often, is a deadlock not between the Indians and the British Government but indeed, a deadlock only Indians can solve. The goodwill and the good offices of the Viceroy are always available and has been continuously available. In situations like these, as in international relations outside intervention can only help when there is readiness to respond.

WAR EFFORT VERSUS PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

"Meanwhile, let us consider where we stand. The Government of India is to-day in the hands of an executive of whose fifteen members apart from the Viceroy, eleven are Indians. Indian members do not include representatives of the two opposed major political organisations. But in every other respect they are as representative of India's diverse elements and as able a body of administrators as can be found in India (cheers). They are men who put India first, who are there to serve their country and help to win the war. It is the collective opinion of these Indian members, together with their tried and experienced European colleagues that decides the normal course of the Government of India and the ultimate responsibility of His Majesty's Government here. The Council has dealt firmly and effectively with the recent revolutionary outbreak. In closest co-operation with the Commander-in-Chief, its War Resources Committee, it is concerned with mobilising Indian resources behind the Allied war effort. What is there so amiss until the political deadlock within India shows some signs of clearing, in continuing to rely upon the instrument of Government which has already proved and is proving itself?

"Behind that Government and in loyal support of it stands India's whole present war effort. I would bid the House and the outside world to reflect what that war effort means to-day and may mean to-morrow to the whole Allied cause, the fortune of war in the Middle East and to the China. That Army, every man of which is a volunteer is going at the rate of some 70,000 recruits a month. It is backed by the splendid help which the Indian Princes have given in the shape of their own State forces as well as by over 100,000 recruits from State subjects who have joined the Indian Army. In that Army there are no communal or party divisions. Let us be very careful lest by attempting to appease the unappeasable opponents of any agreed constitutional progress, provoke a grave communal conflict, that we break that Army in pieces. Let those whose interests are no less than ours in the success of India's war effort beware of the illusion that the Allied cause can be helped by substituting for India's trained and equipped forces, a somewhat hypothetical enthusiasm of unorganised untrained and unequipped millions or the far more probable alternative of chaos and paralysis in the place of ordered effort.

"SOCIAL SERVICES" IN THE PROVINCES

"From the Central Government, let me turn to the Government of India's great provinces, where Governments also making their great contribution to the war effort but primarily concerned with the wide field of social services. Five of these provinces with a population of some 110 million, Ministerial Government responsible to elected legislatures, has continued unbroken. In the remaining six, of those with effective Congress majorities, Ministerial Government was deliberately suspended by the Congress High Command three years ago.

"As a result Section 93 of the Government of India providing for resumption of direct control by the Governor in the event of a breakdown of parliamentary government, has been enforced ever since. The Bill now before the House provides for its further continuance, subject to annual confirmation by Parliament, for a period not exceeding twelve months after the end of the war period. This does not, of course, prevent a resumption of Ministerial Government at any time if a Ministry can be found which is in a position to secure sufficient parliamentary support and is ready to support the war effort. Such a resumption has in fact taken place in Orissa and more recently, after a short interval of suspension, in Assam. That door is always open.

ADVISED REGIMES PRAISED

"There is one point in connection with the continuance of direct government on which I wish to reassure the House. One of the main objects of the extension of provincial autonomy under 1935 Act was to secure popular support for a more rapid progress in the development of social services. That expectation was undoubtedly fulfilled. In all provinces there was great activity, both legislative and administrative, and this has continued increasingly in spite of war conditions

in those provinces which have remained continuously under ministerial control. But the House will be glad to know there has been no standing still, no more 'care and maintenance' policy in the provinces where Congress Government have been succeeded by direct control. A few broad figures will illustrate my point. Expenditure on education, medical services and public health, agriculture and industry in budget estimates for 1942-1943 has risen above those for 1936-1937 by seventeen per cent in Madras, forty-six per cent in Bombay, forty-one per cent in the United Provinces, twenty-two per cent in Bihar, twelve per cent in Central Provinces and twenty-one per cent in the North-Western Frontier Province.

"In almost all these cases, the greater part of this increase has been during the period of direct Government. In Madras, forty-two acts covering such matters, as industrial conciliation, inspection of factories, and control of money-lending were passed in 1940 and 1941, while there has been a great increase of expenditure on educational, agricultural and veterinary services and research on electrical development. In Bombay, nearly 92 million has been allotted in the last three years to the special development fund, mainly for rural purpose, while special attention has been devoted to demonstration farms, village water-supply and government schemes for dealing with epidemics.

"LET US HOLD ON TO OUR COURSE"

"That is a picture of India I have to give the House. It is a picture dark and confused in parts but over most of the canvas shaping itself not unhelpfully. The problem of India is full of difficulties. They are there to be overcome and they will be overcome. We have only to hold on to the course we have set ourselves with steadfast patience and persistence, with goodwill towards India's national aspirations, with faith in our Indian fellow citizens and above all with faith in ourselves. We have carried out the great work in India in former years. Why should we hold ourselves incapable or unworthy of bringing that work to its true conclusion? What need is there in India or anywhere in the wide-world to be ashamed of our past or fear our future?"

THE DEBATE

The debate which followed Mr. Amery's statement, was opened by the Conservative Flight Lieutenant *Henry Ratkes*. "If civil disobedience were called off, I am certain Government would welcome the co-operation of any Congressmen who were out to stand against aggression, but, I fear, those men would be a minority of the Congress Party. Apart from the Muslim League, there are many Indians in all classes of society who are standing up against sabotage of the present Congress movement—Indians who are dying day after day for the India they believed in and for the India we mean them to have."

I. L. P. AMENDMENT

Mr. *James Maxton*, one of the three members who constitute the Independent Labour Party, moved an amendment that the House decline to give second reading to the Bill which deals only with provincial and secondary aspects of the Indian problem without attempting to solve the main difficulties of the Central Government which are the cause of the deadlock in the provinces."

Mr. Maxton said he had made a mistake in the the previous debate when he accused Mr. Amery of opposing the Indian Act of 1935. Mr. Amery had consistently supported that Act and "resisted the small noisy rebel party." "I understand Government's essential policy stands, but Mr. Amery, in his statement, seemed to me to make Government's intentions more distinct, clear and precise than ever before. The Indians were promised complete independence even to breaking with Dominion association, if they so desired. It would have been a good thing to have inserted Mr. Amery's statement in this Bill. Up to the present there is no statutory authority to say that India is going to have complete independence. We have only the word of the various Ministers. Conservative members seem to want to give India a settled constitution but our own constitution had grown up in a most haphazard manner. We could not get the Indian people to fight if they did not want to, any more than we could get the Malayas or the Burmese to fight. All we could do is to say to the people of India: 'Here is your freedom.'

"APPOINT MR. GANDHI AS VICEROY"

Independent Labourite Mr. *Campbell Stephen*, seconding Mr. Maxton's amendment, described the Indian situation as gloomy. He was apprehensive because Government appeared to be trusting the Muslims as against the overwhelming majority

of the people in India. The Government should call a conference of all parties forthwith and let the Congress leaders out of jail at once. Government should appoint Mr. Gandhi as Viceroy, Mr. Stephen declared.

"INDEPENDENCE WOULD MEAN ISOLATION"

The former War Minister, Mr. *Oliver Stanley*, said all parties in India demanded independence but only on their own terms and those terms were mutually inconsistent. Was it not a fact that Mr. *Gandhi* would not even speak to Mr. *Jinnah* and Mr. *Jinnah* would not be in the same room as Mr. *Gandhi*, while neither would meet the leader of the Depressed Classes, Doctor *Ambedkar*. "Indian leaders did not refuse the Cripps Offer because we did not give them enough, but because we were not prepared to give them something at the expense of someone else. If the British cleared out of India, the communal differences would become at least temporarily more acute. We cannot condemn the millions in India to an interminable civil war."

Mr. *Stanley* said if the British cleared out of India, and Japan conquered that country whom would America and Russia blame—not Mr. *Gandhi* or *Pundit Nehru* but the British Government. Independence for India now could only mean isolation for India now. If the British walked out the Japanese would walk in. "Sir *Stafford Cripps* went out to India not to bargain but to give," Mr. *Stanley* said amid cheers.

Mr. *Stanley* said Sir *Stafford Cripps* had put all the cards on the table and we could not pull out of the bag some great concession without reducing that great mission to a humbug. However spiritual the intentions of the Congress leaders might have been, the results had been disastrously mundane. Mr. *Gandhi's* non-co-operations had always led to violence. No Government could give way to murder. That was not the sort of stuff wherewith a new life could be built. Britain has made a tremendous advance. Have leaders of Indian opinion made a similar advance? "Dark as the outlook is, I refuse to surrender hope. I believe India will produce men more realistic and long-sighted than their present leaders, not tied to past disputes. I believe this will come sooner than we expect. Meanwhile, our offer stands and we must go forward with our primary task of defending India."

AN INDIAN WAR COUNCIL SUGGESTED

Mr. *Graham White* (Liberal) said the developments had left the Government no choice but to preserve order on which the defence of India rested. It was impossible to establish a Government which could only split India into sections. Nine-tenths of the existing trouble arose because Indians doubted British sincerity. Indian leaders should surely concede to the British the same standard of honour they claimed for themselves. He did not believe Mr. *Gandhi* was a Quisling or in touch with the Japanese. But Mr. *Gandhi* knew all his previous civil disobedience campaigns had been accompanied by horrible atrocities. He knew that when he launched his latest campaign. Masterly inactivity would not do, however difficult negotiations might be; for then the situation would get worse. Already somewhat acid criticism had been voiced in America. He asked if it was possible to establish a war Council consisting solely of Indians which might also regroup provincial territorial units on religious, racial and linguistic basis. The Viceroy had borne a crushing burden and they were all grateful for the great service he had rendered, but without disrespect, he felt it was time a new mind should be brought to bear on the Indian problem.

"CONSERVATIVES LOSING THE EMPIRE"

Mr. *William Cove* (Labour) considered that Mr. *Amery* had done nothing to sweeten the existing atmosphere. What the people wanted to know was what the Government were going to do about the existing deadlock. The Conservative Party under M. *Churchill* were losing the British Empire. The Moslem leader, Mr. *Jinnah* had done nothing to co-operate in the war or secure recruits. It was not true, he maintained, that the Congress would kneel down to the Japanese. The Government must release Congress leaders, recognise an Indian National Government and pass authority over to them including control over the army. With the grant of independence, the character of the Congress would change.

Sir *Ralph Glyn* (Con.) complained that nothing had been said thus far regarding the magnificent service of the Indian army in the Middle East, the expansion of the Indian navy twentyfold and the fact that they were helping to protect British food supplies across the Atlantic. India did not consist solely of

INDIAN DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT

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Congress politicians. Millions of Indians trusted the British Raj. He reminded the Opposition that Britain could not dishonour her treaties with the Indian Princes. General Wavell had a tremendous task in India and should be given full support. The order to detain Mr. Gandhi was given by Indians—that shows courage. The House of Commons should be equally courageous.

PASSIVITY SHOULD END

The former War Cabinet Minister, Mr. Arthur Greenwood, said the Labour movement supported the Government policy, but felt it was time that a further constructive attempt should be made. It was true we could not put forward fresh terms or tolerate civil disobedience, but Mr. Churchill's recent speech had been received with consternation in America and India. The attitude of passivity could not continue. "It would be a blot on our signature of the Atlantic Charter if we left untarnished any stone which might help this grave, tragic, deepeningly difficult situation. No future, British Government will ever attempt to escape from the pledges given. I do not believe that there will be any attempt to wriggle out of the undertakings sincerely given. But we must convince Indians of that. There are people in India ready for a conference and those who are not ready. We must keep the friendship of those who are."

Mr. Maclaren (Labour) appealed to the Government to invite leaders of Indian thought to come to another conference in London.

MR. ATTLEE'S REPLY TO DEBATE

Mr. Attlee, Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary for Dominions, replying in the debate, said: "I gladly respond to the note struck by Mr. Greenwood. I want to get a settlement of the Indian question but one must face this problem in a spirit of realism and understanding. It is very easy to get knowledge of only one facet of the Indian problem and then to make a speech characterised with great emotion, great fervour and great sincerity and yet ignore the fact that India—this Kohinoor diamond—has a great many facets. I have taken part in inquiries into the Indian situation from 1927 onwards and I do not claim in the least to know India. I realise how little I know and how great are the difficulties. In those enquiries I have had great affection for India and the friendship of many Indians, some of whom are under detention to-day."

"We do not approach this matter as some abstract problem but a problem of how we are to get in this world the best conditions of freedom and life for the people with whom we have worked over a great series of years and the people who to-day in this war are doing a wonderful service to the Allied cause. I doubt if it is realised in this country how much India has done—the good fight that has been put up by Indians in the Army, in the Navy and in the workshops—and I suggest that some people in their enthusiasm for what they think in the Indian attitude have done less than justice to the Indian people. It is a false assumption to think that all the people of India are sitting down thinking of political problems. There are vast numbers in India devoting themselves to the service of the war."

"PROGRESS" SINCE CRIPPS' VISIT

"I am sorry that Mr. Campbell Stephens repeated the slander against the people of Burma. It is not true that the people of Burma all yielded to the Japanese. The responsible Government of Burma stuck this thing out right through. The great majority of the people stuck it out at the risk of their lives and it is wrong for anyone to make a statement like that against a brave people and very charming people and people who I am quite sure will regain their country and their full freedom."

"I think that Mr. Campbell Stephens should show a little more restraint and sense of proportion than talking about conditions in India being like conditions in Norway. He knows that is nonsense. But it may be read by people who will not know that it is nonsense. The fact is that in a large number of provinces to-day, Indian Governments are functioning, that at any moment Indian politicians choose they can have complete control in Provincial Governments and thus deal with 95 per cent of all subjects in which the ordinary man is interested. They have already to-day 11 members out of 15 in the Viceroy's Council and that is no fixed proportion. That is carried on because you have to have people of experience carrying on in war. There is no question of colour in this matter. You want the best man for the position and those who say nothing

has been done since Sir *Stafford Cripps*' visit, forget that immediately afterwards there was a big enlargement of the Viceroy's Council.

"PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES"

"I do not quite understand the suggestion by Mr. *Graham White* of the formation of some kind of War Council, but a War Council which was to go in for re-dividing the provinces. That does not seem the function of a War Council. You have an advisory council on which Indians serve. Any easier way of throwing the apple of discord among the Indian people than that of diving up boundaries would be hard to find."

Mr. *Graham White* interjected: "I must have expressed myself ill. With regard to division of Provinces, that was a matter which I forecast as something which might be related to the future constitution of India and for which purpose a body of the kind I was endeavouring to suggest to the House might be considered the best to undertake the task."

Mr. *Attlee*: "I was trying to take up constructive suggestions and I must say that was the most destructive suggestion I have heard."

Mr. *Attlee*, continuing said, "Quite apart from the ordinary difficulty of dealing with boundaries, Mr. *Graham White* knows that the difficulties in this question is the difference of opinion among Indians as to what should constitute India. You have Indians who demand that part of India should be taken away from India and made into Pakistan. Then you get those who wish to see India kept together. In that suggestion are seen the difficulties that face us in this question. While almost everyone in the debate had asked that something be done, there had been very few practical suggestions. The essential difficulty of the question—and it is no good to conceal it by the use of ambiguous words—is that it is no good talking about the people of India and thinking thereby you would settle the problem of Indian unity."

"They might just as well say let Europe be governed by the people of Europe or hand the Balkans to the Balkan people. Or even hand Palestine to the peoples of Palestine. Members of the House have probably more political experience than any other House and they know perfectly well that it is one of the difficult problems of the world when you have two separate communities inhabiting one particular tract of territory. Mr. *Maxton* has told us a lot of historical precedents going right back to King John but he has neglected some that lay quite close to his hands. He had intense scorn of the idea that it is possible to settle difficulties by anything like a constitution but I happen to be Dominion's Secretary and I have been looking at the history of the Dominion of Canada where there was difficulty between two communities which might have led to civil war and this was precisely how it was settled by a constitution."

PRaise FOR MUSLIMS

"There was some remark made the other day about democracy. Democracy did not mean dominance of the whole people by one section. It meant you got substantial agreement among all people. And the demand of India to-day was not just to be governed by Indians. They wanted the democratic government of India. Presumably, we could, if we wished, settle the India question by handing it over to some Indians or one Indian. Indians admire the British constitution. They want a democratic constitution like ours. But our constitution depends not on the form of democracy but because we are used to practising democracy. The fundamental difficulty we have come up against in all this Indian question is that you cannot get communities to trust each other. It is no good barking the question. It is no good making unpleasant remarks about the leaders of the Muslims. It is no good trying to belittle the great Muslim community. And when the people ask what the Muslim people have done, I say that the Muslim people have provided a very large part of the fighting forces. When trouble was raised, the Muslim people did not raise trouble in India."

MINORITIES AND DEMOCRACY

"I have never said that the Congress Party is not a great party with great leaders. I am sure Mr. *Maxton* would be the last to suggest that it is only the big parties that counted."

Mr. *Maxton*, interrupting, "Only when they are effective and that is very seldom."

Mr. *Attlee*: I don't know whether that is a declaration of confidence or a self-denying ordinance, but I can assure him there are a number of extremely effective

minorities who must be considered. There are the Sikhs, Parsees, Princes and the population of the Indian States. There are the Muslims and Depressed Classes or the Scheduled Class. It is no use suggesting that these people do not count. It is equally wrong to suggest that there are not great social disparities in India. It has been noted in India there is every range of civilisation from a Rolls Royce to a bullock cart and that does not make it easy to frame a constitution for the Indian people. And therefore, it is not a thing which can be settled by the nice catch phrase, 'Give India to the Indian people.' I quite agree that running through all political life in India there is the desire for self-government. It is a perfectly right desire and a desire we ought to sympathise with. The trouble is that they do not all desire to be governed by the same people and that is so strong that some refuse to be governed anyway."

The Labourite Mr. S. O. Davies, "It is true everywhere."

Mr. Attlee : "No, it is not. Mr. Davies is a good democrat. However much he dislikes the Government, he continues to be a good citizen and he does his duty. If he finds himself in the minority, he continues to work the constitution because he is a good democrat. There are many countries where the minorities refuse to have anything to do with the Government. Sometimes they go into rebellion. Sometimes they are exterminated. One of the things we are fighting this war for is the right of minorities to live."

Mr. Maxton : "Majorities."

Mr. Attlee : Mr. Maxton and I both agree. We must live and let live, although we do not agree. This is the point we have got to try to settle. It was suggested that Government did something rather dreadful in proposing a solution. They have been asking over and over again that Indian leaders should come together and agree. It is not a thing that has happened just this year or last year, this obstacle of trouble between communities. It has been going on ever since the beginning of Indian self-government. At every turn I have met it. I met it on the Commission, at the Round Table Conference and on the Joint Select Committee. It has always been an obstacle that stood in the way. An Indian said, 'We cannot settle this. It is unfair to try and make us settle this. You must produce a solution.'

FAIR OFFER

"We produced a method whereby we hoped this might be resolved. Do not let us forget when we hear violent speeches made that almost anybody whether British, Indian or those of any country who looks at these proposals, would say they were fair proposals, just proposals and sound proposals. Indeed the method in which we proposed was one which I remember being suggested to me by one of the leaders of the Congress Party only a few years ago as the best way of dealing with the matter. That has been thrown back on us. We all deeply regret that. But we did try to make the very fullest and fairest offer we could. There were things we could not do. What we endeavoured to do in setting up this convention was to get a settlement of the communal problem. What we are now asked to do is to anticipate that settlement. That in fact is to beg the whole question which can only be settled by Indians themselves. That is the difficulty. You may add this man or that man or anyman or anything else you like to the Central Government of India, as long as it still remains under the present constitution. But if you are going to depart from that and turn the Viceroy into a constitutional monarch and give all power to an irresponsible body, you are at once begging the whole question as to who shall govern. I think it is recognised you cannot go far in that direction. So we have said that our offer remains open. Remember it was not rigid.

PHILOSOPHY OF LAW AND ORDER,

"The particular method suggested was in default of Indians agreeing to their own method. Our offer was not only thrown back on us, but thereupon the Congress Party departed altogether from methods of democracy and tried the method of coercion. It is anti-democratic to act by coercion, whether that method be done by non-violence or violence, but experience has shown over and over again—and nobody knows that better than Gandhi—that in Indian conditions, Civil Disobedience leads to violence. It has happened before. Terrible things have happened. Gandhi himself expressed his repentance. I think it is a most regrettable thing that at the end of his life he should have again taken action that has resulted in the death of people."

"Government had to meet that situation and they had to meet it, not in the

piping times of peace, but with the enemy at the gates. In the interests of prevention of further disturbances and the loss of life, Government were bound to act and I think the majority of the people in this country and in this House think they were right in so acting. They were right to act in the interests of Indian statesmen themselves. If you talk to Indians, whatever the views they take, and even to extremists, they will all say that the one essential thing in India is to have a Government prepared to govern. Indians also have their historic memories and they remember the years of anarchy in India and we have only to look a little further east to see the years of anarchy in China. I am sure that members will agree that in conditions of anarchy and violence it is the poorest people who suffer most. Above all, therefore, we must have law and order. It is a most distasteful task. It is a task we have had to undertake and which responsible Indian statesmen have had to undertake."

Mr. Maxton: "Was not violence subsequent to the imprisonments?"

Mr. Attlee: "Violence was planned and orders were issued for Civil Disobedience. Anyone who knows history, knows that whenever a Civil Disobedience is started, it always leads to violence."

Mr. Silverman (Labour) said that may be true but that is not the question which Mr. Maxton asked and which Mr. Attlee has not answered. The question Mr. Maxton asked was whether actual acts of violence were not subsequent to imprisonments."

Mr. Attlee: "I answered him that orders have been issued for Civil Disobedience; that Civil Disobedience had always led to violence and that, therefore, it is the right of Government to act at once in order to stop violence. I was saying that this is no less in the interests of the Indian Government itself. There could not be worse thing, particularly for Hindus—the majority that has always depended on numbers and brain power rather than fighting forces—to have a precedent set of a Government which yielded to violence by the minority."

"Again, I tell Mr. Maxton with his own historical memories, which he knows perfectly well, to remember instances in which Governments set up by revolver and bomb have found it difficult ever to get rid of revolver and bomb and in a great sub-continent like India, with a people very close to the soil, it is a very dangerous thing to let rioting start, and whatever the colour of the Government may be, the Government is bound to take action—and still more when it is not only a matter of civil security at home but when there is the enemy at the gate. One must look at this, as I know wiser heads in India, including members of the Congress Party, have looked at it in its larger aspects."

RESPONSIBILITIES TO THE ALLIES

"I have talked with them and I know perfectly well that they realise if the Fascist States conquered the world there would be precious little chance for Indian self-government. We have our responsibility to the Indian people to prevent them falling under Japan. We have responsibility to our Allies—our Allies who have put up such a wonderful fight in China. It is through India we shall be able to help China. To allow India to fall out would be to betray the people who have been fighting in China and not only them but the people of Russia as well."

"It would be a good stroke of business for the Axis Powers if Japan and Germany could join hands. India is the bulwark to the south of Russia and therefore we have that responsibility in the interests of all Allied nations and to the people of India to stand firm. The only people who can defend India at the present moment are the people of the Allied nations and the people of India themselves. You cannot break up an organisation in the middle and throw it over to somebody else."

A BREEZE

"Therefore, there are these issues and I am asked what can you do now. I say that if you suggest that you can enter into negotiations with people who are running a campaign of this sort you are betraying the future of Indian democracy. We stand firmly by the whole of our offer. I am sorry that it has been questioned and I know one inspiration came from a little pamphlet."

At this point there was a commotion among members under the press gallery and Mr. Cove began pushing his way along the bench of members. Mr. Cove said, "It is an offensive remark that I had it from a little pamphlet."

Mr. Attlee: "I will certainly withdraw the remark. I had certainly seen a pamphlet."

Mr. Cove: "I will certainly withdraw my remark."

DOOR NOT CLOSED

Mr. Attlee : "This is the first time it has been suggested that the offer made by this Government was not a genuine offer. It is unfortunate that anybody should suggest this offer is not perfectly genuine and sincere. It was accepted as being so at the time by the people of this country, by the people of the United States, the Dominions and India and it stands to-day. Mr. Amery has said the door is still open. We are willing to talk with anybody. But the suggestion sometimes is made that you can run round with new offers. I think everybody realizes that if you have got to the utmost as we did and make the very fullest proposals we can make, no one can suggest that you should run round with offers.

"I suggest, therefore, that it cannot be said that Government has stood pat. There is no closing of the door. We are prepared to go in at any time into the fullest question of this Indian problem on the principles of our suggested proposals, which, everybody I believe agrees, were generous, wise and just proposals. I hope that Indian statesmen will think again, will look not just for some immediate question of service, but will look at the long trend of Indian history and see what great role India has played in the battle for democracy. I have always hoped that India, drawing her experience from here, will set a lead in Asia for democracy. Democratic forms are useless without the democratic spirit. Unless you can get tolerance in life and a let-live principle amongst all communities you can not get the successful working of democracy. Looking at the world devastated by hate, intolerance and dominance, I had hoped that one section of the Indian people and leaders should have seen that is the way of death and not the way of life. I ask them to think again in order that they may join in our effort to defeat tyranny and thereby hasten the time when the Indian peoples may themselves decide on their own free Government for the future."

House of Lords—London—20th. October 1942

Devonshire Reiterates Cripps offer

The Under-Secretary of State for India, the *Duke of Devonshire*, opened the debate on the situation in India in the House of Lords on the 20th. October 1942. He began by giving an outline of the India Burma (Temporary and Miscellaneous) Bill. He then went on to make a statement on the "unhappy" condition of affairs in India which made the introduction of the Bill necessary.

The Duke of Devonshire proceeded : We last debated this subject some six months ago shortly after the return of Sir *Stafford Cripps*. The position then was that our move, the last of our sustained and continuous efforts, to endow India with full Self-Government, had broken down and struck upon the sandbanks of the Congress Party's unwillingness to come to any compromise with the Indian parties or with the Government.

The obstacle to an agreement being reached was the absolute nature of the Congress Party's claims that the Indian government should be the sole mouthpiece of Indian nationalism and itself the only representative of Indian opinion. That is very far from being the case. The Congress Party is the largest political Party in India but there are other vast elements in India which it is quite impossible to ignore.

To have handed over to the Congress the Government of India without having balanced and harmonised the claims of these various elements, in aggregate greatly outnumbering the Congress Party, and still more vastly exceeding that Party in their contribution to India's war effort, would have and could have led to nothing but chaos.

But even that solution seems to be ruled out by the mutually incompatible demands of the Mahasabha, the second largest Hindu Party after the Congress and of the Muslim League. Hence the deadlock for which the British Government is most unreasonably being blamed. Since the breakdown, which the Congress Party deliberately brought about, the Government of India had been confronted with a formidable conspiracy designed to paralyse the Government of India.

Mr. *Gandhi* has chosen to call this a non-violent campaign but phrases do not alter the facts and the campaign could in fact scarcely have had a less non-violent character. Sixty Government servants, the vast majority of them Indians, have lost their lives and some 650 have been wounded. I should like to pay a tribute to the steadfast courage and resolution with which the vast majority of the Indian police and civil servants have faced this time of trial.

I don't want to indicate that the Government of India is out of the wood

yet. The position in some parts of India is still serious and it is a sinister and significant fact that disorders, which have been principally directed against communications such as railways, buses and telegraphs, have been most serious in those parts of India where any interruption of communications would have been most paralysing in the event of a Japanese invasion.

NO DIRECT EVIDENCE OF ENEMY INFLUENCE

There is no direct evidence, none whatever, that any enemy influences have been at work in India. But there is evidence, strong evidence, that the Congress Party has so directed its campaign as to do maximum damage to India's war effort and render India vulnerable in the most dangerous quarter. The position is still serious and sporadic outrages still occur daily. But there are clear indications that the vast majority of the people of India are heartily tired of the Congress Party's campaign and very many of Congress Party's own supporters are themselves weary of it. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that the Government of India's troubles were not diminished by political agitation and exhortation from outside India. The Government here and the Government of India have for some months been subjected to persistent barracking to make some spectacular move. I want your lordships to think the effect not only on India, but Russia, the United States the Dominions and here of the never ending rain or hail of speeches and articles demanding that we shall do something never specified, but do it forthwith. The effect on the Congress Party is undoubtedly very bad.

There is evidence that the so-called non-violent campaign, which has in fact proved to be a campaign of violence, punctuated by occasional incidents of abominable atrocity, is on the wane. But while we are being pressed from the left, right and centre to make some further spectacular move, it is hardly reasonable to hope that this campaign will be called off.

The infinitesimally small minority of the Indian people carrying on this campaign are showing signs of weariness but it is hardly reasonable to hope that they will finally lose heart, while they continue to receive as much encouragement as they are receiving from here. So long as articles appear and speeches are made, whether by prelates or politicians, putting the blame for the present deadlock in India upon the Government and urging that the next move lies with them, so long will the organisers of disorder believe that they have only a few more telegraph wires to cut, railway signals to interrupt, only few more bus or tram depots to attack to enforce a largescale retreat upon Government and impose their will upon the peoples of India.

I should deplore and fight any restrictions on free expression of opinion; whether by Pressmen, politicians or prelates.

The *Archbishop of York* (interrupting), "The noble Lord looks at me on each occasion. May I ask him to be plainer and say what he means by prelates? The only time I have spoken has been in support of Government on this matter".

SCOPE OF INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

The *Duke of Devonshire* continued: I intended to cast no reflection, whatever, on the prelates. I was only looking to see that the prelates were there. I think it is reasonable to ask that the Press and the prelates should exercise due responsibility for what they say. I have been nettled by expressions of opinion in what is, for want of better description, I may describe, as the Leftist Press expressions of such opinions as that we cannot undertake offensive operations against the Japanese in Burma with "a hostile India" behind us. Whoever expressed that opinion was grossly wrong. India is not hostile to our cause. India has made, and is making a really magnificent and constantly growing contribution to the Empire's war effort. Indian soldiers in this war have fought as well as any soldiers in the world's history (Loud cheers) and they have fought out of loyalty to the Klag Emperor—that is their governing motive.

The Times, a few days ago, published a leading article in which it was stated that as a matter of fact, India's war effort could be multiplied ten times if the political difficulties could be removed. The article indicated that the difficulties were the difficulties which it lay within the power of Government to remove. "This statement of fact" is demonstrably ludicrously false. It cannot seriously be maintained that the Government of India could raise, train and equip seven hundred thousand recruits monthly and maintain in the field an army of ten millions and supply 200 per cent personnel to the Mercantile Marine.

The limiting factor in the expansion of India's war effort is not the lack of willing recruits or workers, but equipment and officers and technicians to train and lead. These are limitations imposed, not by political considerations but our want of pre-war preparations. How can it seriously be maintained that a political settlement, however satisfactory, can remedy this? India's war effort is capable of expansion, it is also capable of diminution. Concessions such as we are asked to make, it would be a great deal easier to halve or quarter India's war effort by some unwise step than increase it. What is it that is proposed we should do next? The Lord Privy Seal went to India with the full and comprehensive offer of Self-Government for India. He made a great and sustained effort to get the offer accepted. He overstayed his original time-table by a long time, but it was not accepted, not because it was not sufficiently comprehensive.

NEXT STEP MUST COME FROM INDIA

We offered India all that we had to offer but we were not prepared to offer what was not ours. Now it is suggested that we should do something more and that, in some way, some further advance should be initiated from here. I believe the next move must come from India. When that fact is realised, the next move may come but until it is realised, the deadlock will continue. Self-Government may be offered or seized: you may endow a country with self-governing institutions: but you most certainly cannot impose them. In the House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India said a few days ago that our policy in India was not one of reluctant retreat but willing advance: not one of enforced abdication, but freely proffered partnership in freedom. That is a fact.

Self-Government for India was the ultimate goal of British statesmanship long before there was any conscious demand for it from India: long before there was such a thing as the Congress party. "I most emphatically affirm that for us to preside over this transition from the fifth European century in some parts in slow stages up to the twentieth and be the guide of people in that condition is, if conducted with humanity and sympathy, with wisdom and political courage, not only a human duty and great national honour, but what was called the other day, one of the most glorious tasks ever confided to my country." These words were spoken by a Lord in this House of Lords in 1908. In the years which have intervened, greater progress has been made than in the same number of years, at any time, in any country. It is true that India has not yet achieved full self-government, but she has made great strides towards it and the fact she has not yet attained it, is not due to our failure to proffer the prize but to the failure of some, not all, Indian hands to grasp it when proffered. In surveying a picture of such vastness and complexity as presented by the sub-continent of India, it is surely a mistake to take a short view. Six months is a long time in the eyes of a politician whose horizon is the next general election. Six months or a year is not such a very long time in the eyes of a historian. The period of delay which has been imposed upon Indian progress by the recalcitrance of the Congress Party, will probably be longer than six months.

Let no friend of progress lose heart. We should not be deterred from our high purpose by the delay of six months.

THE DEBATE

Lord Addison, Leader of the Labour Peers, said the Bill was necessary, but the Duke of Devonshire had not been helpful. Government must find an alternative offer. Congress' conception of democracy was domination of the majority by one section, but while Mr. Gandhi shirked the responsibility, there was a very large number of responsible Indian leaders seeking a way out of the difficulties and Government must provide something more helpful than the speech of the Duke of Devonshire just delivered.

The Marquis of Crewe said many people wanted the Government to adopt an attitude which they described as conciliation when they approved of it and appeasement when they disliked it. He thought it would be wrong and futile to attempt appeasement of the Congress. The extreme Congress leaders were not so much anti-British as anti-European and it was not impossible that they would be more than willing to bargain with Japan even at the cost of an inferior position in Asia if it would mean complete severance with all European ties.

CALL FOR A GESTURE FROM GOVERNMENT

The Marquis of Salisbury urged the Government for a further gesture. Nobody desired to India, but we could forswear for ever the policy of appeasement.

He opposed American or any foreign arbitration, but Washington should have official representatives in India. We had nothing to be ashamed of. He had great confidence that if the American knew what we had done for India, they would realise how greatly British Government's present efforts ought to be supported.

The *Archbishop of York* said that Government could not have possibly given way to the Congress demands. It would have been a betrayal of the Muslims and other minorities. Until they reached an agreement, it was impossible for Government to go forward.

RELEASE OF CONGRESS LEADERS URGED

The *Earl of Huntingdon* (Labour) said that India was the key to Allied victory and the touchstone on which Britain's real motives were being tested. American opinion was profoundly disturbed. They could not understand Britain fighting a war of freedom while violently repressing the Indian national movement. The Chinese were also disturbed and we could not ignore the feeling among our Allies. It had been asserted that a vast constitutional change could not take place in war-time, yet Mr. Churchill, in a time of acute crisis, proposed amalgamation of France with Britain. Congress leaders should be free unconditionally and asked to form a provisional Government. If they failed to form a National Government the responsibility would be theirs and the sympathy of the democratic people would be on our side.

Viscount Samuel (Liberal) said it was Government's duty to suppress outrage, arson and murder, but they did not solve the political problem. The parrot-like cry that the principal Indian Parties must agree first before any step forward, was futile. At the same time the proposal that the British Government should pledge effective independence of India at a given date after the war would be dangerous because, when the time came both sides in India might be arming against each other and Government would be compelled to repudiate such a pledge. The phrase "Dominion Status" was meaningless and should be dropped in favour of such a term as "National Status". He suggested that the key to solution rested in the constitutional position of the Viceroy who had the dual role of acting in place of the Sovereign and as his own Prime Minister. When a new Viceroy is appointed this should be changed. Acting solely for the Sovereign, the new Viceroy's first task should be to select some statesman as Prime Minister to instruct him to form the Government as was done here and in the Dominions.

Lord Samuel continued, able statesmen among Indian leaders would, despite Party and political difficulties, furnish ample material for such a Government. It was urgently necessary that steps should be taken during the war to solve the present impasse. Lord Samuel recalled the success of granting immediate self-government to the Transvaal following the South African war and asked if the same course might not be pursued now in India.

SUGGESTION FOR AN INDIAN VICEROY

Lord *Strabolgi* (Labour) recommended the appointment of a distinguished Indian as the next Viceroy and an invitation to the principal Allies to mediate.

Lord *Winster* emphasised the effect of the Indian problem on the United States. In America, he said, British stock was now very low. The Government had not to convince the American Government of our good intentions, but the American man-in-the-street. The Americans were not impressed by the assertion that we were willing to grant everything India wanted the moment the Indian parties agreed among themselves.

LORD CHANCELLOR'S REPLY TO DEBATE

After various other speeches, Lord Chancellor *Lord Simon*, replying for the Government, said: "It is absolutely impossible in the limited number of minutes at my disposal to do more than make one or two statements. It is quite impossible really to give what is called a reply on India in the short space of time. This has been an interesting debate. I should like first of all to make perfectly clear in my statement as to what is the aim of the Government in this matter.

"I entirely agree with what has been said by Lord *Winster* that, if we could make statements on this subject, we would be more likely to get a reasonable hearing from our friends in America. I claim to say on behalf of the Government that the aim of the Government's policy is that Indians should themselves mould the destiny of India, free from external dictation and control. I do not know any other method by which you can get a great development of constitutional Government.

EXAMPLE OF THE DOMINIONS.

"I am rather inclined to agree with Lord Samuel when he deprecated the use of the word Dominion in this matter. If anybody read throughout the Simon Report, they will not find anything about Dominion Status from the beginning to the end. I quite realise that the conception is misunderstood. Consider what did happen in regard to the undoubted Dominions. The Constitution of Canada was created as the result of a number of leading Canadian citizens—not by any means all of the same political party—meeting together and thrashing out resolutions upon which the constitution was made. The Constitution of Australia was brought about by Australians meeting together from different provinces and different political attachments again thrashing it out and ultimately producing the Constitution of Australia. The Constitution of South Africa which I quite agree, did receive a most important urge from the holdness of the Campbell-Bannerman Government was still the work of South Africans in South Africa."

"I really do not know any other method whereby in the proper sense democratic government can be created. It cannot be imposed here, that is not democratic government at all. It is not government given by one body to another body. It is a thing which emerges out of the toil, devotion, patriotism and idealism of the people who are going to live under it."

FREEDOM MUST COME FROM WITHIN

"I do not say that with any desire to cold shoulder Indian aspirations, but it is fundamentally a great mistake, in reference to Indian development, to suppose that the matter rests in British hands. It does not. It essentially rests in Indian hands. Observe this historical development in reference to India itself. Tremendous proposals were advanced by the late Mr. Edwin Montague in the time of the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford."

"I am not at all sure that everybody who followed what is now recognised as Liberalism in this country was at that time convinced that it was the right line. The next series of great efforts which were made in India including the great efforts made by Lord Stansgate (Lord Stansgate was formerly Mr. Wedgwood Benn, former Secretary of State for India). Efforts in that period ultimately resulted in the Government of India Act of 1935 which was again an effort to devise and impose a Constitution."

"I hope it will be acknowledged as a small merit that the Simon Commission as it has come to be known, as soon as it was formed, began to examine how to secure that there should be a Government which consisted of Indian politicians and Indian patriots who would be ready to co operate with us. Although we did not get all the help we might have wished from India, we did get statesmanlike men who greatly assisted. The great fact about the Cripps proposal is that it recognises the fact that a great patriotic development in a great country must come from within."

It may be assisted and helped as surely it ought to be, but it is a fundamental error—I do not care whether you are American, Englishman or anybody else—to suppose that somewhere concealed there is a thing called Indian self-government which can be presented to the Indian Continent. It cannot. Self-government and democracy are things which are within you. They are not thing which can be given by somebody else. If anybody will look at the proposals taken by Sir S. Cripps, less than seven months ago, they will realise that this really was their essential virtue—that we were saying: "We want you and the American Government and the people to know that we are prepared to accept and implement and indeed accept without question the form of democratic development which you are able to devise in India and in unity among the Indian parties."

"That does not mean you need parrot-like identity, for every healthy country has very considerable differences of opinion. At the same time, the reason why there must be some reconciliation in India is plain to anyone who will study the subject sufficiently and look it squarely and fairly in the face. The difference of outlook of the Congress and the Muslim League—and it is no good limiting it to that for there are other parties, there are forty or fifty million untouchables and other people in India—is something which has no sort of parallel in this country or in any country in Europe at all."

QUESTION OF FORMING PROVISIONAL GOVT.

"Lord Huntingdon made a suggestion which amounted to this—let the Congress leaders out of prison and then invite the Congress leaders to form a Provisional

National Government. If India contained no one but members of the Congress Party or people prepared to acquiesce in the leadership of Congress, that would indeed be an effective line to take. But only the other day, Mr. Jinnah, who after all speaks for an extremely powerful and important body of opinion, said: "We do not want under the stress of war emergency to be stamped into forming a Provisional Government which would be of such a character and composition as would prejudice or militate against the Muslim demand for Pakistan."

Lord *Huntingdon* intervened: "What I wanted to propose was that the Congress leaders should be asked to form a Provisional Government, but that it should be expressly laid down that minority rights or demands should not be in any way affected by the formation of a Government and that they could be completely discussed in the Assembly afterwards."

MUSLIM LEAGUE'S ATTITUDE

Lord *Simon* continued, "The last thing I want to do is to be unduly critical. I am pointing out the difficulties. You may take it that the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah would be by no means content with an assurance that minority rights would be respected. They do not believe a Congress Government would protect their rights. That is one of the reasons why the Muslim League has grown in strength in recent years. Muslims have had experience in province after province of a Congress Ministry and are not too pleased with their experience."

"I feel convinced you will never get the Muslims of India to come into a system now for a Provisional Government formed of members of the Congress Party who would promise that the minorities would have all their rights respected. The point I am making is that however attractive that proposal might be, if you were dealing with a country inhabited by Congressmen or the supporters of Congress, that is not the continent of India at all. The essence of the difficulty is that communal tension is so great that I am afraid it is not practical to form a Provisional Government by nominating Congressmen. I do not agree with the description of the present Indian Council as not representing anyone of importance. I might mention Dr. Ambedkar who happens to represent forty or fifty million untouchables. The truth is that the Congress Party and the Muslim Party would wish to contribute and as I warned the House on the previous occasion, if you get to the point where you are going to build up a Government of India by the process of selecting leaders from different parties, you will find that as soon as it is purely Indian, the Muslim leaders will claim half representation because they will not consider that they are safe otherwise."

"The difficulties arising from communal tension are something that can hardly be exaggerated. It is notable in the history of India that this strain between communities does not show itself to some degree in the great Indian States as in British India. I am sure the explanation is that at present the position in most Indian States does not make either community feel that it is close to Government in control while in British India, as you move nearer to full responsibility, you will find besides those who want to move in that way, this rivalry grows keener and nothing will alter it but appealing in every possible way to the Indian people as a whole to try to find a way of reconciling their differences."

"I think that the main leaders of Indian political opinion do increasingly recognise this need for unity. The efforts made quite recently by some Indian parties to try to get a conference started with other leaders is an indication of that and we ought to do everything in our power to encourage that. But it is a monstrous falsehood to say that the British Government has tried to exploit these differences."

"But it is a rock on which this whole thing may split and we should acknowledge openly that more and more of the principal political elements in India recognise that they must get together. It may be said, 'Why don't you give India freedom?' But you do not give people freedom. They get their freedom because it is in themselves to develop and I know that some Indians are particularly well-fitted to working out the details of a constitution, if they would devote themselves to it."

"CABINET WITHOUT RESPONSIBILITY"

"Lord *Samuel* made another suggestion. I think it is much more difficult than he represented. The Government of India Act is a portentous document. The Viceroy under the Act has all sorts of responsibilities, duties and powers. You may say the time has come to get rid of that. But you cannot do that with-

out an elaborate statutory rearrangement. At the present time, if we did attempt to do that, I think we should find there were large bodies of opinion in India that would be extremely anxious. After all, what are you going to put into its place at this stage? Lord Strabolgi has made a suggestion but if there were a cabinet in India without my Viceroy at the head of them, to whom is that Cabinet to be responsible? There could be nothing worse than to get a number of people, put them in office and say 'you are responsible to nobody.' In the Provinces, there are Provincial Governments and the Ministers are responsible to their legislatures and are liable to be turned out by them.

"Nothing of the sort exists at the Centre. The Government of India Act contains no provision of the kind and the present Government is essentially a Government of the Viceroy with his Advisers and the Viceroy is answerable to the Secretary of State and the Government here."

Lord Strabolgi, intervening, said: "The Lord Chancellor is now arguing that a Cabinet must depend on a regular Parliament. There are a number of Cabinets in the world which do not. It is not necessary for a Cabinet to depend on a Parliament."

Lord Simon replied: "What I am saying is that a Council or Cabinet would be responsible to nobody. There would be no legislature to which it would be responsible. It would be completely an irresponsible Cabinet. That is the reason time is being taken. You cannot make these great constitutional changes during war. The best future for India is a future arrived at in India by Indians, negotiating and agreeing among themselves. These fissures in Indian life are so deep that until a method is found of bridging them, it is quite impossible to suppose you can create out of goodwill an elaborate administration and government which does not carry the support and good sense of India. I wish the situation had really improved. Nobody wishes it more sincerely than I do. I admit with great regret that I don't think the situation has improved. There have been two things at least which have been the reverse of hopeful. It is quite plainly revealed that the Congress Party has been engaged, though it said that it is supporting a policy of non-violence, in some of the most shocking violence and has committed some of the most frightful crimes.

"It is a very serious thing that there should be these developments in war-time in India of so horrible a kind and I am glad to think that there has not been a single speech in this House that does not recognise that there is only one way to deal with the situation of the moment and that is to master it, even though it involves force.

CONFLICTING OBJECTION TO CRIPPS PLAN

"The other thing which is most distressing to me is that it is not merely that parties have not agreed about the Cripps Plan. They have objected for completely opposite reasons. It would not matter if the people took a series of objections along the same lines but that is not so. The Congress Party objected to the Cripps Plan because they say it contemplates the division of India. They will not have anything to do with the conception of Pakistan. I believe that to be a very sincere conviction. I think the conception of India as a whole is one they treasure. I should like them to admit that that is the conception created for them by the British Government. On the other hand, the Muslim League say they will not agree to the Cripps Plan because they do not feel sufficiently sure that Pakistan will come. Therefore you have two of the most important parties in India objecting to the plan, unhappily for opposite reasons. If you try to alter the plan to please one of them you make it worse for the other. I confess frankly that I think this is a most unhappy development. If I thought that the adopting of one or other of these suggestions was really going to strike at the root of this trouble nobody would be more willing to consider it.

"But the thing that has to be dealt with is much more fundamental than that. It is only when the people of India find a way of working together that they would create a situation which would be able to produce a constitution in future. We are bound to take the line that during the war it is impossible to make any fundamental constitutional change. Immediately the war is over, we wish to have the fullest contribution from Indians themselves. All we stipulate is that they really should come together. It is not we who are going to bring them together. They are much more likely to come together by themselves. One thing the Indian suspects now is that he is being manoeuvred into something by the British Government. We do not want that. Devise the best scheme you can and if that

scheme satisfies the necessary condition that it is fair to the minorities, we will take it and make it the future constitution of India. I believe that if the matter is put in that way, argument, is really irresistible. Our American friends are critical—it is unfortunate—but they naturally have not full opportunity of understanding the complexity. But this offer which is being made by the British Government is a real offer in the direction of liberty. It is ridiculously untrue to speak of the British Government as if it were now holding India under.

NO ALTERNATIVE TO THE OFFER

"It is entirely wrong in my judgment, because there has been this unhappy breakdown about the Cripps proposal, to assume that there are lots of more proposals in the locker and that you have only to go on dealing them out one after the other, as though you were dealing a pack of cards. Ours is not the method of the Oriental bazaar. Ours is the method called putting your cards on the table. We have devoted ourselves with single-minded energy to put forward the most complete scheme we possibly could in order to help India attain her ambition. Six months ago, it was being lauded all over the world and our friends in America were prepared to say that nothing fairer could possibly be produced. If it were true then, it is true now."

"While I would not stand on any small matter and say 'It is your turn to do something next', I do think it essential that these great Indian parties, through their leaders, should make an effort which some of them are making to come together and produce a scheme or help produce a scheme which may be an improvement on the one we have made. In the meantime our own proposal is not cancelled. In its general lines it is there to be worked out and, it may be, improved."

The debate then terminated. The Bill was read a second time and the House adjourned.

Amery's Caxton Hall Speech On the Future of India

Caxton Hall—London—29th September 1942

The following is the text of the address delivered by Mr Amery, Secretary of State for India, at the Caxton Hall in London on September 29:—

Mr. Amery said: "The subject on which I am to address you is India's future. I do not, therefore, propose to do more than touch in the briefest outline upon India's past or upon her much debated present. As regards the past, there is really only one point that I wish to emphasise. The British Indian Empire is not something that has recently been imposed on India from without as a result of the conquest of India by this country. On the contrary it is a system of Government over 200 years old in parts of India and nowhere less than a century old, which has spread over India from within."

"I need not go into the amazing story of how in the sheer anarchy of the eighteenth century in India at times under the menace of French aggression the local agents of a British trading concern found themselves compelled progressively to take over an ever-widening field of authority. In the end, when that authority had covered the whole of the vast Indian sub-continent and in fact became an empire, Parliament here found itself obliged to assume ultimate responsibility for its security and good government and exercise a limited, regulating and controlling influence."

"Nevertheless, what is called British rule in India is essentially an institution native to the soil of India. It has been created by British leadership, profoundly influenced by British conceptions or standards, above all by the conception of the reign of law which is the foundation of our liberties. But at every stage in building up the vast structure, Indians have played their part, and in the last generation an ever-increasing part, both in civil administration and the fighting forces."

"At this moment eleven out of fifteen members of the Governor-Generals' Executive are Indians. Ministries which control administration in five great provinces

with a population of some 110 millions, are Indians responsible to elected Indian Legislatures. The same was the case, and would be the case to-day in the other six provinces, but for the decision of Mr. Gandhi and the so-called High Command of the Congress Party, which forced the Congress Ministries of those provinces to go on strike in order to embarrass the Central Government.

"PRINCES AN INDISPENSABLE ELEMENT"

"Fully half the senior administration services and an overwhelming majority of subordinate services are Indian. The Indianisation of the officer ranks of the Indian Army, a more recent development, is proceeding steadily and has already justified it in action. Nor should we ever lose out of sight the fact that the Government of a quarter of the population and nearly half the area of India has throughout remained entirely in the hands of Indian rulers, who are protected by treaties, loyally observed on both sides, are an essential part of the fabric of the Indian Empire of to-day, and an indispensable element in the entirely self-governing India of to-morrow.

"Out of past, which I have thus briefly sketched, has grown the India of the present, in all its manifold aspects. I will touch upon two of these. One is the India which is playing so great a part in the present war. It is the India of a great fighting tradition, which raised more than a million volunteers to join the army, in which British and Indian elements have co-operated in splendid mutual loyalty and affection, an army that has covered itself with glory in many a hard fought field in this war.

"It is the India of important industries which is contributing a steadily increasing share of munitions equipment of its own and other empire armies. It is the India of immense agricultural and mineral resources which its highly developed transport and irrigation systems has made available for the common cause. It is the India which has played and is destined increasingly to play a major part in the war whether in the field or as arsenal and base of operations.

WE WISH TO SEE INDIA FREE"

"Side by side this India that is waging war, there is an India which concerned with the political issue and India's future Government, both in its internal structure and in its relation to this country and to the British Commonwealth as a whole. On the latter issue, there is no divergence of aim, among Indian themselves. We, in this country, are at one in wishing to see India administering her own affairs, free to control her own destiny, remaining of her own free choice a member of that free partnership of nations which is known as the British Commonwealth. That this should come about is in our eyes the crowning consummation of our past work in India.

"Indians of all communities and classes and Princes, no less than party leaders in British India, are equally anxious that India should govern herself free from all external control. The difficulty lies in finding a system of Government under which the various complex and profoundly divergent elements of India's national life can both govern themselves in such a fashion that no one element should be in a position to oppress another and yet retain substantially that unity of administration and law which has been built up in the past. For without that India can neither be prosperous and at peace within her own borders nor secure against aggression from without. The problem is one of immense difficulty. But it can and I believe will be solved. In the main, it must be solved by Indians for themselves, who have agreed to compromises and concessions upon which it must inevitably be based, who will be eager to make the working of that constitution a success. That is why the American constitution works, our British constitution works and that is why the Dominion constitutions work. No imposed constitution, least of all one imposed by one element of party in India upon the rest of India, can live.

CONGRESS PLAN "MASS SABOTAGE"

"Yet that is in essence the aim of Mr. Gandhi and a handful of his associates who control the Congress Party machine. To enforce that aim they decided to launch a campaign of mass sabotage, intended by its paralyzing effect upon the internal administration and upon the defence of India, to bring the Government to its knees. To yield to that demand would spell a disaster, not only to India's immediate war effort but to all hope of any agreed foundation for India's future freedom and unity. The defeat of the present attempt at control of India in the interests of party dictatorship is an essential condition of any real constitu-

tional solution. That a solution will be found. I have no doubt and it is upon that assumption that I shall now invite you to consider problems that will face the Indian Government enjoying unfettered control of India's destiny at home in relation to the outside world.

"The first problem will be that of India's defence. Whatever arguments the United Nations may agree upon after the war in order to prevent an early revival of aggressive ambitions on the part of our defeated enemies, none of us now cherish the illusion that world peace can be preserved on the cheap by merely setting up some scheme of international machinery. The spirit of aggression and organised power behind it may revive in many forms and the desire of peace-loving nations to maintain common peace will be of little avail without the backing of effective armed preparation. The preparation moreover must be on a scale of character to meet the conditions of future warfare. It will be essentially mechanical, whether in the air, on land or at sea. It must consequently be based on highly developed mechanical industries with all the mechanical skill which they create. It will be an immensely costly demand as its foundation is great economic resources and large revenues. The present war has shown the helplessness of small poor countries in the face of the bombers, tanks or fleets of Great Powers and the folly of thinking that they can rely on well-meaning neutrality. It is only as members of some definitely associated league or group that they can assure their safety in future."

"How will India stand in that respect? Her latent resources, material and human are such that given the domestic peace and wise leadership nothing should prevent her from attaining a position in which she could create and afford without undue sacrifice all the defensive equipment of a Great Power. She is far from being in that position to-day. To construct, man and pay for vast fleets of warships, aeroplanes and tanks required for the single-handed defence of her territory and her trade will for a very considerable period, be beyond her capacity. For that period at least, if she is to develop in peace and safety she will have to look to some stable alliance or association with others whose interests coincide with hers. In the interval, she will be concerned to build up her industries and create skilled organisers and technicians essential to lead and man her industries and fighting services. Even a more important fundamental will be the task of raising the standard of living and education of her vast agricultural population in order to create that surplus output of ability above the needs of mere existence, which is the true measure of a nation's strength. Here, too, India has within her borders most, though not all, of the resources on which, in course of time, she could build up her economic strength in isolation."

"But the process would be painfully slow as compared with that which she might achieve by wise development of her external trade and by judicious encouragement of foreign capital investment. What her policy should be in that respect must depend largely upon the general course of economic policy in the world outside. There are those who I know believe that after the war we shall somehow succeed in reviving the economic individualist internationalism of the last century, in which trade investment were supposed to be matters of purely private concern and entirely divorced from questions, whether of domestic social policy or of defence. I cannot see that coming about. The whole trend of the world towards a more organised and planned scheme of life in the interests not only of defence but even more of social welfare and stability is bound to involve a greater measure of national direction of trade. This does not mean that there will not be an ever-increasing volume of international trade investment. But whether actually carried on by individuals for private profit or by state agencies, it will be largely governed by national considerations."

"International economic co-operation will, in fact, be essentially co-operation between nations as such for their mutual benefit, rather than co-operation between individuals, governed exclusively by considerations of private gain. It will be co-operation in which the general policy and not the least the defence policy will necessarily play its part. It is difficult to imagine nations in future remaining serenely indifferent to their citizens supplying probably, almost certain, enemies with materials essential for war up to the very outbreak of hostilities, as we did with Germany or Americans with Japan."

"If I am right, then there will almost inevitably be a tendency for nations, which look to mutual co-operation in defence, also to look to economic co-operation for their common welfare in peace and for their common strength in the hour of danger. A tendency to group will grow and those who stand out by isolation

and neutrality may well find themselves at a disadvantage in peace as well as in time of war. For some considerable time, at any rate, it seems to me that Indian statesmanship, guided solely by the practical consideration of India's interest, will naturally wish to secure or retain for India the defensive and economic advantages of some suitable external association.

"Where can they best find it? To answer the question, we must consider not only the geographical conditions affecting India's defence and trade but also such more intimate factors as racial and cultural traditions and historical associations. Geographically, the Indian subcontinent is the southern projection of the vast continental block of which the western projection is called Europe. But it is also—and this is even more important for India—the central feature of a great semicircle or countries which lie round the Indian Ocean. Her back is turned towards Asia and her face towards the Southern Sea. Ever since the opening up of the high seas, her contacts with Asia, whether for trade or for defence, have mattered far less to her than her contacts overseas. Her mountain frontiers are a serious obstacle alike to trade and invasion. Her long coastline is a standing invitation to both. From the view-point of the defence of both her territory and trade the most important issue is the friendship of whoever commands the Indian Ocean itself and its gateways at Capetown, Suez, Singapore and Darwin. Both for trade and for defence, the Indian Ocean may well become what the Mediterranean was to the ancient world, a natural link between all countries surrounding it and in that development, India might well aspire to a dominant position and the meeting in Delhi during this war of the Eastern Group Conference and co-operation in the production of munitions might well prove to have been the fore-runner of greater things to come.

Ah, but it will be said, "What has India to do with Europe and South Africa and Anstralia and New Zealand? She is part of Asia and a natural development of the future is Asia for the Asiatics and that it is, towards China or Japan that India's natural affinities will lead her." I believe that will be a profound mistake. There is no such thing really as an Asiatic and of the great racial and cultural divisions of the old world. India's racial origins and historical and political associations and traditions have linked her from the days of Alexander the Great through the long centuries of Muslim infiltration, and the subsequent two centuries of British influence, far more closely with the world of Europe and the Middle East than with the fundamentally different history and outlook of the Mongolian Far East.

Above all, British influence on India's legal and political thought, not to speak of the use of the English language as a common medium of intercourse between Indians of different home languages, all make association with countries of British tradition easier and more natural for Indians. Add to that the sheer practical difficulties of immediate disentanglement from the existing connection in defence and administration and it would seem as a mere matter of practical convenience and advantage, that by far the best policy for India during the period before she can afford to stand alone is to retain her association with the free partnership of the British Commonwealth. There is no political partnership in the world exacting so little from members, which I believe in the long run, can give so much in return. I have been talking on the purely material and practical plane, looking at the future exclusively from the view-point of India's interests. You may well ask the question: "What about Britain's interests?"

"Looking at the matter from the narrower view-point of this island alone, it would, I admit, be difficult to argue that the moral obligation to help India in time of danger is not likely to involve a far greater strain upon our whole defensive organisation and our foreign policy, than would be compensated for by Indians' military help or by the additional trade we might possibly get from such preferential advantages as India might concede our trade. From that narrower standpoint the association with India might well be more of a burden than an asset and we might have a good practical reason for telling that we wished to be quit of her.

"On the other hand, if we look at the matter from a broader view-point of the Commonwealth as a whole, taking into account the interests of other British territories in the southern hemisphere as well as interests in the middle East there is a much stronger case for arguing that India as member of the Commonwealth partnership would probably be on balance and in the long run, if not firstly, will contribute as much as she would receive.

"If, therefore, we believe on practical grounds that the British Commonwealth as a whole is worth keeping together, we might also conclude that it will be as

much to the Commonwealth's advantage to continue association with India as in India's interest to remain associated with the Commonwealth. That brings me to a much more fundamental question. Is the continuance and development of the British Commonwealth something really worthwhile, either from our own view-point or from that of the world at large? Is it merely a system of mutual co-operation and insurance between a particular group of nations concerned only with the self-regarding interest of its members? Or is it not something far more significant and hopeful for mankind? Is it not a unique experiment in the direction of securing unity of political action in essentials between free nations without the sacrifice of their several national identities or their control of every aspect of their national life? Such unity, not based on the domination of a Master State, not even on the rigid structure and sacrifice of individual nationality involved in a federation, but on common ideals and mutual loyalties, is surely something well worth trying out, both for ourselves and as an example to others—in a work in which the need for larger unities for getting away from the present political and economic anarchy is becoming increasingly urgent.

"Is it not in this direction, in the direction of leagues of like-minded free nations, that a true 'New order' of the world's immediate future is to be sought? And if such a league can successfully include its equal freedom and responsibility not only nations of kindred origin, but nations so far apart as the peoples of India, and those of this island and the Dominions of European stock, cutting across all divisions of colour, race and creed, shall we not have advanced an immense step towards the evolution of that future free league of mankind which is the ultimate hope of the world but which is unlikely to be reached by any more mechanical scheme for an immediate millennium?"

"If so then the case for India's remaining in partnership with the British Commonwealth, not only for the period of transition but permanently, and for our desiring her to remain therein, is based on grounds even stronger than that of the aeroplanes we can furnish to each other in war, or the trade which we can offer each other in peace. It is based on beliefs and hopes which go to the very foundation of the spiritual nature of our peoples. Even more than on the practical commonsense of both sides, it is on the deeper idealism, both of Indian and British peoples, that must depend the future relation of free India to the Commonwealth in which and through the influence of whose ideals, she will have found both her unity and her freedom.

Sir George Schusters' Call to Britain

On the Need for Positive Line of Action

The following is the text of a letter from Sir George Schuster appearing in *The Times* of the 14th. October on the India debate:

"You rightly characterised last week's Parliamentary discussion on India as a 'negative debate', and I believe that there will be many who share your own uncomfortable feeling about the way the British case has been put—both by the defenders and attackers—together with my still deeper feeling that British expression, both in words and deeds, is failing to rise to the needs of the occasion. The Government's case for strong measures to stop the Congress rebellion is unanswerable. Why then should Mr. Amery get involved in arguments about whether Mr. Gandhi 'meant' from the outset to wreck the Cripps Negotiations? Why do not we have evidence of what the Congress planned and prepared, objectively presented in a White Paper, so as to make it impossible for critics to continue their suggestions that we have trumped up the charge in order to provide an excuse for the strong hand?"

"Again, Colonel Stanley, in his brilliant speech, did us less than justice when he referred to the 'generosity' of the British offer, measuring generosity in terms of willingness to forego commercial advantage—with special reference to Lancashire's cotton trade. Trade figures prove unanswerably with what disregard of British interests, Indian opinion has been allowed to dictate fiscal policy in the last twenty-five years. (India's pre-1914 imports of over 3,000 million yards of cotton piecegoods, almost all British, dropped before this war to 800 million yards, more than half from Japan—a change which has brought widespread ruin and unemployment in Lancashire.) It is unfortunate to suggest that

SCHUSTER'S CALL TO BRITAIN

[LONDON—

a desire for the advantage of British industry may still be influencing British policy. Indeed, if, unhampered by any fiduciary relationship with India, we could bargain freely on a basis of reciprocal commercial advantage, we could in this material field, do much better ourselves.

Then again, there were the usual reference to American press comment as something which should influence our policy. That puts the position wrongly. We must be guided by what we believe right and not by what the American newspapers are saying of us. That does not mean that outside opinion does not matter. Having settled a course, we should see that it is properly understood in other countries; and in the matter, indeed, there is immense room for improvement. I would go further than this. I do not share the view that the United Nations are not concerned with what is happening in India or that we should say "Hands off. This is our business." If they desire a conference on the matter, we welcome it. It will help in many ways if only to spread a true understanding of the position. But in the end, it will be recognised that past history has placed the responsibility on British shoulders which cannot be loaded off on to others or abandoned by betraying moral obligations.

But the worst weakness in the recent Parliamentary discussions, has been failure to give adequate attention to what we ought to do now. We cannot allow the rightness of the present course to rest on our own record of past centuries or in the wrongness of our political opponents. We need a positive line of action now and for the future. We claim—unanswerably I believe—that we cannot, without a betrayal of right principles or the risk of chaos, hand over full constitutional responsibility to Indian Ministers except on the foundation of a balanced constitution agreed upon between the main elements in India. We say that, pending this, we want a genuine Indian Government, retaining only the ultimate constitutional responsibility and leadership in war effort. Can we be satisfied with the way in which we have fulfilled the purposes? Have we gone as far as we could, to set up and strengthen a genuine Indian Government? Have we given a right and inspiring leadership in the war? In the Viceroy's Council, the two key portfolios (Home and Finance) are still held by British officials. Need this continue?

What of our leadership? Let us, if we will, excuse the loss of Malaya and Singapore by the disaster of Pearl Harbour, which knocked the foundation out of the whole plan. But, if war preparation in India had been tackled with the right vision and urgency from 1939, could not Indian divisions have been sent to Burma sufficiently trained and equipped to resist the invader? Indian war production was not tackled with vision and drive from the beginning. Colonel Johnson, the United States Representative, reviewing the position last April said, "India has done a fairly good job of war production, but it is a peace-time job". That is not good enough. Let us be frank. It has been a record of failure to give inspiring leadership or rise to the needs of the occasion. British leaders connected with this failure cannot now create the atmosphere which is needed. The right men must be found. The old ritual of stiff-necked officialism is out of date. In the live field of politics, it is Indian Ministers that should hold the platform. Our endeavour must be to strengthen them to do this. And they must have a rigorous and inspiring policy not merely in war production, but in the field of social measures, for which the full pulse of war economy offers so many opportunities.

"I am not so optimistic as to imagine that action on these lines will bring any quick alleviation of the ill-feeling into which we have so unfortunately drifted in India, but it will, nonetheless, be the right action and worthy of our past record and present responsibility. Also, if steadily pursued, it will help us to retain the prestige and initiative, without which we cannot play the part we need to play in achieving our final purpose—helping the Indian parties to find an agreement among themselves and thus make possible the establishment of real Self-Government of India."

India's Fight for Liberty

Mr. Lin Yutang's Warning

"Mr. Lin Yutang, the well-known Chinese author, in a message to *Free World*, a new monthly magazine, representing a movement which had already secured influential support in the New World, argued the case for immediate grant of freedom to India. English, Chinese, Spanish and French editions of *Free World* began to appear and arrangements were made to bring out an Indian edition in the near future.

Mr. Lin Yutang, in the course of his message to the magazine, observed:— "Momentous events are happening in Asia affecting not only the 390 million people of India, but also the future progress and essential character of the war the United Nations are fighting. As a Chinese, I know China would be the first to be directly affected by it. It is imperative that we examine the events in India not as idle critics, but as responsible participants in a conflict between our two Allies, England and India. By our applause given to one or the other or by our very tolerance of the conflict, we prolong or shorten the conflict. The United Nations have a moral duty. I, therefore, plead for a stern sense of realities of the Indian situation.

"We have been feeding ourselves on anti-Hindu propaganda. We might accept, for our own peace of mind, the fiction that Congress is not representative of India, the lie that it does not include Muslims, that Mr. Jinnah is very important, that the English are loved in India and every thing is very pretty. We acquire a sense of moral triumph by accepting the version that it is not we who do not want to give India freedom, but it is India who is not united in wanting it. By the acceptance of that fiction and our passive inaction in the months following the Cripps Mission, we have our-selves precipitated this inevitable conflict.

"The time for delusions is past and we must now pay for it. But our own fate is involved in it. We must break through the pall of abuse, misrepresentation and calumny against India that is being spread in America. Intelligent citizens know that India's case has never been represented to Americans except through the eyes of British censors at Calcutta and New Delhi, that the news about India is incorrect and inaccurate and very often distorted. It is a law of human nature that we must abuse those whom we injure, to prove that we are injuring them for their own good. It is a law of human nature that should and must go on; Gandhi is an appeaser, Gandhi is a wily and crooked politician. Gandhi has no sense of reality. Gandhi wants only the ruin of the British.

"The question is, Why is Gandhi such a fool? Why are men like Nehru and the leaders of the Congress such fools? Why are Indians such fools as to be misled by them? There is something terribly incomprehensible to many American critics and editors about the Hindus. Gandhi is a fool, because he is fighting for what George Washington was fighting—for his country's freedom and independence from England. Nehru is such a fool, because he feels as keenly about the little word 'Liberty' as Washington or Thomas Paine ever felt. The whole Indian nation is feeling exactly as keenly as the thirteen colonies about their country's freedom. Gandhi and Nehru are as stubborn as Washington was and De Valera is to-day. The injustices in India are exactly like the injustices in the American colonies and in Ireland of the past. Now that Americans have liberty, they forget what that little word means when a people have lost it. That is what is so incomprehensible about India.

"That is the terrible force which Gandhi and Nehru have unleashed to-day, which the spirit of Washington, whom both admire, helped to unleash, the great cry of a great people for national freedom during our war for national freedoms. Recently, Secretary Hull was urging the nations to fight for liberty and Indians are obeying him. Hull cannot turn round and tell Indians, 'You must not fight for liberty.' We are anxious for the freedom of Greece, Yugoslavia or Occupied France, but we shut our eyes to the greatest single national movement for freedom in the world in India.

"India wants her freedom. Cripps denied it. They want to fight as a free nation alongside the United Nations. The Congress resolution clearly showed that they wanted Allied soldiers to remain in India and help defend their country if they were given the status of a free and equal nation. India is united in demand

ding freedom immediately. Her splendid leaders, who qualified her for it, are pledged to use that freedom not for a decrease, but an increase, in her share of responsibility to fight the Axis Powers. I warn that India will not give up the fight for liberty until she gets it.

"Against these obvious truths, the refusal to return what we stole from her is based on sectional and national politics. Those who are clever at playing politics will, by their indecision and narrow vision, help defeat of the common war effort. We cannot win this war with nineteenth century psychology and imperialistic politics. The war has gone ahead of us, let us catch up with it.

America's Anxiety About India

Negotiations with Congress urged

Ernest Lindley, one of America's leading journalists, with a reputation for being the unofficial spokesman of the White House, expressed America's anxiety about India in the course of an article in a recent issue of *The Washington Post*.

He observed, "Little news is coming from India by normal channels. But the paucity of published matter does not mean that the Indian situation had markedly improved; it signifies rather severe censorship. Actually, information reaching Washington from entirely reliable sources is causing anxiety."

"There is no sign of any further efforts to compose the internal political difficulty. The British now appear to be relying entirely on repression and British authorities in India express full confidence in their ability to smash Mr. Gandhi's campaign of civil disobedience. This campaign according to informed sources has not yet really begun, but it is supposed to be springing soon in the leading cities of India. Spokesmen for the All-India Congress group boast that they will paralyse British authority within two months. Their ability to make good this boast is seriously doubted by independent observers. But as things are going now, relations between the Congress Party group and the British authorities are becoming even more embittered.

"The problem is a delicate one for American Government. After the rejection of the Cripps proposal American opinion, official and private alike, swung against the Congress Party. It swung even more sharply with the revelation that Mr. Gandhi was against armed resistance to the Japanese and proposed to negotiate with them—although this was probably not Quislingism as it is understood in the West but rather an expression of a religious and fanatic faith in the ability of nonviolent resistance to deprive the armed invader of the fruits of conquest.

"The attitude of the Congress Party leaders has continued to be thoroughly exasperating and dangerous to the security of the United Nations as a whole as well as India itself. But it has not altered the American policy of favouring self-government for all peoples who are able to exercise it—a policy to which Britain also is committed by the Atlantic Charter and the declaration of the United Nations no matter what exceptions or mental reservation one may have noted in individual British statesmen.

"If repression were now the only recourse there would be no disposition to question the present British policy, regrettable as the necessity for it would be. But informed observers report that there is still a chance of composing the Indian political difficulties by negotiation. They doubt if negotiations could be carried through by the British and Congress Party leaders alone because distrust of each for the other is now too deep. Friendly intercession probably would be necessary by the United States and China.

"It is believed that a number of most influential Congress Party members would now accept less than their previous demands. Reaction against them in the American press came as an unpleasant surprise. There was danger that the effect would be to turn the Congress Party leaders quite as bitterly against the United States as against Britain and in the hands of persistent propagandists to create an impression that the white peoples of the United Nations were joining hands in a policy of repression. This danger was alleviated by the President's announcement that American troops in India were there only to fight the Axis and instructions had been given to them to hold aloof from internal affairs. But the danger has not entirely removed and perhaps can be eradicated only if another effort is made to settle the Indian internal political difficulties by negotiation.

Educational Progress in India

JULY—DECEMBER 1942

**The Convocation of the following Universities
were not held in the year 1942 :—**

- (1) The Lucknow University**
- (2) The Allahabad University**
- (3) The Mysore University**

All India Educational Conference

Annual Session—Indore—27th December 1942

Presidential Address

The Rt. Hon'ble. Mr. *M. R. Jayakar* in his presidential address to the All-India Educational Conference held at Indore on the 27th December 1942 said:—

I am thankful to you for the honour you have done me in offering the presidency of this important conference, where educationists all over India meet once a year. My active connection with education, as a teacher and professor, ceased many years ago but amidst all the diversions which a busy life entails, I have maintained my connection with educational thought and activities in the country. The problems in my time, when I was a teacher, were different. They were (1) how far were schools to be permitted to give religious instruction to the pupils. An overzealous educational official in those days smothered the teachings of the Bhagvat Gita and we had to carry on a strenuous fight on behalf of a school, which a few friends of mine established in Bombay. (2) The next question in those days was how far the independence of schools and colleges could be maintained consistently with the acceptance of Government grants. Nearly the whole time that I was a teacher, these questions occupied public attention.

Before I proceed further, I have to offer you my congratulations on the fact that your conference represents all the several communities and people of India including the officials and residents of the Indian States. I am glad to note that the communal virus has not over-spread your activities as is indicated in the resolution which you passed in 1940-41 in your session at Kashmir.

The war, as we all deplore, has led to a considerable curtailment by the Government of their support and help to education. Grants have been cut down, useful institutions have been commandeered (witness the case of the Benares Hindu University) and lastly students guilty of emotional excesses, as they always are in different parts of the world, have been treated as inopportune criminals and punished in a way which is bound to harden them. This stunting is unfortunate. In other countries the war has not interfered with educational reforms. To mention only the last war, in England, which fought it so strenuously, a large advance was made in spite of it. During the present war, you are all aware, Mr. R. A. Butler, presiding over the Board of Education, has made an insistent demand for increased grants based upon a reconstruction of educational ideals and methods. You are aware of his activities in endeavouring to enlarge the basis of British education, especially in the universities so as to afford its benefits to people who owing to its expensive character, have been hitherto unable to participate in its benefits. The plans of the Board of Education after the war are we are told ready, and when the war is over, they will be placed before the public to be carried into effect. In a place like China, supposed to be educationally backward, there is no tendency to starve education in spite of the war going on for the last several years. China is diverting all its resources to the development of its educational system. To quote only one instance, Article 157 of its draft constitution provides that educational appropriations should constitute not less than 15 per cent of the total Central Budget and 30 per cent of the budgets of the provinces, districts and municipalities.

Ill-placed economy in education is particularly undesirable in India, where educational grants have always formed a drop in the ocean. I am one of those who hold that war is the best time for pushing onward educational schemes, for the simple reason, among others, that the conscience of mankind is stirred during the war against ancient wrongs and injustices. We must, therefore, start planning our educational programme now, for, when the war is over, we may have no time and we shall be found unprepared to prosecute them. We shall have to devise a more soundly and widely devised system of public education, with the ultimate goal of creating a living faith in freedom, truth and beauty and establishing national unity and peace. I am not using the expression national education to signify such a system, for it is doubtful how far pure nationalism can affect the spirit of education. Secondly, because the present war exposes the dangers of economic and political

nationalism of an extreme kind. But a system which has the following chief features may be described as national in its scope and objective, though not in its spirit. First, it will be national, because it is based on the actual needs of the entire nation in all its stages so as to provide an opportunity for every man, woman and child to develop personality to the utmost extent and to live a full life. Secondly, it will be national, because its objectives, methods and standards of performance will have relation to the facts of the economic, social and cultural life of the people of all classes of whom it is composed. Thirdly, it will be national, because it will be based on a new conception of citizenship, the requirements of which will have to be carefully planned by the State co-operating with the people. Before we do this last service, we shall have to decide what kind of society we wish to create, what social ideologies to promulgate, whether the present acquisitive and competitive system is to be replaced by a co-operative one, securing the common good of the various classes supplementing one another, whether we shall think in terms of individual or class profit in the place of the common good. This is not a job for the politician, but for the thinkers and educationists and the danger is if you leave it to the politician, then he will create citizens in the sense of "good haters and lusty flag wavers" as somebody said recently.

There are fundamental principles, however, on which human development in civilised countries has always proceeded. They are the same everywhere and have been evolved by the experience of centuries. In doing this, however, we shall have to keep in clear view Indian traditions of education and build on their basis. The main Indian tradition embodied in ancient literature is that right education must aim at the freedom of the individual all round, freedom to think and believe, freedom to meditate and adore, freedom for self-evolution and self-expression against all the tyrannies of sacred books and the fanaticism of political and religion zealots. An old writer was asked in ancient India for whom he was writing his great work. He replied, "for all persons good and bad, small and great, who think that they ought to be free bonds of low life." India also warned its citizens against the dangers of excessive intellectualism which it conceived to be in the extreme self-consciousness of the intellect leading to isolation, conceit and intolerance. Fourthly, it will be national because a new type of administrator will have to be brought into existence to work the new institutions which will arise after the war, a person of calm judgment, impartiality of outlook, combining out of these two, wise and beneficent leadership. This will enable him to rise superior to excitement both in himself and his followers, with an ability to quiet it in others by his tolerance and readiness to see the opposite point of view. Fifthly, it will be national, because it will aim at national unity and peace. The war is aiding this process, for during its operation the world has come nearer, distance has been annihilated and in the pursuit of a common endeavour against a common danger, all distinctions of nationality and creed, all group egotism, class outlook and racial superiority ought to grow dimmer and dimmer.

In India, the process would have worked faster if the Government had the wisdom at their right time to take full advantage of the offer of the youth of India to man the defence of the country. The history of the Marathas teaches us that, in the common enthusiasm which a war creates, caste distinctions are lost sight of and if the youth of India had been permitted to create a citizen army to defend their natural right, we would have by this time advanced a great deal on the path of national unity. These influences are working already, and it will be the business of educationists to take the work in hand in a methodical and scientific manner. We have to evolve a single nationality through the best avenue that circumstances provide, namely, the culture of the people and it will be the function of the university to plan it, so that our first and deepest loyalty will be for our country. The universities, as the name implies, must take up this work. Curricular changes will be necessary so as to place more insistence on all that unites the people and not on what divides them as at present. Universities are best fitted to do this, subjugating more and more all forces which make for isolation, superiority, intolerance and hostility. There is much in India on which the people can unite and, if this is brought more prominently forward, I have no doubt that the present forces of disintegration will be replaced by mutual understanding, respect and co-operation. The bigotries, both superstitions and political of self-seeking leaders, must be dissipated by the diffusion of the right ideals of education.

I have great appreciation of the system of national education which your conference adopted at its previous sessions and I am at one with you on the aim, the

objective and the general scheme which your conference has approved. It is wise to lay down that the aim of such education is the realisation of the maximum growth of every individual with a view to evolving an efficient co-operative social order; that the objectives of such education are physical well-being, cultural development, ethical and moral consciousness, economic self-sufficiency and national solidarity. Its general scheme will be that every individual will be ensured the maximum possible general cultural education coupled with a preparation for occupational life, labour and hand-work forming an essential part of the general cultural education at every stage. This scheme ought to receive more and more support in the country, as its essential features become more known. But some features of it, particularly value, for instance, that the medium of instruction will be the mother tongue of the pupils up to the secondary stage and, as far as possible, at the university stage. I appreciate the resolution which you passed in this connection in 1941. Secondly, the reduction of the public mass examinations and their replacement by internal examination based purely on the pupil's record of performance as judged by those who have known him well. Similarly your resolution against propaganda carried on for inflaming communal and racial discord and suggesting steps to remove it, is worthy of attention of all thinking man.

In my own part of the country the problem of education, at present engaging public attention, is more regional and linguistic universities of a teaching and residential character specialising in the fullest development of the language, history, literature and the agricultural and economical needs of the people of the region. The Bombay University has grown too bulky. A Government Committee, appointed nearly 20 years ago, advised decentralisation. The Bombay University at present caters to the people of four distinct areas, each growing increasingly conscious of its claim for the cultural, social, and economical needs of its people. As you perhaps are aware a committee is sitting to consider the development of such a teaching and residential university for Maharashtra. The problems before the committee are interesting, but I do not wish to tire you longer by giving their details. One important feature of university education, on which the public mind is insistent in Maharashtra, is the imparting of military education as a compulsory part of college studies, for we hold that it is the natural right of the youth of the country to prepare itself for its defence and that Indian university contain splendid material for building up an effective defence of the country. It is unfortunate that the Government have not taken advantage of this unlimited storehouse of energy and patriotism, owing to the lack of confidence and goodwill. But we hope that the university, which is proposed to be established for Maharashtra, will rectify this defect.

The Indian Science Congress

29th Session—Baroda—1st. January 1942

Presidential Address

The 29th Session of the Indian Science Congress was held at Baroda on the 1st January 1942, under the presidency of Mr. D. N. Wadia, who in the course of his address said:—

"An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations, but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

Mr. D. N. Wadia, at the outset, felicitated Sir P. C. Ray, the 'doyen of Indian scientists,' on his 30th birthday and referred to the loss Indian science had suffered by the death of Sir Shah Mohamed Sulaiman, Judge of the Federal Court.

Mr. Wadia added: "To-day, after a century of science, during which it has explored vast vistas of Nature supervened Time and Space, conquered many plagues and diseases, probed truths about God's creation and is near making an approach to absolute Truth, science is facing the charge of helping with its inventions and discoveries man's lower instincts and lust for power, possession and aggrandisement."

But for the aid of science, it is thought his animal instincts and desires would have been infinitely less and the tempo of resulting suffering and destruction greatly reduced. But science repudiates the indictment. The ulterior end of science is search for truths of Nature and of the universe, and Truth always builds and integrates. The wreckage made possible by the abuse of science is an evanescent phase in the history of nations, and is to be compared to the havoc by earthquakes and tornadoes. Science will, without doubt, rebuild the damaged world on better foundations and reintegrate the stricken people to a new and more secure life and the tempo of the resulting reconstruction will be no less striking.

"The precision tools, the alloys, the specialised steels perfected by scientific research, can be used equally well in the making of surgical instruments, in improved ploughshares, in drills for cutting the hardest rock as well as in the making of a super-edge sword, a Messerschmitt engine, or in the internal mechanism of a death-dealing bomb. To check this perversion of science, it is time the hierarchy of pure science asserted its patent right on the common pool of strategic science and, backed by its 1½ centuries of resolute strivings for the betterment of mankind, claim a determining share in the governments of the world. An international directorate of scientists, containing a due proportion of economists, engineers and industrialists, will, by adopting the technique and temper of science, govern the countries of the world better than the chancellors, diplomats and politicians who for the past 5,000 years have failed to bring harmony in human relations but have signally succeeded in making history one record of recurrent wars."

The progress of science in India, the speaker added, was reflected in the growth of the Indian Science Congress during the last 28 years. A very welcome development of recent years was the addition of sections of Entomology, Physiology and Engineering, in each of which fruitful work had already been done, and in which the scope for productive research was still immense. The recent establishment of the Sub-Committee on Science and Social Relations by the Congress was a timely move for reviewing the progress of science in the country and appraising the extent to which it had promoted, or was capable of promoting the real welfare of the populace. In a country whose social structure was based on traditional religion and custom it was inevitable that there should be some time-lag between the march of science and its ultimate effect on the popular welfare. This was the gap between the static India that is passing, and the dynamic India that was visualised by the scientists. The Committee's report was awaited with interest.

"Although it can scarcely be said that science has begun to occupy a considerable place in the general life of the masses of the educated middle classes," the speaker said. "one welcomes the attempts of some voluntary organisations, municipal and civic bodies through the publicity of the radio and the press to bring the benefits of elementary science home to people at large. The infiltration of everyday science thus to the 600,000 villages, which harbour 78 per cent of our population, is sure to bring results in improved agriculture and husbandry, health and housing, sanitation and nutrition." Here he paid a tribute to the "evangelistic work" of the two journals, *Current Science* and *Science and Culture* to accelerate the advancement of higher science in India. Stating that the disproportion between the task looming ahead and the work accomplished was vast and the outstanding basic needs of national economy, such as literacy, sanitation, nutrition and improved standards of living were reminders of our yet unliquidated liabilities, he said that workers in the cause of pure and applied sciences would have to multiply a hundredfold and their efforts redoubled in order to eliminate these big debit factors from the national balance sheet. Mr. Wadia, continuing, said: "A serious handicap to industrial progress in India has been the lack of planned liaison between industry and science. In the Board of Science and Industrial Research, inaugurated last year under the directorship of Sir S. S. Bhatnager, we see the promise of a new era of the planned aid to India's industry. Already the activities of the Board, through its fifteen committees, cover a wide field of research calculated to assist a variety of new manufactures. Although the services of the Board are channelised today to further India's war production through *ad hoc* research with the return of peace and the withdrawal of the stimulus of war premia and priorities, there will be a greater demand on these services for domestic aid to the nascent industries it has itself sponsored, as well as to those launched by private enterprise in recent years, particularly the heavy-chemicals, engineering and metallurgical industries. The country will then need a central agency for integrating the scientific effort of the different units to-day functioning under handicaps, financial and others and improving the defective industrial machinery of

the country at present working with many emergency joints, if there is to be no setback to the hardwon industrial progress of pre-war years. This need is now, where greater than in the mineral industries, where for the last three or four decades the raw produce of the mines, the ores and industrially vital minerals have been allowed to leave the country in ever increasing tonnages, at ridiculously low prices, simply because of lack of technical guidance in the processing of minerals or their part manufacture before exports.

Welcoming the commencement of the functioning of the Eastern Group Supply Conference at Delhi during the year, Mr. Wadia said: "When the crisis of war is over, the contacts established by this Conference should make for greater collaboration and interdependence of these nations in place of the ignoble jealousies and racial barriers that have marred international relations, so far."

Mr. Wadia then gave details of his geological investigations in the last three years in Ceylon and the light they throw on the structure of India.

"The shape or figure of India, as we see it to-day," he concluded, "is determined essentially by the destructive processes of Nature. The sea, rain, rivers and other atmospheric agencies of change, by their ceaseless action have cut deep into the profile of India and have removed thousands of feet of matter from off the surface, producing the existing sculpture of the land. The 6,000 to 15,000 feet thick beds of clay, sand and silt, laid down in the Indo-Gangetic plains, are all derived from the decay of the Himalayas. They are only a small measure of the waste of these mountains. The dissection of the originally two miles high volcanic plateau of Malwa-Deccan to the depth of over a mile into the picturesque alternation of plains, valleys and hills is another visual demonstration of the power of surface natural agencies in shaping the surface features of the continents, while constantly lowering their level to the mean sea-level. These base-levelling processes have in the past, repeatedly peneplained vast tracts of India, but the geological cycle was not allowed to be completed by the supervening earth movements which restored topographic youth. Rajputana and Madras have thus been levelled and peneplained and rejuvenated by timely earth-movements reversing the geological cycle time and again."

The Historical Records Comm. Conference

18th Session—Mysore—21st January 1942

Mr. John Sargent's Speech

The eighteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission Conference was held at Mysore on the 21st January 1942 under the presidency of Mr. John Sargent who in the course of his speech stated that it was most pleasant and appropriate that a learned society like theirs whose primary concern was with man as a social unit, should be able to meet in a place where the glories of the past, the achievements of the present and the hopes of the future were so happily united. Much history had been made and unmade in this part of India. "I like, however, to think," he added, "that the aspect of local history to which the future historians and researchers will pay the greatest attention will not be 'old unhappy far off things and battles long ago' but that record of persistent, enlightened and constructive efforts for bettering the living conditions of ordinary men and women which made the reign of Your Highness's predecessor so illustrious, and will, we have every reason to believe, be no less characteristic of your own."

Mr. Sargent said that he regretted that ill-health had prevented the President of the Commission, the hon. Mr. N. R. Sarker, from being present. Even in the short time, which had elapsed since he took up his office as Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Mr. Sarker had shown keen interest in the work of the Commission particularly in the reconstitution which had recently taken place.

Referring to the main objects that had led to the reconstitution of the Commission by the Government of India, Mr. Sargent stated that the changes were the outcome not of any feeling of dissatisfaction with the achievements of the old Commission, but they arose from the fact that a stage had been reached when it was essential to consolidate the work which had been accomplished and to prepare the ground for

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a future advance. The first need in this connection was to ensure continuity of policy. During his short tenure of office, their President had been successful in securing funds which would do something towards enabling the keeper of the record to make available to students, the great historical riches which had been committed to his charge. An agreed policy of co-operation was essential in this respect and was hoped that the Commission in its new form would be able to ensure that Mr. Sargent pointed out that great historical treasures lay hidden in the archives of private institutions, families and individuals. Access to those treasures could only be had by tact and persuasion and it was to be hoped that the work would be undertaken by the local bodies which it would be one of the main functions of the re-constituted Commission to establish.

Mr. Sargent then requested His Highness to address the Conference.

Mysore Ruler's Opening Address

His Highness the Maharaja welcomed to Mysore the distinguished assembly and added: "A French historian of the year 1800, declared that the plains of Mysore were the most beautiful habitation that nature could offer to men on the face of the earth. They are rich in precious metals also, and in consequence in history at historical lore. But I am afraid you will also find that much of the historical wealth like the gold, has passed out of the country. I understand that the period of history in which you interest yourselves reaches from the Battle of Pannipat, 1526, to 1881. In Mysore history, we might put it from the establishment of the capital of the present dynasty in the City of Mysore in the early part of the 16th century, to the Rendition of the State to my grandfather by the British Government in 1881. The period divides itself into four minor periods: from 1526 to 1761, when Hyder Ali assumed the practical control of the country; from 1761 to 1799, the end of the Fourth Mysore War; from 1799 to 1831, which was the commencement of the British Commission; and from 1831 to 1881, the date of the Rendition."

"For the first of these periods," His Highness continued, "we have many documents in the wider sense—in stones and monuments, mutts and temples. But we have comparatively little in the way of documents in our archives. It is recorded that there were once many chronicles collected by my ancestors, but they disappeared in the troubled period of our history. There is some matter still to be explored in the collections in the Oriental Library, and there are a few documents in the Secretarial records. There are also, I believe, a great number to be found in the possession of the mutts and temples and in the archives of our leading families."

"For the second period, from 1761 to 1799, the great bulk of the records has been removed. There are large quantities of them in the India Office, others in the Government of India Records, others again in those of the Government of Fort George and in the Mackenzie Collection. Others are to be found in many parts of the world—in France, in the Dutch East Indies, in Goa and in Hyderabad. Other again were burnt when the Saraswathi Bhandar was destroyed in the great Palakur Fire of 1897. We have a certain number left, including some original letters of the great Duke of Wellington, and the Residency have some more, of which they have been good enough to lend a collection for your exhibition. The records of the third and fourth periods are also distributed, but a considerable number of those for the period of the British Commission have been transferred to our records where they are under examination and we have a good deal of matter of our own."

His Highness then referred to the work that had been done all this material from the Epigraphia Carnatica, relating to a period before 1526 to a volume of letters and despatches of the Duke of Wellington from 1799 to 1805, another of select letters of Tipu Sultan, a copy of Wilks's report on the internal conditions of Mysore as of 1801-02, etc. There had been published a large number of histories of Mysore, many of which contained copies of extracts of important historical documents. The most important of those was Colonel Wilks's history, which had recently been reprinted with annotations by Sir Murray Hammick and published by the Mysore Government. "In spite of all this formidable array," His Highness added, "I felt that I am speaking for my Government when I say that we fully recognize that there is a vast amount to be done in the discovery, preservation, translation and publication of valuable records that were to be found in the headquarters offices, in the district offices, in mutts and temples, in places of business and in private houses."

"There is now, I understand, a project afoot for the development of a historical museum of Mysore," continued His Highness. "If money and time were unlimited, I should like to see added to this a records office, specially designed

the purpose in accordance with the latest scientific arrangements, in which there should be preserved all the public records of your period, just as the older records are preserved in the Oriental Library. I would even go further and add to it something in the nature of a safe custody deposit, in which mutts and temples and private individuals could deposit their ancient records and have them preserved in accordance with the latest methods." "But these," added His Highness in conclusion, "are dreams for the piping times of peace. For the moment we want all our men and all our money in order to devote every effort of which we are capable to the conquest of the enemies of freedom and the right. When we have achieved that end, we can turn our attention to the extermination of the enemies of the raw material of history."

The Convocation Addresses The Calcutta University Convocation

Sir Azizul Haque's Address

In the course of the address at the annual Convocation of the Calcutta University held on the 28th February 1942, *Sir Mohammad Azizul Haque*, the Vice-Chancellor, said :—

The world to-day is in the throes of great agonies and many sufferings. Clouds have gathered up not merely on our horizon, but almost all round ourselves, and no one can say how things are going to shape in the future. But whatever that may be, I have no doubt in my mind that India shall be stronger than ever, even though we may pass through a trail of sufferings, privations and misfortunes. With deep faith in Providence, Who has kept this country alive through many centuries, we shall emerge victorious from the perils of to-day. The Almighty will make her stronger than before—it is in that abiding faith and conviction that I feel that the time has come when we must critically examine ourselves, our educational system and our entire life. We have now felt and realised as to what it means if our trade routes are cut off and if our essential services are dislocated. And to-day we have to appreciate not merely the events outside India, but even inside this country or its neighbourhood. It is always in an emergency that we have to do severe thinking on our part as to what we should do to be prepared for the future. We are producers of a very large amount of raw materials and it is time that we must think of developing those raw materials for industrial and commercial utilization within the province. The district of Rangpur and its neighbourhood grow many acres of mannds of raw tobacco leaves and the largest bulk goes to Burma where it is made into cigars. If Burma cannot import these raw leaves we have to find out as to what we can do to develop the industry within our province so that our cultivators who grow tobacco may not have to starve. We had to import a large volume of commodities of all kinds from abroad which we can not get to-day. We had to import a huge volume of finished products from Japan and in fact the Japanese trade enveloped a very large bulk of our imports.

If we do not get all our food requirements that we had to get from outside this province or from abroad, if our agricultural products or other raw materials cannot go out, if there is shortage of the commodities that we need for all our economic needs, we have to think if we can develop our own resources to meet our own needs. We have to build up the future of India and of this great province in view of our experience not only here but what is happening elsewhere in the world; we have indeed to rebuild this country of ours almost in a new shape of things to come. I have referred to all these that we may all put our heads together to consider as to whether our educational system requires any change to get an equilibrium between our training and our essential economic needs. If we are to develop our resources to meet our fullest needs, we have to answer the question as to whether we should not readjust our educational system so that, in view of what I have stated above, the innate capacity and tendencies of our youth with all the hereditary talents in arts, crafts and vocations may get full scope in life.

Great things have been achieved in the past under the present system but greater things have to be done in the future. We have to answer the question as to the part we do, can and ought to play in the economic life of the province and where we do, and ought to share in the industry and trade of the country. Is there any integral connection between our system of education and the larger needs of the country? Where do we stand to-day and what shall we do to equip and fit ourselves for the future? An answer to these questions can ultimately be given by the province and the country as a whole, even though the responsibilities to give new shape of things will to a considerable extent depend on the University and the University organization. I can assure you on behalf of the University that whatever may be your ultimate decision, we shall not fail to act according to your decision and choice. We can even now do a great deal. Our research workers are always anxious to stand behind you and I know our University men and their past achievements and their ability. But we and they suffer from lack of funds. We have no funds to equip a laboratory to meet the contingent needs of to-day. I am grateful to those industrialists and commercial men and the Government who have given us a few thousands of rupees to carry on certain researches, but it is not even a drop in terms of what we can do in full expansion if we only consider the vast requirements of to-day. I only ask as to whether the time has not come when the authorities who have the power to shape things should not take immediate steps to prepare a scheme and to find out finances that may be required to carry on industrial and technical researches with a view to develop the resources of the province and also to determine as to what extent our educational system should undergo modification to equip the young men of the future for such work.

We Can Defend Our Country

Ladies and gentlemen, we are now in the midst of a war; it is almost near our doors, but let us have faith in ourselves that we can defend our country. Behind ships, planes, guns and fortifications; a country needs several lines of defences which we can only ourselves work up. To-day let every one of us stand for the other. Let us work with all that we have got and utilise every little bit to our best benefit and advantage. Let us face facts. Let us rise above our mere self-concerns and let every man and woman work not just for himself or herself but for the whole country wherever he or she may be or whatever his or her job may be. Let us have faith in ourselves. With land, naval or other fortifications, let us also have the will-power to defend our country. In its absence the Chinese Wall is stormed and the Maginot line gets broken, the fortifications vanish and along with it the nation collapses. Above all let there be a unity in this country of ours. Let us stand united; with war at our door, let there be no war inside and it is only then that the storm clouds that are darkening the horizon will vanish. Let every one of us honestly admit one's own fault and not always find fault with others. If there is more of loyalty to our country, with loss of personal, racial or party advantages we shall be a stronger country. Either we sacrifice our personal selfishness for our country or we sacrifice the country for our personal selfishness.

Our Country is Worth Defending

And this country of ours is worth defending and fighting for. Here in India we have everything in our midst that goes to make up a strong, united and powerful country. Words have their limitations; expressions fail me; it requires the imagination and the inspiration of a poet to describe the majesty of the snow-capped peaks of the Himalayan ranges guarding our frontiers and the eternal beauty of the deep blue oceans which wash our shores. In our magnificent rivers flowing past historic cities, in the gloriously green forests scattered all over the country, in the enormous and probably inexhaustible stores of our mineral resources, in the proverbial fertility of our soil which has attracted the wondering eyes of the world, with our vast paddy and corn fields and, above all, in our enormous man-power, we have ample materials for the fullest economic and political development of this land.

This country of great culture and a noble heritage should not be lost to us on the counter of personal jealousies or on the chessboard of political manoeuvrings. Countless thousands of men of many creeds and faith have toiled for centuries to make this country and its culture what they are to-day; our inheritance is a heritage of great sacrifice, of great faith, of great prowess, of great courage, of great conviction and of supreme faith in the Providence. Let us also have that faith in the Providence who is the only source of ultimate power and strength to ourselves and then toil in the furrow to make all efforts to defend our country and let us arrange its defence in all fronts.

The Crisis And Our Duties

Ladies and gentlemen, the world to-day is passing through a crisis unparalleled in the annals of human history. The shadow of the international conflagration threatens to overwhelm our motherland. I do not wish to enter here into the politics of the present war, but I declare most emphatically and with the fullest sense of responsibility that it is foremost duty of every one of us irrespective of party or religious allegiance to fight to the last for the preservation of our motherland. I do not know about military defence but it is my firm conviction that we shall be untrue to our culture, to our motherland and to those gallant sons of India who have cheerfully laid down their lives in the defence of India if we do not make it our primary concern to do everything possible to keep the enemy out. Let us for the time being sink our internal differences—let us once for all realise that at a time when the nation is faced with a national crisis, dissunity is fatal. Let us not repeat the tragic mistakes of the past. Let us build up in Bengal the most powerful Maginot Line of our unshakable determination not to yield an inch of our country to the ruthless enemy. I have no doubt that against this line of defence—the panzer divisions of the enemy and the fifth columnists will hurl themselves in vain. Our country to-day is in grave peril. Our culture, our civilisation, everything that is sacred to us will be completely obliterated if we fail at this critical moment in our history. Let us today stand united in the defence of our motherland—let us today take a vow that in the interests of the nation we shall cheerfully sacrifice every comfort. Let us leave the enemy in no doubt of our iron will to fight for our motherland. We are to-day passing through a period of agony, but out of this agony will emerge a New India of which every one would be proud.

New India

And in that picture of New India, I see you; the graduates of this University, occupying the most pre-eminent position—leaders of men, moulders of thought, pioneers of industry and organisers of prosperous peasantry, and, above all, builders of peace, amity and concord. Graduates of the University, to-day I raise that vision and that ideal before you and I wish you God-speed in your march of life.

Ladies and gentlemen, within almost a few days I shall have to relinquish charge of this great office as the Vice-Chancellor of this great University to take up my duties elsewhere. I have to leave my motherland with deep sorrow that I have to be away and far away from my friends, brethren and countrymen. For the last four years I have worked with you in this post to the best of my ability and on this occasion of farewell I look to you in all humility for your best wishes and for your blessings.

The Gurukul University Convocation

Sir Radhakrishnan's Address

In the course of his Convocation Address delivered to the Gurukul University, on the 5th April 1942, *Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan* said that he was impressed by the ceremonies which he witnessed. They indicated the uninterrupted continuity of the Indian culture over a large territory and long stretch of time. That distinguished the different systems of education was not the content of the programmes which was usual, but the spirit or form. And the spirit or form were closely related to the nature of society. The schools and colleges endowed their students with beliefs and ideals which society cherished. Later, militarism and patriotism had been the greatest ideals. Their educational institutions turned out young savages with splendid physique and ruthless energy, delighting in the thoughts of war and conquest of territories. In India, however, a different ideal prevailed as in institutions such as this, the Gurukul University, and persisted till today.

After commenting on the Hindu ideal of *Brahmacharya* he pointed out that the present conflict was between two ways of life or philosophies. His implication entered every side of our life and activity. What was progress was not a military contest and there was no security that the military victory would not throw them back into the same blindness, cowardice and folly which had brought about this war. If the tragic defects of their ways of life were to be redeemed the ideal of truth and love must have functioning realities.

He exhorted the graduates to conform to great ideals of India which would save them even when catastrophies occurred, tyrannies were set up or dynasties were overthrown. A united and free India would be of the greatest benefit to the world at large.

Referring to Sir Stafford Cripps' proposal Sir Sarvapali Radhakrishnan said: "The weakest part of Cripps' proposals, which were very satisfactory in other directions, was in the encouragement which they implicitly gave to the dismemberment of India. It will be practical undoing of the greatest trust imposed on Britain, namely, develop an independent, strong and united India. The work of great British statesmen and administrators for over 150 years will be destroyed, if any such disintegration is encouraged."

The Delhi University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

"To-day the waves of war are furiously lapping on our shores and may, at any hour, flood into our very hearth and home. It would mean untold misery and sufferings for millions of peaceful citizens. Yet even as the war churns up its tales of destruction, cruelty and horror, it would at the same time afford our youth—in the course of a remorseless struggle against the cruel aggressor—just those opportunities to prove the strength of its moral fibre—of courage, discipline, organization and all that go to make the fullness of character."—Thus observed Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Education Member, Government of India and Pro-Chancellor, Delhi University, at the 20th. Convocation of the University, held at Delhi on the 18th April 1942.

"As in the Western countries during the last war," Mr. Sarkar added, "the younger generation of our country—in the role of the soldier in the trenches, the elusive guerrilla fighter and the anonymous hero—will escape from the colourless tenor of an artificial existence and face nature and raw life with a new dignity of hardships and sufferings. It will be their privilege to render a unique service to afflicted society in obstructing the enemy, in preserving the morale of the public and in bringing help and succour to the distressed. The very intensity of such an experience cannot fail to affect profoundly the mental outlook of an entire youthful generation."

Mr. Sarkar said: "India is predominantly an agricultural country, about 80 per cent of the population being dependent on agriculture. This is significant weakness in the economic structure of the country and the ideal which now guides India is the establishment of a more balanced economy resulting in the expansion of her industries to an extent that will help to reduce the proportion to a level of 50 per cent by transfer of the excess to non-agricultural pursuits. A careful reflection on our peculiar problem and needs would show that for the large majority secondary education should in itself be complete after which they would either start specializing in various technical lines or to pass on to some kind of employment needed by them."

Discarding False Ideas

"Now that you are at the portals of a hard and intensely competitive world, I would like you to realise the great complexities of modern life. In days gone by there was almost a certainty that the average university student could, on the completion of his college career, step into some definite job which did not leave him in want of the material necessities of life. But the situation to-day has become ever so much more difficult and complex. There is, therefore, greater need now to equip yourselves more thoroughly for the respective vocations of life you elect to pursue. You must shed false ideas and expectations. Social and economic conditions are in such a flux under the influence of the growing political consciousness of the common mass of people, that we would do well to anticipate in the future a considerable narrowing down of disparities in respect of opportunities and incomes than is the situation even to-day."

"The hectic craze for climbing the golden ladder each for himself, no matter what happens to others, is no longer the ideal that inspires American youth. They now place emphasis on sufficiency of life rather than on a plethora of riches. The

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young people in America now think in terms of good health, good working conditions that are based on the wider sense of social well-being in which methods for individual advancement do not conflict with those of the advancement of the community as a whole. This is a spirit which the young men of India will do well to emulate."

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S. N. D. T. UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

University's Progress

Sir Maurice Gwyer, Vice-Chancellor of the University, addressing the convocation, gave a detailed history of the progress which has been made in the academic side and the preliminary steps taken to establish the three-year degree course which, in his opinion, was going to be a blessing to the university itself and to those whom it sought to educate. He gave an account of the progress of the construction of the university buildings, and acknowledged the gifts from numerous donors who had helped the university.

Sir Maurice Gwyer said that every rupee which the university had received had been well spent, and the plans for the development of the university were no longer paper-plans only but were being steadily translated into reality. The Government have provided funds which would enable things to be done which he had been afraid would have to wait till after the war. He made an earnest appeal to the citizens of Delhi to come forward with help which was very badly needed to complete all the schemes.

S. N. D. T. University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

To-day totalitarian war, in its mighty sweep, is rushing towards our frontiers, and may, at any hour, completely envelop our crisis, if and when the call should come, I have no doubt in my mind that our womenfolk, too, will stand in comradeship with our manhood in consecrated acts of courageous and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of our Motherland."

These remarks were made by the Hon. Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Member, Education, Health and Lauds, Government of India, in his address at the twenty-sixth convocation of the S. N. D. T. University, Bombay, held on the 3rd. July 1942. The higher education of our girls as much as of our boys presents the depressing picture of an aimless drift, except perhaps for a microscopic minority. Against this background we are becoming more and more conscious that the ideals of the system of female education in our country, stand in need of being defined and viewed in the context of the economic and social realities of our national life. Old institutions, like the joint family system, which kept questions relating to the economic status of women very much in the background, are disintegrating and now ones are arising. And inevitably along with these rapid changes in our society, we are being confronted with the task of giving close and careful thought to the question of women's status, the role they will have to play in the changing order of society and the training that should be imparted to them for the purpose.

Separate Universities For Women

To-day, co-educational colleges are often nothing but boys' colleges where a sprinkling of women are admitted, while their special needs are ignored. It is true that there are colleges meant exclusively for girls, but even then because they are mere reproductions of the boys' colleges, these colleges as well do not minister to the special needs of women. Viewed in this light, all, I think, will concede that separate Universities for women, if built up along right lines, will answer to some definite needs and perform a useful function in society. Formal education, however, I feel, can never be a satisfying substitute for home training and we shall not get the ideal system of girls' education, until the home is fully and frankly rehabilitated as an educational factor. At the same time, in our zeal for practical education, we may lose sight of the value of a liberal culture. A liberal education, in Aristotle's view, is liberal in proportion to its divorce from practical affairs. If in consonance with the conventional type, we limit her education to a predominantly practical curriculum, we not

only subordinate the full and free development of her personality, but also make her incapable of building a home in which her child will find "a University of true culture."

Presiding Spirit Of Home

For a housewife is not merely a domestic technician whose task is solely to cook, darn, sew and, in general, to look after her children and her husband. She is the presiding spirit of the home and the cultural level of the home is measured precisely by her own. A woman totally submerged in the petty details of domesticity is not an ideal home-maker.

I sincerely hope the Indian Women's University will be able to offer a true synthesis of liberal and cultural education, on the one hand, with the training in practical subjects to fit women for their primal vocation of home-making, on the other. It is this synthesis which, I strongly feel, should constitute the ideal higher education of women in India, as otherwise it may lead to serious complications in our social structure of which signs are already in evidence.

Assertive Feminism

Unless we are able to achieve the right synthesis, I am afraid we may also witness in this country a repetition of what has taken place in Western countries—an extremely assertive feminism leading women to try in every way to fit themselves for man's world and man's work, competition by women for men's jobs, with consequent increase in male unemployment, decrease in the number of marriages, disruption in family life and the many evils that come in its train.

Experience during the last few decades is leading people once more to lay the emphasis on the home as the focal centre of woman's activities. But I must not be misunderstood to imply that woman has or can have no sphere of work outside the home. The world is becoming much too tough and complex for us all and in exceptional times like the present specially, woman must work and exercise her influence for the benefit of the community in various directions. It is in fact most remarkable how women in countries with most diverse social and political backgrounds, have unhesitatingly accepted the hardships of a strenuous life of struggle during periods of national emergency such as war.

War, in fact, always quickens the pace of social changes. The last war, for example, hastened the advent of women's franchise and led to improvement in the status of women in Society.

Vital Role Of Women In War

Even this war is providing us with glorious instances of the rich and varied contribution that women can make and are making to the life of the State, even though in times of peace they accept the home as their most important sphere of work. To-day in Russia, the women, emancipated by the last Revolution, are playing the most diverse, arduous and courageous role in the defence of their Motherland. Even in conservative China, the stresses of the war have brought about a most remarkable change in the status and role of women. In a short period, they have passed from the impotency of bound feet to the strenuous dignity of a life of bitter struggle against a ruthless foe. They have been fighting in comradeship with their menfolk.

I am inclined to think that the troubles of our generation, in a large measure, are due to the exclusion of the feminine personality in the direct shaping of our social affairs. Without women in public affairs men have made a world in which physical science is over-developed in comparison to the science of human and social relations; in which brain-power has precedence over heart-power; in which brute-force is admired more than humane and sympathetic control; in which, in short, the male personality predominates over the female personality. As a result what a frightful mess we are in to-day! Clearly it is high time that some new influence were introduced to assuage the sufferings of a ravaged humanity—not, however, the boudoir influence of woman, but the impact of her emotional and intellectual integrity on a grievously distracted world. Woman bears life in pain and her strongest instincts are towards preservation and concord. The plight in which humanity finds itself is, I believe, a direct consequence of a lack of balance between the male and the female instincts in social organisation. With woman mostly out of it, society has been not a duet, but a solo—and a disastrous one at that.

In India, we realised long ago the dual principle of the masculine-feminine

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THE AGRA UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION

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personality—"Ardhansrihvara" and what the Western civilisation has called the "weaker sex," we in India have apostrophised as "Shakti"—Power. You who are to-day passing out of this University, are the flower of our enlightened womanhood. I would remind you again that if your power and prestige are great, so are your responsibilities. I can pray for no greater blessings than this that you may hold high the ideals of womanhood and may shape and mould the present generation and the generations yet unborn, so that society may be informed with the aesthetic, intellectual and spiritual values and the abiding spirit of Beauty and Goodness which indeed are the epithets of perfect Womanhood.

The Agra University Convocation

Mr. N. R. Sarkar's Address

The war enhances the importance of our problems and increases the urgency of studying them without delay. We need not only to maintain the outlay in attention and money on our educational system, but also to maintain a constant and penetrating study of our education problems, a study which will, at suitable stages, issue in sound and concise proposals for the reconstruction of our educational system," observed Mr. N. R. Sarkar, Commerce Member, delivering the Convocation Address of the Agra University held at Agra on the 14th. November 1942.

Mr. Sarkar said young men to-day were confronted with a situation infinitely more complicated and difficult than that which his generation had to face in its time. He doubted whether the Government or the public in this country had given that constructive attention to the problems of youth which they deserved. Mass education had never appealed to the Government as a practical proposition. The autonomy of universities and other educational institutions availed them little in the solution of our educational problems, not only because such autonomy was never large or real, but also because they did not derive sustenance either from a wise national government at the top or from a population which was being helped by widespread primary and secondary education to discover its racial genius and aptitudes. Higher education in India; therefore, always hung suspended in mid-air, and "despite the impressive number of Committees and Commissions appointed by Government for enquiry into the subject and the large annual output of educated men and women, we do not seem to have moved far beyond the stage of either skimming the surface or skirting the fringe of the problem. Even to-day when the paramountcy of educational purposes is more widely recognised, inroads into it on the plea of exigencies of war are far from being rare."

Dealing with the position of education in war-time, Mr. Sarkar deprecated the tendency to cast covetous eyes on educational buildings and stuffs for war purposes. He referred to the services which had been rendered by technical schools and colleges in this country in connection with the scheme for training skilled and semi-skilled men for munition work. The universities, colleges and various scientific institutions had afforded invaluable help, both in men and material, for research. It was only in this way that education could legitimately help the war effort. "But I am more than doubtful," he said, "if the numerous officials and authorities who have the power to take over educational buildings or conscript men for war work have adequate appreciation of the limits within which alone legitimate demands can be made on education for aid to the war effort. If they have not, the evil must be traced to its deep roots in the traditional apathy of the Government towards education."

Indian Problems And The Solution

"There are special reasons why it is particularly important that India should look to her educational system while there is time," said Mr. Sarkar. "It is reasonable to assume that the time is rapidly approaching when India will be called upon to manage her own affairs and that a number of the young men and women now in colleges and schools will be called upon, and consequently ought to be prepared to take their part in this management. We have our masses without even the most elementary form of literacy; we have large numbers of men to whom literacy is much like cast-off clothing; a system of secondary education, which is neither

sufficient for those who enter life thereafter, nor a sound preparation for the university, an increasing number of colleges and universities which soothe communal susceptibilities more or satisfy local pride more than our educational wants. In the background, there is the wellnigh insoluble problem of bringing into proper relation the training and teaching of youth in school and college on the one hand, and the economic conditions into which youth has to live its life. The solution, doubtless, lies in a happy blend of two or three alternative courses of action. One is that of adapting education to the possible demands for particular kinds of ability, a second is making the training in itself a factor for change, in other words, creating those kinds of ability which do not wait for markets, but create them. The third is not wholly within the sphere of the educationist. For it is dependent on the formulation of a complete scheme of economic planning, which will state precisely its requirements of particular kinds of ability. To unify the educational drive of the post-war period, to ensure proper devotion to the national aim of educational uplift of the masses, to avoid needless duplication of educational amenities and to ensure their proper diversity a central authority, more federal, if you like, than unitary, will be found to be necessary. It is not too early to take a move in that direction."

India In Post-War World

Warning the young men against falling victims to catch-phrases and slogans, Mr. Sarkar said. "I want you to have a virile and active mind, a mind that is equipped against the fallacies of the market place, animated by the will to believe and act, but open always to the breath of reason and the light of truth, ready to take pains that the scales of judgment should be always even and fair. You must place the requirements of our ultimate aims against the apparently urgent promptings of the present. Not the least of the difficulties in securing healthy political life is the fact that by the time political policies get a hold on the public mind and gain popularity, conditions become different from those in which the policies were originally conceived. It is your duty to reflect on whether such is not the case with the policies of some of the great political parties in India, whether the war and the way it has developed and spread do not detract considerably from the wisdom of these policies, whether the post-war world as we can see it now, however dimly, is not a different world from that in which Indian Swaraj, as it has all along been thought out, would have to function. If we are rudely awakened to the fact that free India will have to live in a far more dangerous world than we ever imagined, that it is not the lone wolf of British domination that the Indian lamb has to fear, but packs of wolves, hungry and growling, not too far from our doors. I submit there are then new aspects of our national problem which you cannot escape by plunging into over-simplified programmes of direct action. The claims of patient building of the good are not to be brushed aside in favour of passionate destruction of evil."

The Madras University Convocation

Sir C. V. Raman's Address

"The true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks, not in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of its men, women and children. If you ask me what is the greatest industry—the key industry—of a nation, I have no hesitation in saying that it is the production and diffusion of knowledge," said *Sir C. V. Raman* delivering the address at the Convocation of the Madras University held at Madras on the 27th November 1942.

Sir C. V. Raman urged Indian students to devote themselves to higher studies in Indian universities instead of going abroad and said that the money annually spent abroad, if devoted to promotion of university activities in this country, would result in great and permanent benefit to India.

Referring to research activities of the Madras University, Sir C. V. Raman, congratulating it on the work done so far, pleaded for a due recognition of the importance of basic sciences as a necessary part of studies in Technology and Applied Science. His Excellency the Chancellor, *Sir Arthur Hope* presided over the Convocation.

Sir C. V. Raman, addressing the Convocation, said that it was no small honour to be called upon to address a gathering of this kind and especially so to one who, in

that very hall, 38 years ago, had the privilege to be presented as a candidate. Since then many changes had taken place. Some of them were regrettable and one of them, for example, was the obvious disappearance of the turban as the head-dress of the graduate. (Laughter). It was regrettable, because, as had often been mentioned to him while travelling in Europe, where he was recognised as an Indian by his turban, there was no head-dress more beautiful and dignified than that of the South Indian. They might look at the Vice-Chancellor of the University to realise the truth of that statement. (Laughter). Another change which he noticed, though not regrettable, which made up for the lack of the picturesqueness of the turban, if he might be permitted to refer to it, were the beautiful coiffures of the increasing numbers of lady graduates. In his days, it was regarded as a rare phenomenon for a lady to aspire to a degree of the Madras University. At that time, they used to applaud the lady who was presented at a convocation but to-day nobody took notice of them unless when in competition with men, they knocked away the medals and prizes of the University. (Laughter).

Knowledge as key industry

"As one who has been assigned the duty of addressing the graduates to-day," Sir C. V. Raman said, "let me, in the first place congratulate you on this occasion in your life. I assure you this is a great occasion. It is a fashion nowadays to decry Indian Universities. We hear so much to-day about Capital and Labour, about Marxism and Capitalism and about basic industries and so on, and here I should like to make a confession of my own faith. I have been a teacher for 25 years and I say this advisedly that the true wealth of a nation consists not in the stored-up gold in its coffers and the banks or in the factories, but in the intellectual and physical strength of the men and women and children of the country. The greatest industry, the key industry, of a nation is the production and diffusion of the knowledge. You are the products of the greatest key industry of the country. There is no nobler work for a man or an institution than to bring up a young generation in health and strength and in the vigour of intellectual and physical activity.

"I have lived long enough in this world to know that the present generation of young men in this world do not stand in need of any advice, especially, when that advice is given free and gratuitously. But let me, as a farmer in the garden of youth, express a few thoughts which come uppermost in my mind. You can feel justifiably proud of being graduates of one of the three oldest universities in India. The Madras University can look back upon nearly a century of useful activity, and I hope before long, God willing, the University will celebrate its centenary. When that centenary comes, the university will look back with pride upon the long list of noble and distinguished names among its alumni. If the University can look back with pride upon its alumni I think you can look to your Alma Mater with the same pride. One thing which you must place before yourself is to raise and exalt in some way the name of your Alma Mater and do something that will make its name resound in the world. I do not ask you to be blind to its faults but you must try to help her rise higher and higher in the estimation of the whole world."

The Foreign Education Fad

Continuing Sir C. V. Raman said :

"I do not wish to be unjust, but I think there is in the mind of many Indians a feeling that Indian universities may be good enough or not quite so good as they ought to be. Before the war, as you know, a great many young Indians went abroad, to Great Britain, Germany, France, America and other parts of the world, to study in universities there. Behind all this, there was a kind of abstract feeling that we must send our young men to Oxford, Cambridge or Paris if we want to give them the best. Parents and young men shared that belief. I have been told that, at a rough estimate, something like a crore of rupees was spent annually by students from various parts of India studying in various universities abroad. What a pity ! I do not decry the idealism and the thirst for knowledge, so far as these were the motives underlying their going abroad, but one cannot help deploring the state of affairs which made such a thing necessary. If you study the budgets of our universities, you will realise, with the same feeling with which I regard this vast expenditure of money abroad, that even half that amount, Rs. 50 lakhs, would mean a vast addition to the resources in staff, laboratories, libraries and other equipment to our universities here. That being so, it is but right, I think, to ask if India is getting the value for the vast out-pouring of her money each year ! I say it with due deliberation and sense

of responsibility, that I hold all that money as literally wasted. I do not for a moment let me repeat, seek to decry the great universities of Great Britain and other countries. But what we are concerned with now is this. Do Indian students really benefit by going to that environment to the extent they think they do, and can they not do just as well and even better still by staying here if all the money were used here. To that question, there can be only one answer.

"A Vicious Circle"

"Believe me, graduates and Senators, I say with a due sense of responsibility, that no country in the world and no people should continue to believe that their own teachers, their own institutions, their own scientific Chairs and Academies are inferior to those of other countries. Can we ever hope to see anything achieved unless we shed this complex? If we want our institutions to be great and rise to eminence, we must lay aside such beliefs and refuse to accept the proposition that Calcutta, Madras or Allahabad is inferior to Oxford or Cambridge or any other university in the world (Loud cheers). I will go further as a teacher, pleading for understanding. I am prepared to quote any number of examples to show that Indians who have stayed here and worked at our universities and used the opportunities present here, have done infinitely better and shown more real originality than many of those who went abroad. I do not say that a few who did go abroad have not really benefited; but, I do maintain, that if they had stayed here, they would have benefited more, certainly not less. I feel strongly that it is up to you and every one interested in the future of Indian education to try and make our institutions—I include here the Universities and everything connected with the advancement of learning—the very best in the world. If we find the resources wanting, let us try to make up. Let us try to make the institutions the best—we should not be satisfied with anything less than the best. What will be the result? Instead of a great many of our young men going out of the country, they will remain here and strive to advance our reputation and that will make us strive for more good things.

"The moment we believe that the right thing to do is to send our young men abroad, we come to believe also that the right thing is to have men with foreign degrees as teachers, professors, and for other places. It is a vicious circle. I should therefore put it before my young friends that their aim must be to reach the highest in the field of scholarship and learning by remaining and studying in Indian Universities, and I am sure they can achieve their ambition."

Madras University's Record

Proceeding, Sir C. V. Raman said that time and again he had noticed with pride how the Madras University had not stood still. He wondered if there was an University in India or anywhere else in the world, which boast of such magnificent location and buildings. What was even more, the Madras University had tried its best to promote all branches of knowledge.—Tamil, Music, Bio-Chemistry. "I am common with others interested in learning in India" the speaker said, "I have watched with pride the achievements of the Madras University, of my colleagues in various departments here in raising and keeping aloft the flag of research and advancement of knowledge which is indeed the highest aim of a University. But should be failing in my duty, if I sounded this note of gratulation without, at the same time, discharging my duty as a son of my Mother by respectfully venturing to draw the attention of you, Sir, and the Senators of this University, to certain obvious lacunae which must strike any observer. I refer to this. In the development of research in this University, there has been a fundamental lack of balance if I may say so, and appreciation of the basic principles on which learning should be organised by a University. If I speak to-day on this point, it is because the Vice-Chancellor, I am glad, is a distinguished man of science; I am very happy about it, because I am sure that what I say will fall on fertile soil and that by the time the University celebrates its centenary, some of these deficiencies would have been rectified.

Importance of Basic Sciences

"One of these wants," Sir C. V. Raman said, "is the complete lack of research activity in some of the branches of Science. For instance, there are the great branches of Knowledge, Theoretical Physics, Chemical Physics, Physical Chemistry, Inorganic Chemistry and so on. These great branches of knowledge may be taught in colleges but can any one who knows anything about Science say that anything worthy of mention is being done anywhere in the Madras University in these subjects? I say that with great diffidence, but I know what is being done. I am not one of

those who would say that a University must do everything. But there are certain basic sciences and I know of no University in the world that claims to be a University engaged in research and scientific work which ignores those great and fundamental sciences. For, you cannot organise successfully the kind of atmosphere you want in a University if you ignore these branches of knowledge. I think it is the clear and plain duty of the Madras University and its *alumni* and all those—I hope these are many—who look forward to seeing a great and glorious future for it, to organise the highest kind of study and research in these branches. Then and then only can we hope to see the right kind of results coming out from all those activities in which the University is already engaged in. I am sure the true meaning and spirit of my appeal will be realised and no time would be lost in rectifying these obvious and fundamental defects in the organisation of studies in the Madras University. We see in other parts of India a Rash Behari Ghosh or a Jamshed Tata or a Tarak Nath Palit coming forward to give of his best for the promotion of learning. Has it not been truly said that he who gives for learning will be remembered long after kings and emperors are forgotten? There is no greater gift a man can make than a gift in the cause of learning. It is up to the graduates of the University, past and present, who have benefited by the teachings of the University in trying to develop these fundamental activities. I am not one of those who think that the University should concentrate on pure academic studies only, but I think you cannot really hope to see anything like real development of Applied Science or Technology, if the university ignores the organisation of studies in the basic sciences. As any one who really has gone into the matter knows the success of technology and practical education rests essentially on the existence in the University of a strong School of Basic Sciences. Technology trying to advance without Science is like a man trying to walk in darkness with eyes completely blindfolded. It is very necessary that if we in Madras wish to see our students and our men and women enjoy the fruits of the earth to the fullest extent, we cannot achieve that object by following the idea that technology could be encouraged without a study of the basic sciences."

Concluding, Sir C. V. Raman said: "I will ask you to make it the great aim of your life to further the fair name and reputation of your *alma mater*, to help its progress as well as the progress of your fellow-countrymen which is intimately bound up with the future of our centres of learning." (Applause.)

Benares Hindu University Convocation

Sir S. Radhakrishnan's Address

"We must wake up from the sleep of centuries and hold our heads high," said Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor, addressing the Convocation of the Benares Hindu University held at Benares on the 29th November 1942.

"India has a message for the whole world. Her treasures of spiritual wisdom are for the healing of nations. Many are struck with amazement that a nation so great, spiritually, morally, materially, once upon a time, has come down to its present low position. The recent past of our country is an age of decadence and shaken nerves. A nation that has produced such culture and such men for centuries has a right to Independence, to shape her own future in keeping with her past. If India wants freedom, it is for enabling her to teach the world lessons of moral perfection and love. It is impossible for those who have not experienced foreign rule to realise how deadening it is to the soul of the country. Freedom is something deep and elemental. Speeches like those of the Prime Minister about there being in the country a White Army, larger than at any time in the British connection and that he is therefore entitled to report to the House that the situation in India at this moment gives no occasion for undue despondence or alarm, are highly provocative. They burn into the Indian soul deep resentment and bitterness."

The Vice-Chancellor, continuing, observed that to preserve order was the primary duty of every Government, but it did not stop there. There was another obligation on the Government to base their rule on the consent and goodwill of the governed. It was the duty of a Government, not only to maintain law and order, but to create conditions which made for law and order.

"We need a programme", said Sir Radhakrishnan, "more positive than repression, which is not an aid to civil peace or war effort. The Secretary of State said, 'Indian nationalism, the desire to see India's destiny directed by Indian hands free from external control, is not confined to any one party in India. It is shared by all. To that aim we in this country have solemnly pledged ourselves before India and before the world. In the name of His Majesty's Government, I repeat that pledge to-day. But when the fulfilment of this pledge is put aside to some future date in the name of war, doubts arise.'"

"We are glad that the course of the war has changed for the better and we hope very much that it will end in 1943 with the victory of the Allies. But if we have to win it on the moral plane also, where we have the power, equality and freedom must be established. In fighting for our rightful place in the common-wealth of nations, we should not sacrifice our inner wealth of spirit, the inexhaustible richness of human sensibility. If we give up the traditional courtesy of this ancient race, if we fail in love and forgiveness, the soul of India will have departed from this stand. Nothing is lost if the spirit lives. This world plunged into darkness will wake up to the truth and come to its senses. Daylight shall yet return for time is boundless and the world is wide".

Purpose Of Education

Sir Sarvapalli said that education was not a mere intellectual enterprise. It was a training for human environment, by civilising our attitudes and refining our emotion. It was dedicated to social, moral, as well as intellectual ends. It initiated the pupil into the traditional pattern of living in the race. India was not to be the passive instrument of outsiders, wills and forces. We could borrow from others' experiences, but we cannot build on them. We must, therefore, preserve our individuality. To lose touch with tradition was to doom ourselves to mental ruin. If we were to play a worthy part in the world we must know our spirit and preserve it. India had passed through many valleys of humiliation, but she had not entered the valley of death. Her territory had been invaded but her soul was unaffected. India had been tested by many trials, strengthened by many struggles, and made enduring by many sufferings and long patience. A spiritual inspiration had been the secret of her long life, of her immortality.

Giving a word of advice to the students Sir Sarvapalli said, "The art of living is insisted on. The pupil must not do anything which is questionable, though it is done by many good people. Whatever duties are blameless, be devoted to them. It is not given to us to be perfect. In spite of our care and vigilance, we may be guilty of lapses, we are erring, so do not imitate our fallings. For leadership and guidance, we will look to the conduct on the wise, the finest and the most disinterested conscience of which the nation is capable. When we are in doubt about what is right, take for your guidance what is done in similar circumstances by Brahmins competent to judge, apt and devoted, but not harsh lovers of virtue. As for those persons, who are accused, conduct yourself in such a way in which those Brahmins who are living there, who are competent to judge, educated to good virtues, not led by others, not cruel lovers of virtue, conduct themselves. We must abstain from personal quarrels, and petty bickerings must not play the partisan. 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay' says the Christian Bible, the guilt is due to the force of circumstances or impulsiveness. There is nothing in the world which is completely divine, or hopelessly diabolical. Chance plays a large part. Lastly there is insistence on discipline, on respect for superiors, on obedience to authority. It is the duty of pupils to listen to the voices of the wise, to respect the wishes of elders and carry out the prescribed duties".

Concluding Sir S. Radhakrishnan said, "India never stood for national and cultural isolation. Her spiritual heights rest on a basis that embraces all humanity. Wherever men love reason, shun darkness, turn towards light, praise virtue, despise meanness, hate vulgarity, kindle sheer beauty, wherever minds are sensitive, hearts generous, spirits free, there is your country. Let us adopt that loyalty to humanity instead of a sectional devotion to one part of the human race".

The Dacca University Convocation

Sir Mirza Ismail's Address

"At no time has it been more true of Europe than to-day that he who controls education controls the ultimate springs of power," said Sir Mirza Ismail, Dewan of Jaipur, in the course of his Convocation Address at the Dacca University, held at Dacca on the 2nd December, 1942.

It is not at all strange, observed Sir Mirza Ismail, that the Fascist Powers have been able, by means of education, to inoculate the minds of the youth of the land with an attitude to life which has for them the sanctity of a gospel but which to others is a negation of all that makes life worth living. And, if we are to counteract effectively what we can only regard, from the point of view of ideal life, as evil forces, we must in our educational institutions create leaders who have a living faith in freedom, truth, and service. It is also through such leaders that we can hope to gather together and strengthen those forces which can repair the wastage of this terrible war and prevent another.

No expenditure, therefore, can be too high on educational institutions which aim at creating such leadership, continued Sir Mirza. No economy can be so disastrous as that which starves such institutions. The now China in the throes of a deadly struggle which has now lasted for five years, has not relaxed her educational effort and is still diverting all her available resources towards the maintenance and further development of her educational system. That she places very high the need for educational facilities, is shown by article 137 of the draft constitution for China which reads as follows:

"Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15 per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30 per cent of the total amount of the provincial district and municipal budgets, respectively."

Dacca was the first unitary University with its emphasis on the residential system, to be established in India. Educationists all over the country are watching how this system works at Dacca, whether transported to Indian environment it deserves the famous eulogy of Cardinal Newman:—"If I had to choose between a so-called University which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which more fully brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years ago; if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect, which of the two courses was more successful in training, moulding and enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that university which did nothing over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every subject under the sun." It is, of course, too early to apply this standard of judgment to Dacca, but in your stock-taking of twenty years progress, proper emphasis may be laid on this aspect of development.

Economic Uplift

It is not enough, however, if graduates go out to the world from our Universities imbued with the ideals of truth and freedom and nobly strive to hold aloft these ideals. No leadership can succeed in India which does not attend to the dreadful disease of our body politic—the appalling poverty of the masses. In no problem of administration, during many years of public service have I been more interested than in this; and I may say to you with conviction that modern knowledge has made such poverty absolutely unnecessary. Notwithstanding the misuse of scientific invention for destruction and death-dealing purposes, the genius of humanity has also given us a wide range of implements to serve the progress of the race. From the dawn of the agricultural age up to recent times, human civilisation has depended mostly upon slave labour. It is well known that in Athens at the time of her highest glory, there were four slaves to each citizen. In Rome the proportion was greater. To the slave captured in war was assigned all important work of the household, cultivation, irrigation, and handicraft.

The triumph of modern knowledge is that it has made human slavery absolutely unnecessary for civilisation. A machine can easily take the place of the slave and human muscles need no longer bear the drudgery and pain of work that machines can do. And there is no reason why the people of every country should not enjoy

a fuller and more satisfying life provided the country possesses sufficient natural resources and, what is more important, the people have the ability to explore and exploit those resources. The Red Indians, who lived in North America barely three-centuries ago, had no idea that their problems of food and living could be satisfactorily solved except by continuous wars between the tribes for the possession of some fields of maize and corn. Yet, to-day, the same country maintains 130 million human beings with food in such excess that to keep prices up to the level desired by the merchants maize has sometimes been burnt and milk thrown into streams. The standard of living is so high that there was a motor car for every five persons in the United States up to the coming of the States into the War. Sanitary and prophylactic measures have become so perfect that the average expectation of life is more than fifty years, twice that of India. All this has been due to the ability of the people in harnessing the power that modern knowledge has placed at their disposal. We know well that India does not lack natural resources. Her fields and mountains, her waters and mines can give us in abundance all that we want. But have we got the ability to develop these resources—men and women with the requisite technical skill, who have learnt to dare and to pioneer? The Universities of India can provide part of the future affirmative answer to this crucial question.

Anything that a thoughtful and serious man can do, whatever his profession or vocation, to create a feeling of oneness in the country, is probably the most worthwhile thing that he can be doing, continued the speaker. The educationist can achieve a great deal by upholding the idea of unity and in moulding the younger generation to a way of life which will lead to the solution of conflicts and the growth of a new and broader outlook. Both inclination and reason place me among the optimists. I believe the future will be better than the past. The destiny of India is unity. Geography, time and common dangers and interests work towards its integration. Indian rivers rise, fall and flow without reference to provincial and State boundaries. Every instrument that science forges from telephone to television, jumps frontiers. People cannot be left in compartments in the world of to-day, much less in the world of to-morrow.

The Travancore University Convocation

Sir Ramalinga Reddy's Address

The following is the text of the address delivered by *Sir C. Ramalinga Reddy*, Vice-Chancellor, Andhra University at the Fourth Annual Convocation of the University of Travancore held on the 5th. November 1942 :—

Your Highness the Chancellor and Authorities of the Travancore University, Senators, Graduates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I must first express my sense of deep and sincere obligation to your Chancellor and the Authorities for the honour they have done to me by inviting me to address this Convocation. I know that this is one of the many events connected with the celebration of His Highness's auspicious birth-day. So let me commence by proffering to His Highness the heart-felt congratulations of the Andhra University and myself on his birthday and our best wishes for many many happy returns of the same. I must also congratulate the Graduates on the degrees they have obtained under such distinguished auspices and more especially our illustrious savant, Brahmasri Gaykasikhamani L. Muthia Bhagavathar, on the Honorary Degree of D. Litt. conferred on him and my friend, Professor Moudgill, on the Honorary Degree of D. Sc., which he has just received. I wish all these Graduates every success in their careers that are awaiting them; and, career or no career, I trust they will all dedicate themselves to the service of the country and humanity.

Your Highness, the Travancore University has been laid out on sumptuous and spacious lines. You have Colleges devoted to Arts, Sciences, Technology, Applied Sciences, Forestry, Engineering and Law. You have also a Department of Fine Arts in which Music and Dancing and all that go to promote the appreciation of aesthetic values and graces of life are inculcated. The ideal of a full and balanced life is at the root of your organisation and it is developing on lines that fill educationists with pride and pleasure. My friend, the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of this University referred to the importance of Research. In fact, without creative output a University

cannot justify its existence. It is Research that serves to keep the teachers up to the mark and up to date preventing their falling into stagnation. Research is the life-blood of a University. I must specially congratulate your Highness on the Central Research Institute in Travancore which already distinguished itself by its original output regarding which Sir C. P. Ramaswami Ayyar just now said they were significant. The future of humanity rests largely on Applied Science. Science yokes nature to the service of man, and Arts endeavour to yoke man to the service of society. We want both life as well as the good life and, if anything, life is the foundation of good life. Whereas you can have life without the good life—it is not a desirability—you cannot have the good life without life, for it is an impossibility. Applied Science is power. Power is not the supreme good but it is a condition of good without which the good secured cannot be preserved and safeguarded from the rapacity of possible aggressors. I, therefore, wish those Departments greater success in the future than they have achieved in the past.

Tests of progress

But one thing. We are making small beginnings. We cannot allow ourselves to be satisfied with results so far obtained or the progress so far made. We must, above all, resist the temptation to compare ourselves with what we were yesterday and to fall into a state of self-complacency when we find that we are a trifle better to-day. It is a wrong comparison altogether, though it is a very usual one in India. To say that things are a bit better to-day than they were yesterday is no ground for satisfaction. The really significant thing is not whether we are better off than yesterday but whether we are fit for the tasks of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow. Let me illustrate. In England, when the Navy Budget is introduced, the First Lord of the Admiralty gives an account of all the Navies of the world and provides for a Navy better than that possessed by any other Power. The standard there is not a Navy better than what it was a year before, but a Navy which is superior to the best in the world, aye, to a possible combination of the best in the world. At one time they had the two-Power standard. The requirements of international competition determine the standards of progress that England maintains. In India, it is the other way about. We are here treated to statistics to show that there has been some improvement over the last year and the year before that, and we are asked to be profoundly grateful for the wonderful progress, relatively to our backward past achieved. This is most defective, it is most deceptive.

Moral and Mental Dualism of England and other Imperialist Powers and Organic and inorganic States :—

Now, let us, for one moment, ask ourselves the question, how comes it that there is dualism in the moral and mental attitudes of the Imperialist Powers? They apply one standard in their own administration, a very different and fallacious standard in the administration of their dependencies. What is the root of this mental and moral dualism? There is no book which, at the present moment, is likely to be of greater interest to the student of politics than Sir John Seeley's "Expansion of England". He has there pointed out that there are two types of States, the Organic and the Inorganic. In the organic State, it does not matter what the form of government is, there is one soul, one heart, one will and one ambition actuating both the government and the people. Parties and classes act in subordination to the nation's good. It is one body politic. It has therefore one life and in all its larger interests, is actuated by one will. Sir John Seeley has pointed out that that is the kind of relationship that exists between England and her Colonies like Canada and Australia. This particular relationship is not dependent on forms of government nor is it disrupted by class or party rivalries. Apparently it is dependent on racial and other affinities. I will later discuss the question whether it cannot be dependent on other affinities besides physiology. The relationship, Sir John Seeley points out, between England and India is not organic but inorganic. It is mechanical. There is no common life. If anything, there seem to be differences which are apparently, and on a surface view, irreconcilable. It is not one blood that courses through both the countries. It is not one life, one soul, one ambition, and it is this that is at the root of so many of those dilemmas and difficulties that vitiate or confront the administration of India and cause our political agitations and asperities. I do not wish to say that consciously and deliberately anybody or any Power is trying to do injustice to the dependencies. But it seems to be there is a matter of unthinking habit, of nature untutored by equity and unenlivened by spiritual obligations. In the present War, for instance, the United Nations are undoubtedly actuated by the

highest ideals of democracy, by the principle of equalitarian co-operation, which they are bent to establish between the different races and peoples of the world. I have not the slightest doubt about it. But unconsciously this inorganic relationship between the suzerain Powers of the West and the dependencies of the East shows itself. For instance, some time ago, in discussing the War aims of the Allies, Lord Halifax and Sir Samuel Hoare mentioned that England was fighting to establish Christian civilization in the world. Christians are not the only people who form the organisation of the United Nations. Earl Winterton very properly pointed out that such a claim might prove, if not positively offensive, to a certain extent repellent to the Muslims and others who are also fighting the Nazis and Fascists. The Foreign Secretary replied that when he used the words "Christian Civilization" he did not mean it in any exclusive sense derogatory of other religions, but meant those spiritual and ethical principles underlying all the religions of the world; but being born a Christian he was expressing himself in the idiom of the religion in which he was born. The explanation, no doubt, is satisfactory to himself. But if the Englishman can claim to speak in the idiom of the religion in which he was born, he cannot deny a similar right to the people of other religions;—and supposing Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek says that the Chinese are fighting for establishing Buddhist civilisation in the world; and the Muslims of the Allied Armies, that they are fighting to establish Muslim civilization in the world; and Hindus, that they are fighting for establishing Hindu civilization in the world; the result would be that all would be fighting to establish Bedlam. My fear is that all unconsciously, without meaning it, idioms are employed which, though they appeal to the mind of the West, do not convey the same appeal to the mind of the East and of India but rather irritate. That is because this organic relationship, one life, one will, one soul, is absent. The same dualism, unconscious perhaps and not to be taken literally and pressed to its logical conclusion, can be seen in other declarations. Sometime ago, General Smuts, the distinguished soldier-statesman of the Empire, was telling a London audience that when the War was ended there would be nothing more left for Japan except Japan for the Japanese. I am very glad to hear it. I do not want Japan to establish an empire over the countries of Asia. I do not believe in her Greater Asia Policy or, as she puts it, the policy of co-prosperity. Japan will be the principal and the rest will not count. But the question arises, what about Java? Will it be Java for Javanese or will it be Java for the Dutch? Are the Allies fighting in the cause of liberation of peoples from thralldom or in the cause of liberation of peoples only from particular thralldoms, and not all thralldoms? Sir Dorman Smith, the Governor of Burma, made a speech recently about the re-conquest of Burma. Very naturally people are asking whether he means to liberate Burma from Japan and give Burma full independence or whether he is bent to re-conquer and re-annex Burma to the Empire and continue as in the old days. Will it be Burma for the Burmese or for the British? My own feeling is that the Allies are sincerely devoted to the cause of democracy and the self-determination of the different peoples. Indeed the whole trend of events is in the direction of the minimisation of imperialisms in order that a Supreme Global Order capable of giving permanent peace and prosperity to all the peoples of the world might emerge as a result of this global war. If global wars are to be avoided in the future, a global order will have to be instituted. I will not refer to the speech of Mr. Churchill in which he used the provocative phrase that India is now safe because of the large number of white forces stationed here, revealing how little we count in his calculations of war and consequently how little in his arrangements for future peace. Let me explain that I am not one of those who feel that our national dignity has been affected by the presence of American and other forces. Why, forces of many countries were in France, forces of many countries are to-day in China, North Africa, Australia and in England itself. Only the U. S. A. is free of foreign soldiers. This war is not a war fought by isolated nationalities for the perpetuation of their powered isolation and their insular independence or for imperialistic grab and greed. It is a war of a different type from all the wars that have gone before. It is a global war in which all the humanistic powers are acting in co-operation with each other for the sake of establishing a global order based on equality and co-operation. So there is nothing wrong in referring to the white forces in India or even to the yellow, though it looked as though he seemed to repose confidence in the safety of India from foreign aggression more on them than on the goodwill and co-operation of the Indian people.

Imperialism and the Global Order

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, in his recent speech, spoke of Great

Britain after the war remaining a great power. Other British statesmen also are beating the Imperialistic drum in answer to American criticisms of their policy in the East, Middle, Central and Far. Mr. Eden gave certain arguments in favour of it; England had a great mission to discharge; she had known how to govern; she had got the traditions of government in her. All true, perhaps. But analysis would show that particular result, if it does come about, will not lead to world peace but may possibly become the ground and seed of a further world war to follow. Mine is pure analytical argument. At present, there are four big nations, not to speak of many small ones, which are fighting the Nazis—Russia, China, United States and England. All the ideals that the Allies are out to establish are contingent on their winning a smashing victory over the Axis. I have not the slightest doubt that victory is theirs. In fact, the kind of language that has been employed recently by British statesmen is indicative of their thorough confidence in the coming victory. I also think that victory may come and will come sooner than anticipated. That is the very reason why after such a long time I have adopted a slightly critical tone to-day because we are now on the up-grade in our fortunes. Victory cannot long be delayed. There is nothing wrong, therefore, in entering on a bit of self-examination regarding the objects and the aims the Allies are out to realise. Now, Four Powers are fighting and if there is victory, it will be victory for all the Four Powers, and not for one only. If at the peace Mr. Anthony Eden wants provisions by which England would remain a Great Power he cannot deny an equal ambition on the part of America, on the part of Russia or on the part of China to be great dominating Powers. The last number of Powers under such a scheme would be four and we know what it would lead to. The friends of to-day may become the enemies of to-morrow. In politics there are neither permanent friendships nor permanent enmities. After all, is there an organic relationship between these Four Powers; No. Is there an organic relationship between China and any of those countries? No. Between Russia and the other three? No. It is an inorganic alliance of vast moment and enormous significance, but not a natural, insurmountable, enduring, oneness or harmony; a union of swords, not of hearts. So if there are four Great Powers, the ground is laid for possible animosities, for new alliances for further alignments and balances and an outbreak of a further trial of strength. The question arises then—~~is there no way of getting over these competitive racialisms, nationalisms, statehoods and imperialism, which have been at the root of all wars?~~

Two Types of Global Order

The Nazis want to establish world order under their own supreme power and they would like to keep all the other nations down. They must themselves be the masters—Herrenfolk—and all the rest subjects. This mastery they will base on a monopoly of all those applied sciences and basic industries that make for efficiency in war. The rest of the world will be held down and kept down. They will have to produce raw materials and semi-manufactured goods. That is one way of having universal peace—peace of death for all the other nations except Germany which will enjoy the mastery of the world. But that is not our ideal. Then if there are four Great Powers, each completely sovereign and each exercising its sovereignty in the way in which nation—states, and racial imperialism have been exercising their sovereignties so far, and exploiting the opportunities, each wanting to dominate, then the ground is laid for future animosities and future wars.

Concept of Humanity of a Global Order as its Embodiment

Is there a way out? I think there is. After all, the conception of humanity is wider and nobler than that of race, than that of nations and states. The very word 'humanity' connotes that there is possibility of an ethical relationship between different races, which transcends the exclusions of blood and of physiology, the greed and rapacity of our animal nature. There can be unity in a moral purpose and it can be as real as the unity of blood and the unity of race. All religions, universal religions like Christianity and Islam which believe in conversion, proceed on the hypothesis that all humanity could be brought into one brotherhood, one fraternity and that a moral or spiritual purpose can unite us as much as colour and race; and illustrate this by churches and missions spread over the globe and having all races as members. But moral ideals are not likely to be very effective unless they are based on material interests and the movement of history. Is there then any movement of history now which opens up the hope and the possibility of a world order being established, so

supreme that the old competitive nationalisms and imperialisms would be transformed, regulated and kept in due subordination?

Historical Movement and the Global Order

I think there is such a movement, and my reason for saying so is this. Air power has abolished boundaries. It was in 1937 that I delivered my first speech on the probable influence of air power on the future of the world and I have devoted more thought since. Natural boundaries have gone. Imagine a condition of things in which the Himalayas are no longer there as it were, as even the Vindhya are supposed to have been buried underground by Agasthya; wide oceans approximating to the dimensions of little channels; and war not confined to particular lands and particular places or lines, but by means of air power, spread all over and everywhere; where total wars prevail and the civilians are as much in the fight as the military, and women as men. Out of evil cometh good. Out of this power of aviation which has produced these changes, the conception of common world order is, I think, bound to be evolved. Natural boundaries caused nations to be formed. Now the sky is the boundary. It is over all. And all will be one day one nation or at any rate, one State or Politico-Economic Order. Otherwise, there is no safety for the races. Frontiers have gone, the whole world now is one unit for purposes of war. And should it not be one for purposes of peace! Federative political arrangements and co-operative economic distribution of production and consumption are bound to be evolved. If not, what is the alternative—wars, the elimination of weaker by the stronger powers, and the emergence of the strongest power as the World-Master, the Nazi ideal in a round about way!!

The other historical factor is that this is a global war and the difference between this war and the previous war is that in the Great War, frontiers existed making the questions of adjusting the frontier between Germany and Czechoslovakia and between Germany and Belgium etc., real, live, important military issues. To-day that question has disappeared. Your Maginot line did not prevent the German aviators and their divebombers crossing over and attacking the French Army, from the rear. This is a global war. This is a total war. The other Great War was global without being total. These are the two special features. I think therefore the future of the world depends, as many thinkers have now been advocating, on an equalitarian co-operative world order to be established by the victory of the Allies. Why do I say that it has to be established by the victory of the Allies? Because the Nazi theory, the Nazi practice, is domination by Herrenfolk. They mean death to the rest of the world, while it will be a privileged life for the Germans. If there is going to be anything like a good order, like a decent peace, good-will in the world, and co-prosperity of people, it must come from the victory of the Allies. And it must take the form of an equalitarian co-operative world order.

League of Nations the forerunner of Global Order

I may incidentally remark that this idea came into existence even in connection with the Great War. It took shape in the League of Nations. The idea of a global order based on co-operation is as old as the previous Great War, but it failed because equality was eschewed and it became the plaything of England and France—an international wire-pulling station for England and France to make their puppets dance to their wishes, secret or avowed. The global order does not, necessarily, involve the abolition, but it does involve the abatement and regulation of at least three principles which have been actuating the imperialists and nationalists of previous wars, namely, the exploitation of weaker races. That must go. Secondly, the anarchical sovereign nationalisms in terms of which Indian politicians are still thinking about our future. That too must go. Thirdly, exploitative racial imperialisms like the Dutch Government over Java and the government of the European races over Africa and Asiatics, these must go. America has been the only non-Imperialist Great Power known to the history of East or West and she must serve as the law and model for the future.

Indian Politics

Now, if we apply these principles to India, I think we can now see in proper proportion and perspective the value of the contentions that are raging in our fields. There are four parties. The Government with its imperialism, though no doubt that imperialism has been considerably modified and reduced from what it was before. There is the nationalism of absolute independence claimed by most of our parties. There is the communalism for which the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah stand and

there is the particularism of the Indian States. If the Anglo-Indian relationship is inorganic, India's internal structure is also inorganic : this is the difficulty, the root of the tragical frustration of the hopes and endeavours of our intellectuals. Now if each is to be strong enough to fight every other—and that was the principle of the old order of things—I can understand the imperialist saying, "No, I won't give up any of my territories, powers and privileges". I can understand the nationalist saying, "I want my country to be absolutely independent and enormously strong, so that I may be able to fight anybody and everybody." I can understand the Muslim League saying, "In such a country we shall have no part or lot". I can understand the Indian States saying, "We too would like to be first-class powers, so that if there is anarchy in the country, we may annex neighbouring territories".

But if you conceive a new world order in which there is a supreme power seeing to it that there is proper co-operation between the different parts, then these individual ambitions need not be there in their present acute form. It is one thing when each unit will have to be strong enough to fight any and every other unit. In those circumstances, the unit has to be as strong as possible and it must have the freedom to form any alliances it likes so that it may have maximum strength on its side in the hour of trial. Balance of power, ever unstable, may be a desideratum in those conditions. But conceive a different future for the world in which the strength of each is the strength of the whole and where there is a whole which will, impartially and in a spirit of honesty, sympathy and trusteeship, regulate the privileges and action of the different units. Then it is no more necessary to have the types of rights and privileges that were claimed under the old order, than it is necessary for an individual in a well-ordered society to go about with a pistol always in his pocket. Society protects him and to that extent there is no need for him to arm himself.

Is a Global Order Possible ?

Is such a global order possible ? I have already shown that historical evolution is pulling in that direction, that otherwise no permanent peace, plus good-will in the world is possible, and furthermore, the idea has already been there since 1914. In the light of experience of all these years, statesmanship ought to be able to devise a more effective institution than the old League of Nations. The old League of Nations failed. Firstly, because Russia was excluded on account of her Communism. The United States, the author and evangel of the idea, would not come in but stood aloof in rebuke of European imperialism. This is not known to many people. The Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles on the ground that the League of Nations Covenant formed part of the Treaty and that one of the provisions of that Covenant was that members should guarantee the integrity of the States joining. This meant that America should guarantee European imperialisms in Africa and in Asia, which it felt it could not do consistently with its republican principles or the self-determination of peoples professed by the Allies. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held an enquiry at which Egyptians and others from the Middle and Far East gave evidence. The Senate said, "We cannot enter the League which has to guarantee the present frontiers of the different Empires".

Global Order possible only under the victory of the United Nations

Now I am sure that in some of these respects there will be a change in the future and that the United States will take a leading and healing part. But such a development is contingent on two hypothesis. First the United Nations must secure a smashing victory. Under the Nazi-Facist ideals there is no scope for human liberty ; there is no scope for even the cultural freedom and the economic prosperity of the different nations of the world. Therefore, the first condition is that the United Nations shall win a victory. The second condition is that they shall remain united after the victory. That did not take place after the Great War. Italy broke off ; Rumania also broke off ; Japan was sent out, because it was England that denounced the Anglo-Japanese alliance. The United States would not enter the League or ratify the Treaty. I do trust that this time at least the United Nations will keep together but they cannot keep together if Mr. Anthony Eden says, "England shall remain a great, world-dominating power", and if Mr. Churchill says "everything that England gained in China and Asia in the days of their weakness shall be regarded as our eternal and natural properties". Then Holland and France and Russia will make similar claims and the Global War would have resulted in a Global status quo and stalemate. This is why I said we need not talk politics about these matters. If we

talk analytical politics and merely analyse the propositions laid down by the Imperialisms and see how they lead to absurdities and self-contradictions, we shall have done something to produce a correct understanding of the trend of history and induce them not to betray the causes they profess, in the hour of their success.

India's Duty

If I have carried conviction so far, India's duty is clear. Apart from all politics we must support the Allies in this war, because individual problems are not going to be decided according to the pretensions and claims of individual nations, but as parts of a generous global order. If that global order is secured, then the claims and privileges to which individual nations and races can legitimately aspire, will also be secured. The fate of the world is not in the grip or hands of any particular power, not even England. Therefore, I say that India should realise that in this war issues far transcending nationalisms and imperialisms are involved; and by promoting a proper world order, which cannot be done unless the Allies win the war, we shall stand a chance not merely of our independence being secured, which is not all-important, but of there coming into beneficent operation an order in which regulated or limited independence will be assured to all and there will be guaranteed universal peace and prosperity. An independence which is threatened by aggressors every day is not worth having. What we must have is an insurance against aggression and that insurance is the global order which I think is being evolved. Our duties are both positive and negative. Our positive duty is to join in large numbers the various War Services that are being opened. I would ask the young men, the Graduates here, to apply for Emergency Commissions. I would ask my medical friends to accept places in the Indian Medical Services. I would ask our women to go out as nurses. I would ask everyone to do his absolute best for the war by contributing personal service and finance. Now commissions re thrown open to us. Many facilities previously denied are freely offered and even pressed. Till the other day it was held by the Government that locomotives could not be manufactured in India. Now we are told that they are going to begin their manufacture. The War has opened their eyes, and I hope their hearts. Let us not ruminate over past wrongs and disabilities and future possibilities. Regrets for rights and claims lost or denied in the past, should not lead us to sulks and sullenness leading to futility in the present and unavailing regrets for all future. That is not good sense or patriotism. Our nationalism won't suffer by our war services. It will be strengthened. Lakhs and lakhs of demobilised disciplined officers and other ranks will be a powerful supplement to the force of our platform arguments. Make the world safe for democracy. And India will get all she deserves to have if only she can get over her internal dissensions.

There is a negative duty. The kind of disorders and the sabotage that has been going on, will do harm and nothing but harm, and we must prevent them. Two people are fighting for an inheritance and what is the good of burning down the inheritance that is under dispute. Sabotage weakens our war-effort. Therefore it has lowered the value of our political stock at Washington and in the Allied markets. Anything which makes victory more difficult must be regarded as a crime both against humanity and against our own country. For the future of our country is dependent not merely on England but on this vast concatenation of forces which are evolving a new order of human society. Frustrate them and you defeat yourselves. It is like cutting the branch of the tree on which all our hopes for the future are hung.

The Indian Impasse

I do not wish to say much about the political deadlock that is such a tragic feature at the present time in our country. Everybody is preparing a key but no key seems to fit the lock. I have suggested a global key but I do not know if that will serve the purpose either. But I am not prepared to blame Government entirely for the present impasse. Two or three propositions seem to me to be self-evident. This country cannot put forward its maximum war-effort unless political leadership is associated with the Central Government. That is a self-evident proposition. That is why I suggested as early as October 1939 the institution of a National Directorate at the Centre composed of leaders of the big political organisations. It might function as a Super-government like the Genro of Japan. It will have power, and even more influence than defunct power. Men of ideas are not enough; they must be leaders of opinion. University Professors are men of ideas. But what is the

power of opinion, that they can bring to strengthen the Government? It is the great parties which are organising opinion in the country or have organised, that are to be associated with the Government. For opinion is power. If political leadership must be associated, it follows that there must be transfer of power. No true political leader would care to accept an appointment on the same terms and status as the mere service man or as the careerist or others who have value only as individuals, granting that they have a value not wholly due to the position bestowed by Government. Positional importance without personal or political worth cannot be achieved in these days of widespread knowledge and criticism. The political leader is there to pursue a policy because he has made it clear to the people or party that he stands for certain principles and he must have scope for acting according to those principles. If he becomes a mere subordinate, he is no longer leader and no association of leadership has been really brought about. Therefore it seems to me to be a self-evident proposition—an analytical statement—that political leadership cannot be associated with Government without real transfer of power. But in our country the difficulty is this. How is power to be transferred when the League, the Congress and the Sabha and the bodies that organise opinion in the country are at irreconcilable logger-heads with each other? It seems to me that Government had no other course open to them except to try the alternative of mere Indianisation, though it is not the best of policies and cannot enthuse the country. But what other course is there for Government to follow? Indianisation means that so far as positions, as part from power, are concerned the racial bar has been completely discarded. And that is as much as we can get now—we evolve sufficient organic unity in the country. I do not wish to talk party-politics. I may therefore merely quote what Mr. C. Rajagopalachari said the other day. He has propounded a scheme about which we are having articles, explanations and advocacies every day. Apparently he expects a response from Government. But I do not see how that is possible unless the Muslim League first declares its approval. Mr. Rajagopalachari himself concedes that proposition. He claims that his proposal in its essence is worth the support of every one, but if the League opposed the proposal there was no chance of a National Government being established. Mr. Jinnah has called his scheme his 'Kite flying'; and his response is negative. So I would request Mr. Rajagopalachari to try and secure the League's co-operation before expecting a response from Government. I do not thereby mean to say that Government should not do its best, but it seems to me that it is not to throw the entire responsibility for the present difficulties on the Government. Great Britain is moving, and moving in the right direction. No doubt, having dependencies in the East, she has to talk in two voices, which is sometimes confusing; a uniform voice for the Far East of England and a fitful one for India and the Muslim countries of the Middle East. But we ought not to be too critical. We ought to allow for the power of circumstances and the difficulties of a Power which has to placate diverse susceptibilities. Recently she has shown the direction in which she and the Allies are moving by agreeing to the abolition of extra-territorial right in China. That is a sign of the times. If she would promise to hand over Hong-Kong back to its natural and rightful owner, China, it would be a still better sign of the times. Let India be patient. She won't suffer after the war greater harm from England than she will inflict on herself by her dissensions.

Moral Ascendancy of England

At one time England held unquestionable moral ascendancy over the world. Today it has passed to America. I say this with regret. I am a lover of England and admirer. Why are American Missions and Woodell Wilkies and Col. Johnsons sent everywhere and welcomed everywhere? It seems to me that the nations of the East have faith in the world of America and desire her endorsement to the bonds that others may give—the war bonds that may not have a peace circulation. Mr. Woodell Wilkie has said so bluntly and openly. The hour of victory may prove the hour of temptation. But England will not succumb. Victory won't go into her head; morality won't go out of her heart. England, the home of Canning, Gladstones, Russels, Morleys and other great lights of political idealism will not lag behind America as the hope of the world and all its various peoples.

In contrast to the kind of speeches that Mr. Churchill, Mr. Anthony Eden and Mr. Amery have been making, I would like to read this passage which appeared in the papers the other day. It is a declaration by Generalissimo Chiang-Kai-Shek. Addressing the Chinese Assembly he said:

"China is the largest and the most ancient of Asiatic countries but it is not for us

THE CONVOCATION ADDRESSES

tively to talk of a right to a position of leadership among those countries. We have been fighting this war of resistance with a purity of motive and consistency of principle, not for any selfish purpose, but for the salvation of the world, through first saving ourselves. Towards Asia and towards the whole world we wish only to do our duty to the exclusion of any lust for power or other desire incompatible with the moral victory of love and benevolence that are characteristic of the Chinese national spirit."

That I think is a refreshing contrast to the type of speeches that have of late been delivered by Mr. Winston Churchill, Col. Amery and Mr. Anthony Eden; and probably represents the deeper soul of England more accurately. We have the recent pronouncements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Wendell Wilkie, the twin leaders of the Western Hemisphere. Mr. Roosevelt has said that the Atlantic Charter applied to the whole of humanity and Mr. Wendell Wilkie has stated clearly that unless the United States took a more vigorous leadership in support of the pledges given and the solution of the problems of the East, she would begin to lose the confidence of the entire Orient.

These clearly show that the ethical forces that are going to shape the future are not dormant but active. But time would be required to produce big changes. I have no doubt that in the various activities that we here might undertake with a view to promote, firstly, the Allied Victory, without which no ethical reconstruction of the world is possible, and, secondly, with a view to bring prominently to the notice of the British Government how ardently we hope that she will re-acquire the moral ascendancy she once enjoyed under statesmen like Gladstone. I have not the least doubt that the people and the University of Travancore would play a most worthy and memorable part.

The Patna University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E. O.B.E., at the Convocation of the Patna University held at Patna on the 27th. November 1942:—

My first duty is to tender my cordial thanks to the Vice-Chancellor and his colleagues for the honour they have done me in asking me to deliver this year's address to the graduates of their University.

History of the University

I have been reading with great interest a history of your University. It is young, since, of course, to a University a Silver Jubilee marks only a stage in infancy, but is after all not so young as its years would make it, since its affiliated institutions are old and enriched by their association with the University of Calcutta. Its possibilities seem to be without limit, and particularly cheering is the immensely increased demand in this area for university education, a demand that has outpaced even the considerable increase in the number of colleges.

There are one or two features which particularly impress one with the soundness of the policies of the University. One is the fact that, as soon after the founding of the University as was possible, a separate Science College, exceptionally well-equipped, was opened. Only two other colleges teach science, and I suppose that now, when among other difficulties, apparatus is so hard to obtain, it is vain to hope for an immediate increase in the number. May this soon become possible: I should imagine it is the greatest need of the University.

Colleges for Women

Another admirable change that has been made since this University began is the institution of a separate college for women. Clearly it is not enough, for I find that a large number of women students are non-collegiate. As at Oxford, so anywhere else, a non-collegiate student loses a great deal. One must have a college, of which one is a part and in which one can feel pride. And it is good to see that this University recognises that a separate college for women is most desirable. Where there is co-education in university colleges, in collegiate activities, and in a sense their

beneficial to them, and to the men also, but nothing can compensate for the absence of a college of their own; where all of them, at the different stages of social freedom, may live with complete lack of embarrassment and run their own concerns, in the way that best suits them. There is no doubt whatever that, at any rate for a long time, a somewhat sheltered career will be best for our academic womanhood. What over you do, of course, you must have co-education to some extent, since there cannot be a woman's college in every place, nor can such a college be easily provided with all the advanced courses, not to speak of the professional courses. But I think we should be governed by the general idea that, wherever possible, women's colleges for women are best.

University Union

I wish you had been able to build your University Union. Probably it is not a crying necessity, since the colleges no doubt provide for their own students a great deal of what the University Union would provide. Yet the same soundness of instinct that seems to appear in everything that the University does is evident here. As I am going to suggest later in this address, what we all need is to become broader, and yet broader, in our relationships and efforts and sympathies and it will be of great value to have a place and organization to provide for the combined activities of the students of the different colleges here. It will bring the teachers together, too. And it may help towards University consciousness in both staff and students, an excellent supplement to, and even corrective of, college consciousness.

University Convocations

The Convocation of a great university is, as a rule, an occasion, both solemn and exhilarating, radiant too with the hope and resolution of its hundreds of young graduates, who move forward after their first decisive success in life. Over this grand hope of theirs presides the sage and revered spirit of their University, which has done all that it could to train and arm them—above all to train them in the ways of knowledge and of reason, to arm them with the might of self-discipline. I am sure that this University has thus earned the honour and gratitude of those who graduate to-day.

The Chancellor

But I wish that they might be having a happier convocation. I am sorry to think that the graduates will have to look back upon a Convocation which lacked the presence of His Excellency the Chancellor. His presence would have been both an honour and a pleasure to me personally, and would have lent distinction to the occasion. I hope and pray that happier times are in store for us all, that happier relations will soon be re-established and that you, young men and women of the University, will offer him a warm welcome, such as he eminently deserves, both as a sympathetic and high-minded administrator deeply interested in your welfare, when he presides, as let us hope he will, on the next occasion. Those who make it difficult for him to attend bear a grave weight of responsibility upon irresponsible shoulders. May the day soon come when, throughout India, the dignity that is essential to the very idea and tradition of a university may irresistibly possess the mind of even the newest and humblest undergraduate!

Universities and the War

The last few months have not been one of the golden periods for our Universities. It might well be expected that at the time of supreme danger, the inspiration that should strengthen and save us would come from them. Instead of which, they have—most of them—simply gone out of action, and, so far from inspiring and guiding the whole country, have been defied by their own students. When we win hardly through to the peace for which we are now fighting, there will be much food for thought in this.

Until this war, which ought, I think, so to fill our minds as to press all else into the back-ground, until this war is victoriously ended, there can never be for us an atmosphere in which we can duly meditate our academic duties, as at Convocations we have been accustomed to do. We have not been invaded; it seemed a miracle that saved us; we hope that such danger will not return. But there remains this deadly danger which by our united effort we must overcome, the danger that a complete, final victory may not be won, that civilisation may remain vulnerable to savagery. It is difficult to listen with patience to those studiously moderate persons who, with delicacy of judgment, do, on the whole, prefer the Allies to the Axis, and count them slightly the superior

of two groups of self-seeking materialists. Germany and Japan have been at pains enough to blazon, in both word and act, their own true colours, and to show, in every occupied place, how they propose to rule the world—perpetual servitude of all other peoples and the savage crushing-out of every kind of personal value and liberty.

We cannot rightly seek to escape from the thought of our war-dutty into the peaceful old-time atmosphere of a university. And if now I proceed to consider some aspects of a university's work, I cannot hide my preoccupation with those tremendous issues. It is more true now than at any time within the memory of any of us, more true indeed than at any time in India's history, that what we are doing and planning now, at this moment, is in a sense decisive. To fail now is not only to fail ourselves and our own time, it is to fail the future, and that is the worst betrayal possible. The noblest of mankind have "loved the future" and undertaken any sacrifice for those who shall come after them.

Universities and the Past

It is the natural tradition among universities everywhere to be preoccupied with the past. The humanist's business is mainly this: to cherish and revive the memory of the past records of mere event and change, of thought, of creation in power and beauty. This is the heritage of the spirit, so vast, that none can fully apprehend it. But it enters into the atmosphere of a university and makes it venerable even when in years it is young. Any responsible person who breathes that atmosphere is nourished by it in ways far beyond his conscious studies. We should be the more careful to keep it immune from passing controversy and from the heat of prejudiced passion, personal, communal, or national. But it is not right that any one, even the most learned, should live wholly in the past, or should so venerate it as to conceive that man's works are of value in direct proportion to their age. This is a common delusion among university people. Many an old manuscript, which in its own day was of little worth, is dug out and fondled and pondered over and classified with scrupulous care. Or the devotee of antiquities may trace, with the most painful apparatus of scholarship, the minutiae of a long-past administration, which matters less than nothing to us now. Not all that is true is worth knowing, not all that is old is sacred, and all this is just the sham of scholarship. Many and many an eye has been dimmed by years of utterly fruitless labour, and the time has come, I think, when before any research is begun, one should ask whether it can have any genuine fruitfulness for our day and generation. Inevitably, therefore, scientific investigation must at the present time be considered of more vital importance than research of a historical or literary or speculative kind. We need not deny the paramount value of those studies concerned with human nature and life. But, to speak rather crudely, perhaps, we have already rescued from the past all that we need from it of history, of literature, of philosophy. That store will serve us well. The discovery that we most urgently need now for our understanding of things is in the way of scientific experiment and reasoning, with a closer collaboration of sciences than ever before, with the mathematician accorded a new place of honour, and the philosopher called in to interpret—and a second-rate philosopher he may prove nowadays unless his own scientific knowledge gives him competence here. The special encouragement of scientific research for the practical purposes of industry is obviously incumbent on any university, but what I have been thinking of here is of more academic value, the scientific investigation which is directed ultimately towards metaphysical understanding, so that science becomes prominent among the humanities themselves.

That such work cannot prosper except by the widest cooperation, has long been recognised by our universities, and the annual Science Congresses, ever-broadening in scope, have proved of immense value in bringing about personal intimacy between our investigators and correlating their work. The visits of great scientists from Europe have been helpful also. Nor have our historians, philosophers, and economists been unaware of the advantages of such contact with their fellows, both Indian and foreign. This movement towards unified effort of scholarship and exploration is one of the healthiest signs in our university life. We ought, I think, to stress this idea of unity which the name, university, implies. It is probable that at first that word implied merely a unity of faculties within the university, and even that is worth pondering. The compartment idea, the very notion of any sort of exclusive specialization, is fraught with danger. It has been a trouble to us in the lower reaches of education.

Specialism

It is really a shame to make even the little boy a specialist, and to pretend we are able to discover, when he is yet a child, the bent that is to determine his line of study and perhaps, eventually his line of life. It is not fair, and I would urge that in high schools we ought to give him a training that will not fit him for anything in particular, but will simply train his powers, give him a certain breadth of knowledge that will help to prepare him for life if he can study no more, and will be a good foundation for any special study thereafter. It does seem unwise and unfeeling to detect literary or scientific bent at fourth-form stage, when the child knows practically nothing and has had little chance of responding to different stimuli. And surely, even were the bent established, it should not be yielded to at once. It might well be considered that, the stronger the child's *preference* for something, the greater his *need* for something else. It has been found elsewhere—I wonder whether it is your experience here—that the ordinary science student (and not seldom the teacher of science himself) has not merely dislike but contempt for literary study. Now there is a case of sheer deficiency, which in all conscience we ought to set right. We ought to humanise the scientist however reluctant he may be—not in the technicalities of human study, but in that within it which ought to appeal to all. Conversely, we find among students of history or philosophy, very frequently a really consummate ignorance of the simplest, most ordinary scientific facts and methods; and they are infinitely the poorer for this, and the less competent, perhaps, even in their own subjects.

Honours courses

One specialistic error that, I think, we often make is the undue encouraging of students to take honours courses. At the university stage, of course, specialism is often quite appropriate. But how often (this I ask of the professors assembled here)—how often do you find that a man desires to take an honours course not because of any outstanding ability but simply because of *lack* of ability, because he will get on better within those narrower limits? In fact an honours course may be easier than a pass one, and very much less profitable. Surely it is best, even at college, for the man of ordinary abilities to have the broadest possible education, so a proper honours standard might be maintained, and the men of great ability might work on their own level and proceed at their natural pace. This is a digression, but rather a serious one; and here I would appeal to the commonsense and charity of professors against their natural pride in large honours classes.

But to return to the question of unity and cooperation among faculties within a university or a college. It is not always observed. A jealous hostility between faculties is not entirely unknown; and sometimes the relation between one and another has been mainly a mutual staidous scrutiny of laboratory grants or number of demonstrators allowed. It so happens—and of course, you are far more precisely aware of this than a layman can profess to be—that just at present the interdependence of studies has assumed such importance that even the professorial specialist can contribute but little to learning unless he possesses fairly comprehensive amount of accurate knowledge of the most recent advances in other spheres. We have come to realise that any really intelligible truth must be joint discovery of physicist, biologist, mathematician and metaphysician, and even then it will so baffle our powers of statement that we must call in the figurative apparatus of the poet.

When this singleness of purpose informs each university, it will be the easier for all our universities to work together in a single national effort for the advancement of knowledge and learning in India. But, far beyond this, they may, by this unity of theirs, help to promote our national unity.

National Unity

Unity—how blessed is that word and that idea, so inspiring, so profoundly necessary to us in India, and so very hard to attain! If there is any real message that I have for you, especially to the young men with whom our future rests, it is just this that, throughout this country, we must not, in any sense whatever, be separate: ours must be the virtue, ours the power and glory, of a single nationhood. There are those who, looking far, too far, ahead despise talk of nationalism, conceiving that the only worthy citizenship henceforward is citizenship of the world. There are others whose view is precisely opposite, who prefer to think that India is not, and cannot be, one nation, and that a permanent conflict of interests exists, which makes impossible any singleness of consciousness and constitution. To me, India, one Nation, is a most inspiring thought and a most reasonable one. I see, too, all around the growth

of this consciousness. This is the land of all of us, to whatever race or creed we may belong.

Conflicts of tradition and interests

We all know well how serious are the discrepancies and conflicts of tradition and mode of life and thought, and, perhaps most serious, of economic interest; but it is our absolute duty to forge all this diversity into a single comprehensive state, within which there shall be absolute liberty for each composing element, and absolute justice, and confidence of justice, between them. It is not beyond our power. It is too great, too fine a thing to be impossible. We must be men of faith, faith in India's destiny, and then no mountain of difficulty can fail to be removed. Nationality, then, is by no means too broad an ideal for us to-day. Nor is it too narrow an ideal. Did you ever hear of any cosmopolitan, anyone whose country is the world, who was of any value to the world? My country first, from which my life has sprung, whose people are my people, whose very soil is dear. He who has no country is nothing: the sap of life cannot flow into him, he must live on thin intellectual sunlight. We must have a certain narrowness of view if our view is to have any shape and significance. Our first and deepest loyalty must be to our own country and people: and this at once prepares us for still wider loyalties, and reaches them to us. Here can be no conflict. I am sure that he who most deeply and wisely loves his own country is the very man who will most deeply care for the well-being of mankind. Just as he who, as a child at home, has truly loved his parents and his brothers, becomes thus so rich and true in love that in the world he will care for his brethren, so love of our own people will teach us a wider charity and service far better than any vague, theoretic idealism can. As Harry Emerson Fosdick has said, "No other nation can mean to us what our nation means. Here are the roots of our heritage, and here our central loyalties belong. But because we feel so deeply about our own land, we understand how other people feel about their lands, and using our patriotism to interpret theirs, we grow, not in bitterness but in understanding and sympathy."

Universities and Indian Unity

What is the function of a great university in promoting this Indian unity? In one of its aspects, this is a problem of culture. Several languages, each with its own literature; several religions, each with its own philosophy and ethics. They all seem to care most, at present, about their differences and rivalries, and this, no doubt, is human nature. Few indeed, though most eminent and wise, are those who have cared to think not of Hindu culture, or Muslim culture, for example, but rather, of Indian culture. I suppose it may be argued that the opposition of religions is so radical, and culture is so intimately related to religion, that fusion of cultures is as unattainable as a fusion of religions. But this has already been denied by history, and already we can speak with pride of Indian culture. Speaking in Benares last year, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru remarked, "As time has gone on in our history there has been a remarkable blending and fusion of the original Hindu culture with that culture which is popularly called the Muslim culture but which is clearly traceable to countries like Persia and to a certain extent Arabia, with the result that at least in Northern India during the last three hundred years or more a mixed common culture has grown up which may truly be said to be 'Indian Culture'."

Fusion of Culture

It is the task of a university to encourage deliberately, so to speak scientifically, that which by natural process is already coming to pass, and this fusion of culture can be hastened, and guided, and enriched by any university which deeply cares about it. There are curricular changes that would help; there are ways, too, outside the curriculum; but above all, this is a matter of attitude on the part of those who teach. It could never be suggested that between Hindus and Muslims and other communities there should be identity either of thought or of custom, for just as I have insisted that a people's vitality must come from the special national source, so the energy and worth of a person must be intimately related to his own religion and tradition. But the prevalent attitude of isolation, of superiority, even of intolerance and hostility, should give way completely to the positive desire and effort for mutual understanding, respect, and co-operation. There is no doubt that in colleges and universities students who play games have, without effort, simply forgotten differences of community. So also in the life of non-communal hostels. Why? I think that here

there are two secrets. One is that on playing-fields and in hostels people get to know each other, and are surprised to find that what is different is a small fraction of self and of life compared to what is common. But the other secret is still more important than those who are working strenuously together for a common end, whether victory in a game, for instance, or victory in a war, find that comradeship simply overwhelms every sort of difference. If only it might come to pass that all sections of the Indian people were intent on defence and victory in this war, and strenuously working together for this, our differences would melt in the heat of this energy. This again is a digression—a digression to the fostering of a truly Indian consciousness, our universities may do.

Political structure of India

Indian culture is growing, and now a new political structure is to be made, and will be made the more quickly and securely the stronger our sense of unity becomes. Here, too, there rests upon the universities a heavy responsibility. The problem is one of exceptional complexity, and nothing in political history is adequate as model or guide. The different sorts of reconciliation which must be embodied in the constitution of the new India demand the calmest, most patient, most disinterested scrutiny. Moreover, this is work for men of comprehensive and accurate knowledge, both of affairs in India and of every sort of experiment, past and present. Again, that constitution when arrived at, will itself be an experiment, and for a considerable time its working, and its bearing upon the various elements composing the body politic, will have to be studied with the same dispassionate care. There will be a wonderful opportunity for the universities to cooperate with the practical politicians, contributing to discussion of every urgent problem a fund of knowledge and quiet judgment. Can we be quite sure that those whose university business is the study of affairs are themselves totally free from partisanship and the influence of interests narrower than those of the people as a whole? I fear that often it has not been so: but I am sure we all agree that it must be so if men are worthy of academic office. And further, there is the duty—certainly a most difficult one—of inducing a certain calmness and impartiality of judgment in even the ordinary student sent out by the university to take his part in the political as in the other activities of life. In the nature of things, every graduate exercises an influence far beyond that of the average citizen, and is regarded by the less lettered public as one who both knows and judges better than they. In fact, a certain degree of leadership, however limited or unconscious, is thrust upon every man who has been to a university. The blind leader is a curse to the community and it is a frequent experience that self-confidence and aggressiveness are proportional to blindness. He who has taken the trouble to study and understand has some sense of his own limitations. If only the universities and colleges could exercise continually on the whole body of students that moderating influence which should come from an intellectual environment, and could instil a modicum of political fact and principle in all of them, not only those for whom politics is a particular study, how well they would deserve both of the student and of the country?

Conclusion

In turning to the graduates, congratulating them and wishing them success and happiness, I would only ask them to be wise in the service of their country. All I have said is meant for them. They are a tiny proportion of society, and the more is required of them. They ought to rise superior to excitement and passion, and be able to quiet these in others. They should themselves be thinking men, a rare species, and their thought should make them tolerant and ready for compromise. We believe easily what we fear or what we desire, said a philosopher. To see things from many points of view, to enter into feelings far different from one's own, to understand and care about the ideas and interests of others, although they conflict with one's own, to be as ready to make concessions as to demand them—these are marks of the good man, these are forms of goodness which we positively demand of the graduate of a university. In this we meet with many a disappointment; so many graduates have proved positively illiterate in this finer learning of intellect and heart. Not you, however, not the Patna graduates of 1942. We rely upon you. We send you forth commending your country to your wise and thoughtful service, and commending you also and your future to the fostering care of a free, united India.

The Annamalai University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by His Highness The Maharaja of Travancore at the annual Convocation of the Annamalai University held at Annamalanagar on the 9th. December 1942 :—

May I begin by thanking His Excellency the Chancellor for having asked me to address the graduates of this important Foundation? The first and most arresting thought that occurs to one who visits the precincts of this University concerns the happy choice of its site. Chidambaram is one of the holiest cities of the South with its five sacred Sabhas whose presiding deity, the Lord of the Cosmic Dance, was worshipped by the Sage Vyaghrapada and by countless other Bhaktas. The shrine of Nandanar who overcame all handicaps of birth and prejudice by his immeasurable devotion and triumphantly demonstrated the equality of all men in the sight of God. This tradition and the juxtaposition in the same spot of Nataraja and Gobindaraja cannot but carry the messages of unity and reconciliation to the youth of our country who need such a message sorely. This University has another special feature connected with it, in that it has been mainly endowed by individual munificence. Such endowments are common in rich countries like the United States. Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford and more recently Rockefeller and Duke were great and far-sighted benefactors; and one has only to remember the initial gift of 99,000 acres of land in California by Stanford and of 35,000,000 dollars by Rockefeller to realise the extent and scope of their largesse. In India, educational endowments have not been numerous and in the matter of Studentships and Fellowships, it is only recently that the examples of Palit and Tagore have been followed. I therefore specially congratulate Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar who, by his prevision and discerning liberality, has helped to bring this University into existence and who, so far as I have been able to gather, has insisted on no conditions save that this should be a nursery of indigenous culture and fine arts in addition to fulfilling the normal functions of Universities elsewhere. The traditional modes of charity resorted to by his community and his family have been deflected with significant and welcome results. The combination of Collegiate and University instruction under one administration has special advantages which appertain to this University.

We are now in the midst of an unparalleled cataclysm and the youth of the country, after undergoing their intellectual noviciate and equipping themselves with the spiritual armour and discipline which are the gifts of the University to its students, have to enter upon a fight which is different from the conflicts that were faced by their ancestors and predecessors. I congratulate the graduates of this University and Diploma holders on the successes that have attended their efforts. And I should like at the same time to point out that their responsibilities are numerous and unparalleled. Time was when the products of the Indian Universities and the graduates of this University were termed the learned professions and for what were the scientific age burst in upon an unprepared world of pursuits. The industrial and the scientific age have pushed the value of classical learning and for many years there raged a controversy as to the relative merits and the reaction against the study of the humanities tended to depreciate the value of classical learning and of the fine arts. The results were conspicuous but also startling. The scientific age produced great marvels and profoundly altered the appearance of the world. Time and distance were invented to meet those wants. The competitive age was ushered into existence. As an aftermath of competition arose those world-wide disputes as to raw materials which precipitated one war after another. Aggressive ideologies, perverted and pseudo-scientific theories of race superiority and race domination added to the confusion and not a little of the general distress which has overwhelmed the world is due to the disproportionate importance attached to one sided scientific and technical training. The world cannot do without such training and indeed for us, in India, who have been lagging behind in the race and who, by nature, are predisposed to contemplation rather than to action, the laboratory, of pure workshops and the polytechnic have to be in the lessons of the Chemist and the workable as well as the dour and the public health

elements of the future; but the Annamalai University is amongst those institutions which, without ignoring such claims, also stress the importance of an all-round reconstruction of education, holding that every system should combine with technique and with science the teaching of an appreciation of harmony and beauty not only in art, but in daily life and ideals—a knowledge, in other words, of the things that are more excellent.

Rightly viewed, there is and should be no antithesis between a technical and a liberal education. No such antithesis was envisaged in any Eastern scheme of studies or even by the European scholars, artists and scientists of the middle ages or later by Bacon and Newton. It was a passing phase that came to a culmination in the 19th century. But even during that period a great thinker like Huxley emphasised that as preliminary to all technical training there must be imparted a desire for the things of the understanding. A complete education, as Milton declares, fits a man to perform justly, skillfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war. The ignoring of these aspects has perhaps led to the catastrophes that are evident around us. Accumulated and perverted scientific knowledge and the strict regimentation of the human intellect applied not only to the armies in the field but to the armies in the class rooms and work-shops have proved futile and, indeed, dangerous because tolerance and fair play and the spiritual aspects of human life cannot safely be ignored.

It is well that the Universities in a comparatively poor country like India, should cease to duplicate their courses and that, moreover, as far as possible, by the exchange of professors and students and by the endeavour of each University to supplement rather than to copy the work of its neighbours, should work for a common end pooling all their available resources. Large-scale exchanges of professors and students were growing in importance before the war. Lectures were given by travelling professors and exchanges of teachers took place all over Europe and America. The Universities Bureau of the British Empire and foundations like those initiated by the French Government and the Carnegie Corporation rendered notable services whose interruption has been a great calamity. The ideas underlying such enterprises are of the utmost possible value to us. Under present conditions, it is not every University in India that can afford the best possible training in all the subjects within its purview. Even in the matter of a single science, laboratory and other facilities may not be equally available to all foundations. The exchange of professors and students and the co-ordination of educational efforts are therefore necessary and the value of such efforts will not be solely in the educational sphere. They may well help to eliminate those parochial, racial and religious distinctions and hostilities too often arising from imperfect mutual acquaintance. I, for one, will gladly welcome such contacts being established between the University in my State and yours.

Side by side with the development of the intellect and the love for the fine arts, there arises above all things the necessity to care for the individual and corporate welfare of the students. We have sought in Travancore to combine the benefits of the team spirit manifested in Western games with those derived from the general discipline of our indigenous exercises including the Asans and Pranayamams prescribed by our ancestors for bodily welfare. Great hopes are entertained of organisations like the University Training Corps, the Labour Corps and other bodies designed to bring about not only physical fitness but a sense of union and discipline.

This war caught the world unawares. It found India largely unprepared. Our industries are now being refashioned to meet new requirements. Our craft and sciences have to be remodelled to suit novel applications. Our scientists, soldiers, sailors and farmers have found their feet and are acquiring themselves, from all accounts, as befits us and our traditions. Upon the education of our people depends our fate as also on the creation of a new spirit of courageous comradeship amongst all Indians as a part of world-fellowship. May this University and its sister foundations help adequately to equip the new generation to fulfil the tremendous but glorious obligations that are already crowding upon them.

It only remains for me to render the heart-felt thanks of my mother and myself for the conferment on us of Honorary Doctorates. We sincerely appreciate and shall greatly value these distinctions not only as symbols of personal friendliness but also of future collaboration in the field of education.

The Andhra University Convocation

The following is the text of the address delivered by Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bai of Travancore at the annual Convocation of the Andhra University held at Guntur on the 12th. December 1942 :—

In accepting the invitation extended to me by Your Chancellor to deliver an address to the graduates of the Andhra University on the occasion of the termination of their studies and the bestowing of degrees on them it is my very pleasant duty to thank His Excellency for the compliment paid to me which I greatly appreciate. I can claim that while fulfilling this task, I am not coming to you as a stranger. In company with His Highness, I have enjoyed the hospitality of your University and we have been enrolled among its alumni by the conferment on us of Honorary Degrees five years ago. Our last visit, however, was amidst different surroundings and the change of environment naturally brings to one's mind the very special circumstances in which we, in India, in common with all other parts of the world are situate. It is a matter for profound satisfaction that we are now witnessing the turn of the tide of war and that we can look forward with renewed confidence to the coming of peace after these troubled years which have been a testing time for the courage and faith of the human spirit.

My prime duty on this occasion is to tender my congratulations and my best wishes to those who have succeeded in the various tests conducted by the University and who are emerging into a world in which they will, I feel confident, not play a merely passive role but will be active participants in the fashioning of the new society to be.

The culture of India was, by no means, one of quiescence or passivity. Referring solely to historic times, when India counted for a great deal in the world, when, for instance, the Monryas and Nandas, the Cholas, Pandyas and Cheras as well as the Vijayanagar and the several Andhra dynasties made their mark on the history of the world, our land was noted for achievements both in war and peace. Nevertheless, the special characteristic of our life in the past may best be described as the maintenance of Dharma and the pursuit of simplicity in life combined with many-sided culture. During the last few years, our contacts with the later developments of European civilisation have, however, produced a state of dis-equilibrium. False social values were created by the rise of what has been described as a "white collar" or clerical class who, though useful to a limited degree, tended to occupy the front stage in life. An employee in a Government office or a member of one of the professional classes was regarded with a special respect whereas a great musician, a fine sculptor or a skilled artisan was treated with much less regard. This war is bound amongst other things, to produce a revolutionary change in such an outlook. The technician, the scientist and the research worker are rapidly coming to their own although the world has been too chaotic and events have been too catastrophic for a due recognition of the place of the artist in the scheme of things. Mechanical inventions are giving us a larger command over the resources of nature and the capacity to produce wealth. But have they helped to add to the peace and happiness of mankind? Are we receding or progressing? Are we becoming less civilized or more? Is it not true that even our leisure has become as mechanised as our labour so that we are passively amused by mechanical devices which, in the language of Aldous Huxley, condemn us to frustration? Such are some of the inescapable questions facing us.

The Andhras have inherited a great sculpture and it is very probable that the Ajanta Frescoes are partly, if not entirely, due to the Andhra inspirations; and the devotion to music is part of your heritage. You represent the fusion of many cultures and the University is many-sided in its activities. With the general support of the public and of local bodies as well as of the Provincial Government and the discerning liberality of great patrons like the Maharaja of Jeypore, you have made serious and successful efforts to cope with the problem of technological research and medical and public health problems as well as with the pursuit of literature and music; and you are endeavouring to work for a reconstruction of education on a well-conceived plan without giving rise to any cleavage between technical and liberal education.

The future opens up a vista of infinite possibilities, and we are noticing all around

us and even in the midst of the prevailing turmoil the results of what can be done by courageous enthusiasm and nation-wide effort. The chronicle of what is being achieved in the Chinese Universities is one of epic grandeur. Assailed from the air and on land, the apparatus and even the furniture of the Universities were bodily shifted and taken from place to place by students and teachers alike so that even in the midst of the clash of arms and the assaults of the dive bomber and the machio gun, the boys and girls of China were not deprived of the mental and spiritual training which was their due. In a recent issue of the American Journal "Science," we read a remarkable account of the journey of Tsing-Hua University from the east to Kunming in the south-west and improvised expedients adopted to secure continuity of studies. Thus writes a Chinese doctor of Medicine:

"Six months in Kwelyang to start a medical school from nothing—absolutely nothing except a 'hospital' of four beds and a group of determined men—I despoiled everything, from a three-legged stool (after the principle of the tripod, for the floors are uneven), to the actually hand-made pneumothrax machio rigged up from parts got from junk shops all by myself, in order that serious cases of tuberculosis be treated."

Such feats of endurance and unconquerable zeal cannot but be a source of stimulus and an inspiration.

Self-reliance and self-dependence are amongst our foremost requisites. If nothing else has been done by this war, it has at least brought home to us the importance and possibility of substitutes for everything, the need to improvise and to get on with whatever may be available and make the utmost use of it. The transportation of huge factories across a whole continent and their reconstruction is not only an instance of the rapid assimilation of scientific knowledge by the Russians but is evidence of a creative skill brought to being by the hammer-strokes of Fate. The Universities in future should be universal in the sense of being able to create not only pervasive ideas but also the apparatus and the environment amidst which such ideas may germinate. The future will be for those who make things side by side with originating new thoughts and new visions of beauty. War, no less than peace, is no longer a mere display of brute force but involves specialised training of the intellect and the rise of a spirit of fortitude without which the trials of to-day and the inevitable complexities of to-morrow cannot be met. All Universities, therefore, bear special responsibilities. Physical education has to be their first care so that in the fashioning of the future the coming generation may not be handicapped by weakness, bodily or mental. Discipline in action accompanying freedom of thought and speculation will be their next care, and, finally, the fostering of aesthetic and spiritual development which is the foundation and the *sine qua non* of that poise and harmony without which enduring work will not emerge.

You have the further advantage of possessing a language which is musical and expressive and which arouses the passionate devotion of those who speak it. Familiarisation in your own language with the formative ideas and literatures of the world can easily be a labour of love with you as well as an apparatus of culture.

Many things have contrived to bring about a shrinkage of the world. No nation and no people can hereafter live wholly independently of the others and this implies not less but more toleration and breadth of outlook, a great sense of fair-play and more desire for union amidst diversity. Differences of language, of race and of creed may even be useful adjuncts of mental training but the supreme ideal is surely the fundamental unity of aspiration and endeavour that must be the keystone of the arch that will bridge our past and the future, and bear us safely over the rapids and whirlpools that are the symbols of the strifes of the present. This is our hope and it can best be achieved by the wise direction of a harmonious scheme of education that will at once kindle the light of learning and produce the mellowness of wisdom and the sweetness of authentic culture.

The Punjab University Convocation

The following is the text of the Address delivered by the *Hon'ble Mian Abdul Hafez*, Minister for Education, Punjab, at the annual Convocation of the Punjab University held at Lahore on the 22nd. December 1942 :—

I am grateful to His Excellency the Chancellor for his invitation to deliver the Convocation address. For some reasons I wished to be excused, but in view of His Excellency's persuasion I had to give in. I deem it indeed a great honour and privilege. I prize this opportunity of addressing the Convocation particularly on account of the cataclysmic times through which we are passing to-day. As long as the present titanic struggle continues, our thoughts and energies are devoted to the achievement of final victory. We have applied ourselves to the realization of this high ideal with determination and unbending resolution, for we realize that on the outcome of this struggle depends the future of the race of man. I have full faith in the justice of our cause and in Britain's determination to fulfil her promises and pledges. I hope, when peace dawns on the world and the demon of war let loose by political profiteers in the East and the West is vanquished by the combined effort of the peace-loving nations, India will attain her long-cherished ideal of independence. It is my firm belief that after the inevitable victory of the Allied Nations, India will be a free country. What form of Government there will be, a strong Central Government or several sovereign States, I cannot predict. But of one thing I am certain and that is, without inter-communal harmony and complete understanding among the various communities; and without mutual trust and confidence, there will be no political progress or internal peace or the great future which I visualize for this ancient land of ours. Twenty-five years elapsed, Mahatma Gandhi stressed the paramount need of unity and concord. He considered unity synonymous with Swaraj. It is a truism which holds good even to-day. India's future is as much linked with the outcome of the present war as with the evolution of a partnership, based on the tripod of unity, tolerance and fairness, for the speedy realization of our common ideals and aspirations. There is a tendency at times to ascribe our misfortunes and difficulties in national life to the presence of several religions in India. Religious doctrines and creeds, which in reality link God's creatures in a universal brotherhood, are looked upon with contempt and as a poison in our body-politic retarding all political and economic progress. Religion which should be beacon of hope and goodwill is considered a philosophy of despair and disruption. This is because we have not understood the essentials of religion. We are, indeed, every day drifting from it and the result is infinite wretchedness and unhappiness. If only we were true to the fundamentals of our religion, if only we practised in our daily life what religion ordains we would not witness the misery and dismay which we are facing to-day.

In the present-day stress and strain of war, when we are directing all our attention and efforts on attaining victory, we are apt to lose sight of an important aspect of war; I mean "Post-War Reconstruction". This is the theme of my address. This is a subject of supreme importance to a nation who has to plan ahead. Every war must end; and we, of the United Nations, feel confident that the time is not far off when we shall triumph, when a glorious victory will, by the Grace of God, be ours and all the forces of evil, tyranny and oppression will be vanquished never to rise again. The question, therefore, is: "Are we preparing ourselves for that devoutly to be wished for consummation?" Surely, we do not wish to be taken unawares, to be confronted all at once with a hundred and one problems which will demand an immediate solution and which will have far-reaching effects on the future generations. We, in India, should, like the other nations, take up the manifold problems of post-war reconstruction, so that when the enemy has sustained a total defeat and the sun rises on a world, tired and prostrate perhaps, but happy in the consciousness of a victory achieved in the noblest of all causes, we may be in a position to embark without delay upon the work of reconstructing a new world; a world which would wish to say eternal good-bye to all the differences, quarrels and antagonisms which have very nearly destroyed the bonds of brotherhood which should normally bind together all God's creatures; a new world in which every one would have suitable opportunities of enjoying the blessings of a full and complete life; a world in which there would be plenty of the milk of human kindness, of

affectionate neighbourliness, of communal, racial and international harmony and concord,—a good world of good, Godfearing men. The ushering in of such a world should not be a dream; and, if humanity can emerge nobler and purer from the terrible ordeal through which it is at present passing, all the misery, anguish and suffering will not be in vain. All those who have died or those who will lay down their lives in the noble cause, will have died a martyr's death which would help in bringing in a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness.

"Reconstruction" is a vast, though a fascinating subject. It has so many facets, and such an interweaving, interlacing and interplay of forces, wishes, sentiments and ideals that it would be impossible for me to discuss, even cursorily and meagrely, all its various aspects. I shall, therefore, deal to-day with only one aspect of the stupendous problem; I mean "Post-War Educational Reconstruction".

Every constructive reformer must proceed cautiously. There must not be too sudden a break with the past; no attempt should be made to uproot humanity and utterly ignore the old landmarks and foundations; every effort should be made to conserve and preserve all that is good and valuable, all that is sacred, pure and noble. It is in this spirit that I should, if I had an opportunity, undertake the work of educational reconstruction.

I do not think anybody now belongs to the Macaulay school of education. That system should be considered as dead. It was intended to serve a certain purpose during a certain period of Indian History, but it is entirely out of date and unsuitable for the needs of India to-day. Every Indian to-day wants a fuller life, and efficient and useful life, which may see the fulfilment of certain ideals. For the achievement of such ideals we do not want mere literacy or capacity to read and write; we want a system of education which may open the portals of true knowledge and learning to us, which may not only train us to be good citizens but which may fit us to be worthy sons of India in every walk of life, so that each one of us may feel that he is an integral part of the body-politic who has a vital and important part to play in shaping and moulding the destiny of his country.

In my opinion, the first essential requisite for such a system is the imparting of education through our own language. I am not one of those who shut their eyes to the advantage which the knowledge of English, as an international language, affords to every Indian, but I do feel strongly that instruction would be easier and more fruitful if it could be imparted through the medium of our own language. This question, however, should not be linked up with sentiment as is the tendency at times, but with science which is the very basis and texture of life to-day and without which we perish, or what is worse, glide back to barbarism.

I believe, it was said by a Jesuit: "Give me the training of a child up to the age of seven, and I do not care to whom it is entrusted thereafter." I am in entire agreement with this view and feel that the most important instructional period in the life of a child is at the primary stage. It is during the first few years of his schooling that the foundations are laid, and the whole future of the child depends on whether the foundations are good or bad. From the very start give the child good and efficient teachers, healthy and wholesome surroundings in an attractive and well-equipped school and you have made his career. Give him an unqualified, ill-paid and unsympathetic teacher, an insanitary and uncomfortable building with little or no equipment, and you have marred the child's future. It is no irony of fate that although we all realize this fact clearly, yet in actual practice many of the teachers employed in our primary schools are ill-paid, unqualified and unsuitable, the buildings in which the schools are housed are in some cases a disgrace and the whole atmosphere what it should not be. In devising our new system of education our first duty, therefore, should be to effect a root and branch reform in our primary education, no matter what the expenditure may be. All teachers in charge of little children should be fully qualified, they should be men and women of culture and character, and it is very important that they should be given a living wage, so that by example and precept they may be able to give of their best to the children entrusted to their care.

Some time ago the Punjab Government appointed a strong committee called the "Syllabus Revision Committee", which was asked to recommend the main lines on which the curricula and syllabi for the middle and primary classes should be framed. This Committee presented a very valuable report, and when its main recommendations had been accepted by Government, subsidiary expert sub-committees were appointed to draw up detailed syllabi in the various subjects. The result is that a thorough revision and reform of the curricula and syllabi for the primary and middle classes is

the Punjab has been effected, and the Punjab Government has approved of the new scheme of studies; and authors and publishers are now busy preparing books in accordance with the new scheme. It is not necessary for me here to give details of this scheme, which is now public property. Suffice it to say that the keynote of the new curricula is "Learning by Doing", so that the child may find pleasure in his studies which would interest him to such an extent that he would be attracted to the school instead of attending it unwillingly and half-heartedly; the latest and the most up-to-date methods of instruction, in consonance with the atmosphere and environment of the child, will be employed and education in the primary and middle classes will be imparted by teachers who have been specially trained for the purpose. But as I have said above, the new scheme is applicable to the primary and middle classes only, and the edifice would be incomplete if it were not followed up by a radical reform in the curricula of the matriculation classes, and in the whole structure of University education in the Punjab. I hope, most earnestly, that these important matters will soon be taken up by the University authorities, so that they may be ready for post-war reconstruction on sound lines.

This is not an occasion where to present a cut-and-dried scheme which can be enforced immediately. Very useful spadework will have to be done by the eminent educationists of the province, with perhaps the help and advice of men from outside; but I should like to entertain the hope that, when the war is happily over, we shall not be found unprepared or still floundering in the dark, but quite ready to embark upon a far-seeing and liberal scheme of education which will eliminate waste and stagnation; which will, to a large extent, remove unemployment; which will enable every young man and woman to get a decent start in life according to his or her tastes or aptitudes; which will make life fuller, nobler and happier; an education the aim of which will be not to add to the ever-growing number of graduates who subsequently drift in life like a ship without a rudder or compass, but to produce good citizens, leading happy and contented lives, free from all those sentiments and passions which sometimes make life so ugly; citizens who are conscious not only of their rights and privileges, but even more so of their duties and obligations; duties not to themselves and their families and friends, but also to God and all his creatures.

In visualizing a new system of education one should not forget the role—the most important role—which a teacher has to play at school and college. With your permission, I should like to give you here a quotation from the Report of the Syllabus Revision Committee which I have already referred to:

When the class-room door opened, the teacher turned and beheld an eager group of children entering. His heart went out to them and he said: "What would you learn from me?"

They replied: "Show us how to keep our bodies in perfect health: teach us how to love beautiful things. Help us to discover what powers are in us, and what things we can do best.

"Show us how to work happily with each other, so that we may eventually work in happiness with all our fellow-men.

"Teach us how to draw and build the lovely things which are in our minds. Let us be busy at work-bench and table and blackboard; and at other times, when the mood takes us, allow us to reach quietly amid the treasures of the library.

"Show us how to speak and write our language with beauty.

"Help us to discuss some of the problems about which the modern world is so puzzled; perhaps some day we shall be the people who have to find a solution of these problems.

"Be one of us and play with us on the playing-field.

"Tell us what life means and how wonderful the world is."

"Do this and we will love you."

At this the teacher turned away sorrowing, for his learning dealt not with these matters.

Fully realizing the defects not only of the present system of education but also those in the training of teachers, the Punjab Government appointed an expert committee to overhaul the entire system of teacher-training in normal schools and the Training Colleges. The vernacular teachers in our normal schools are already being trained in accordance with the new scheme of studies, and I hope that in the very near future the training of graduate teachers will be given on up-to-date, more practical and useful lines.

All these are steps in the right direction; but what about collegiate and university

education in general? I cannot imagine the post-war world being content with the *status quo* in higher education. It will insist on having a new system which lays more and more stress on vocational, industrial and technical education, a system under which nobody would drift, but be guided to choose and be trained for a career best suited to his capabilities, natural gifts and temperament. All are agreed that at present there is too much emphasis on a purely arts education which leads nowhere and which has blasted the careers of many young men who, if properly guided and trained, would have chosen suitable professions and been a credit to the country instead of being a drag and a burden. In the best interests of the country this policy of drift has got to stop and Government and the University must devise means to achieve this end. It wrings my heart to find such a large number of highly educated men going from pillar to post in search of jobs and finding none. At certain stages in their lives, these young men ought to be guided to choose the right line or profession for which they are best suited, and it should be one of the most important duties of teachers in schools and colleges to help and guide their pupils in the choice of a profession. Before passing from one stage to another in his educational career, each student should be given facilities to discuss his future with his parents and his teachers, and he should be encouraged to pursue a course of study which is calculated to lead to a successful career. Only those who wish to do research or become teachers or those who wish to acquire knowledge for its own sake and can afford to do so, should be permitted to proceed to the Masters's degree. To help and guide students to come to a correct decision in such matters, every college should have a Students' Career Bureau with a personnel possessing expert knowledge, sympathy, judgment and imagination to examine each particular case, supply useful information and give the necessary guidance to every student who leaves the college. The University should have a similar Bureau of its own which is in constant touch with Government departments and agencies; and, with leading men and institutions in the industrial, technical and vocational spheres. Every one, be he a humble school-teacher or a college or University lecturer or professor, should be imbued with the missionary spirit; his aim should be not only to impart knowledge, but also to bring sunshine and joy into the lives of many of his pupils as he can help by extending to them his sympathy, affection and guidance. Nobody wants men of learning who are content to live in "shells" of their own, who take no interest in the outside world. We want teachers inspired by the highest ideals. They should be men of high character and integrity; they should be torch-bearers in the real sense so that by helping and training their students they may help their country in its onward march, and at the same time revive the sacred bond which existed between the teacher and the taught.

With suitable curricula and good, high-souled and selfless teachers, we shall require efficient up-to-date, well-equipped institutions where agricultural, industrial and technical training could be imparted. In the Punjab there are too many Arts schools and colleges, but not enough institutions of this type. After careful planning—which I think should be started at once—a number of such schools and colleges should be started all over the province to suit the needs and natural gifts of particular areas. Care should, however, be taken not to multiply such institutions so that the supply of trained men should not exceed the demand in any particular line or calling. No fetish should be made either of agriculture or of any particular form of industrialization. The days of extreme *laissez-faire* are, in my opinion, over and after the war every country and province will have to devise its own plans for development and progress guided by the Science of Economics but not by following its theories too slavishly and rigidly. Pure individualism and complete freedom in matters, which pertain to the welfare of the country as a whole, often lead to failure, and some kind of State control is, therefore, necessary to prevent waste of national effort. This is particularly so in the sphere of industrial organization and development, and I have no doubt that in any national planning which Government may undertake they will have the co-operation of the people of the Punjab.

When this planning has been successfully attempted and particular schemes are launched according to certain programmes, some other measures will have to be adopted so that we may be able to make the fullest use of the brains, energies and capabilities of the youth of the province. These measures should be such as to make it impossible for promising lives to be wrecked on the waves of disappointment and despair. There should be no lack of opportunity for any one in this land of ours. The number of boys and young men, who possess first-class brains but are unable to make good or achieve anything in life for lack of suitable means and

opportunities, is distressingly large. We must, therefore, make earnest efforts to devise a new system of scholarships and stipends. At present, in addition to the University, local body and private scholarships, the Punjab Government spends every year over Rs. 2 lakhs on scholarships of various kinds: but the system under which they are awarded is halting and unsatisfactory. They are limited in scope and duration; and hedged round with too many provisos and restrictions; with the result that a bright lad who has, for example, won a middle school scholarship has to terminate his studies unless he succeeds in winning a high school and later a college or University scholarship. In most cases the award of stipends and scholarships depends on uncertain examination results, and so there is enormous wastage and loss. I should like to have a system of scholarships whereby a bright and promising lad enjoys, without a break a stipend or scholarship throughout his scholastic career, provided he remains of good moral conduct and his progress in his studies is satisfactory. It will also be necessary to adjust the value of these scholarships to the actual needs of the scholarship-holders, for it is useless to award scholarships of inadequate value which do not place a deserving student above want. I dislike the idea of awarding a scholarship of Rs. 10 per mensem to a bright but poor student when his actual expenses are much more. Give the poor scholar all he wants, so that he can pursue his studies calmly and peacefully without having to worry about the wherewithal to support himself at school or college. Only under such beneficent conditions can we get the best out of our young men, and I feel sure that the expenditure will be worth while. I would like to have a large number of such scholarships and would not grudge any expenditure thereon. Not only would I award these scholarships for the ordinary school and college and for technical and industrial education, but I would give them to brilliant students for study outside the Punjab and abroad, so that this province may be fully equipped for every kind of social and economic advance.

I now turn to some other important aspects of Post-War Educational Reconstruction. Statistics collected during the last two decades—incomplete though they are—clearly show that the health of our students in schools and colleges is not as good as one might expect in this land of the Five Rivers, which is known all over the world as the Sword-arm of India and which has produced whole armies of strong, sturdy and virile soldiers whose gallant deeds on the battlefield have from time immemorial been chronicled by historians and sung by bards. We must, therefore, give a very important place, in our reconstructional programmes, to the health of our children in all types of educational institutions. For some years past, some kind of medical examination of school and college students has been attempted but except in a few places very little success has been achieved and the problem still remains mainly unsolved. The most important feature of any scheme of medical inspection is that it should be as thorough as possible and must, in every case, be followed up by proper medical treatment. Under a scheme of this kind, physical defects and diseases could be detected at the earliest possible opportunity, and with suitable and sustained treatment many a valuable life could be saved and made more worth living. Mere spleen censuses and sporadic medical inspections at long intervals may be useful for statistical purposes, but otherwise they are futile unless followed up by proper and regular medical treatment. After the war I should like to see the establishment of a wholetime cadre of fully qualified medical officers for schools and colleges; some posted at central places, others itinerating from place to place, all bent upon doing their sacred duty of healing and curing. The effect of such a system on the health of the future generations of the Punjab would be tremendous and there would be every justification for as large an expenditure as it may be necessary to incur.

Every educational officer is of the opinion that even in this land, which has been so richly endowed by Nature, there is a very large number of children—particularly in the lower classes of schools in rural and backward areas—who are underfed or not properly fed on a sufficient and well-balanced diet. The school hours, the distance from home, the poverty and ignorance of parents may be partly responsible for this deplorable state of affairs, but the situation should not be considered hopeless. Certain successful experiments have been tried by some local bodies and other organizations, and particularly in our Model Schools—a fairly large number of which have been established in typical rural areas—and encouraging results have been obtained. The free supply of milk or other nourishing food to underfed children, who could not afford or arrange for their midday meal has made all the difference. It has been observed that a child gains in weight, his general health improves, and

he begins to take more interest in his work and is, therefore, able to make more satisfactory progress in his studies. The matter cannot be dealt with by legislation, but co-operation between parents and teachers—and there are over twenty thousand of the latter in the Punjab—can accomplish much. In England and other Western countries a free or cheap midday meal in the school is a matter of daily routine and astonishingly gratifying results have been achieved. In some of our colleges the "drink more milk" campaign is being successfully carried on, and a few milk bars have been established. This is a very welcome effort, and those students who are acquiring a taste for milk will soon find that it makes all the difference to their health.

There seems to be general agreement that there should be universal, free and compulsory primary education for both boys and girls in the Punjab. We have passed a new Act aiming at the achievement of this goal but we shall have to hasten slowly; our progress will have to be gradual and careful so that we hurt no tender susceptibilities or tread on dangerous ground; enormous funds will have to be found for enforcing compulsion; many new school buildings will have to be constructed and equipped and a large number of additional teachers of the right type trained and employed. Despite financial and other difficulties, I should like to have a programme aiming at full compulsion for boys in 10 years and for girls in 20 years after war. This will need very arduous and careful planning and preparation, but the problem should be placed in the forefront in any programme of educational reconstruction.

There is said to be a tendency to look down upon a primary school and its teachers. This should be eliminated. Our post-war schools will be real centres of enlightenment. The people of a village will be proud of their school and treat the school-master with respect and affection. They will go to him for advice and guidance and he will once again come into his own.

Every school and college should have a "Hobbies Club," so that creative and vocational activities among the students may be encouraged. A few schools and colleges in the Punjab have these useful activities already, but I want them to become universal so that the leisure hours of the teachers and the taught may be employed profitably in creative and intellectual pursuits, and the new system of "learning by doing" may be reinforced by these activities in actual practice.

Not long ago the system of physical training in educational institutions was primitive and extremely defective. It is very much better now. Every recognized school and college must have a properly trained Physical Instructor. I have no doubt that Physical Training will occupy a very prominent place in any post-war educational reconstruction programme. There is a first-class P. T. College at Mountborency Park, Walton, which is now temporarily utilized for the training of Military Officers. I hope, it will continue to train and send out men of good physique and character who will act in a missionary spirit and help their province in building sound bodies with sound minds. I look forward to the organization of games, sports and health clubs in every town and village with the help and guidance of these P. T. experts and with the co-operation of the villagers and citizens themselves. Everything should be done to encourage games and sports in schools and colleges, but care should be taken to ensure that no student devotes himself to neglect his studies. Skill at games is, indeed, an additional qualification, but the tendency among some students to sacrifice studies for the sake of games should be carefully checked.

There are many other things which a post-war educational system would necessitate: but what about finances?—you will naturally ask. The roughest estimate—even if the most urgent reforms are to be effected—would be astronomical, but any expenditure on such a nation-building activity as education would be justifiable and must be met. We Indians should realize that no sacrifice would be too great in the noble endeavour of reconstructing and reforming our whole educational system in the best interests of the present and future generations. At the same time it is quite clear that no Government, as such, can bear the whole financial burden necessitated by great reforms and schemes. If there is to be free compulsory primary education, the present expenditure on vernacular education will have to be doubled, not quadrupled. To meet this enormous increase in expenditure, it is suggested that every local body may be empowered to levy an educational cess the proceeds of which shall be earmarked for educational reform and expansion. (This experiment was lately adopted for raising money to meet the cost of renovation of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore and quite a large sum was collected.) The secondary schools, colleges and the University will have to be given liberal grants-in-aid: but they will also have to build up endowment funds. Government will, no doubt, provide as many

facilities for scientific, vocational and technical training as it can afford, but the philanthropists of India will have to supplement Government efforts by founding a number of such institutions and by endowing scholarship and stipend on as liberal a scale as possible. Only thus can those who are rich and afford to give, make their names immortal: only thus can they carve their names on the pages of history and get enshrined in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

Education is, as you are all aware, a provincial subject, and the Central Government does very little by way of financial assistance to the Provincial Exchequers. I have never been able to understand why the Government of India should be absolved of all responsibility for education, especially at the earlier stages, in every province. If I had any hand in the framing of the Government of India Act, I should have made education the first charge on Central Finance. But things being what they are other means will have to be devised to help Local Governments in financing big educational schemes and reforms. If I remember aright, it was suggested some time ago at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education that a few crores of rupees could be raised if the restrictions imposed at a present on the imposition of a tax on a few necessities of life could be removed. The suggestion was made subject to the conditions that the whole of the amount thus raised was earmarked for education, and that each province should be allotted a quota according to its needs and requirements. If all the dreams we are dreaming now about educational reconstruction are not to remain mere empty dreams, some such legislatures to raise funds will be necessary.

Before I close, I should like to offer, if I may, a few words of advice to my young friends who have been admitted to the various degrees to-day. You will realize, I am sure, that you and those who have graduated during the last few years will have a very important role to play in the post-war India, and it is high time that you began your preparations for it right now. A few of you will, no doubt, by sheer force of ability and merit obtain a decent and respectable start in life and rise, in due course, to the top of the ladder; some others among you, who have acquired knowledge for its own sake and whom a kind Providence has placed above want, will probably not care for jobs; but for the majority the struggle for existence will be hard—perhaps bitter and long. To the more fortunate ones I would say: don't forget in the pursuit of a happy and lucky career, that there are many others to whom destiny has not been so prolific in her gifts and whom, therefore, it is your duty to help by all the means at your disposal. Take a vow to-day that the service of humanity at large will be your guiding principle in life; resolve to-day that if circumstances do not permit to help a fellow-being, you will at least never harm him. There are so many ways in which you can help others in this world and apply a soothing balm to lacerated hearts. A little word of kindness, a little generosity and charity may often save many a life, may heal many a wound and restore lost hope in many a miserable heart. I should like to believe that all of you will leave this hall with the firm determination of doing good to all and harm to none. You are now on the threshold of life. You will look back upon and remember, with a fond and reverent affection, the happy days you have spent so profitably in your colleges and in the University; but always look forward and ahead, and make up your mind that despite disappointments, trials and rebuffs you are going to make good in life. Even in the darkest moments keep your faith in God and in yourself firm and unshaken, and always remain convinced that whatever happens is for the best; that when you have one trouble after another in life you are really being subjected to a wonderful test and that all will depend on how you face the test. I want you all to be "Happy Warriors," living not only for yourselves, but for your fellow-men and for your country. In this selfless spirit of service face the battle of life, and success will surely be yours.

It only remains for me to wish you the best of luck, and pray that the knowledge and culture you have acquired as members of this University and its affiliated colleges may fit you for your duties in life and enable you, with God's help, to serve your fellow-men and your country to the best of your power and ability. You may go out to the world to accomplish its high ideal purpose with a passion for selfless service, to bring about concord where there is discord, love where there is hatred, and trust where there is suspicion and distrust. Let you, my young friends, be the pioneers of a new movement which will eradicate the devastating prejudices and racial and communal barriers which divide us to-day, for that alone will secure for our country a place worthy of her great past in the comity of nations.

